THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM

THE FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D. D.

LATE ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH,
MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND,
AND OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

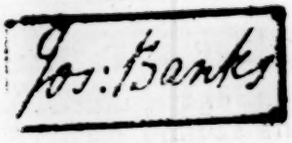
TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

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Jos: Banks

TO

THE MEMORY

OF

WILLIAM Earl of MANSFIELD,

&c. &c.

THIS POSTHUMOUS VOLUME

OF

THE HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY DR. *HENRY*'S EXECUTORS,

H. MONCREIFF WELLWOOD,
WM BALDERSTONE,
WM FINLAY.

☞ Dr. HENRY was always proud of the friendſhip with which the late EARL of MANSFIELD had honoured him; and it was the wiſh of his heart that the laſt part of his literary labours ſhould be introduced to the world under his Lordſhip's patronage.

The death of that Nobleman has deprived the following Volume of this advantage. But the Executors of Dr. HENRY are perſuaded that they could not better fulfil the intentions of the Author, than by inſcribing this Work to the MEMORY of the EARL of MANSFIELD.

Dr. HENRY's friends have the ſatisfaction to believe, that a man whom his Lordſhip eſteemed as an Author, cannot be ſoon forgotten; poſterity will know that the Hiſtory of Great Britain written by Dr. Henry was encouraged and protected by one of the wiſeſt and greateſt men of his time, whoſe old age was as venerable, as his active life was meritorious and diſtinguiſhed.

LONDON,
22d *April* 1793.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Author of this Work, who died in 1790, left ſome part of the Volume which is now offered to the Public unfiniſhed; for Chapter V. on *Arts*, and Chapter VII. on *Manners*, &c. he had only ſketched out a few of the authorities, and no part of the narrative was written by him: Thoſe two Chapters are entirely the work of MALCOLM LAING Eſquire, who has finiſhed them at the requeſt of Dr. Henry's Executors. The whole of the Appendix is alſo Mr. Laing's; but the reader may be aſſured that every other part of the volume was completed by Dr. Henry himſelf, and is faithfully publiſhed from his manuſcript.

THE

LIFE

OF

ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

DR. ROBERT HENRY, author of the "History of Great Britain, written on a new plan," was the son of James Henry, farmer at Muirtown in the parish of St. Ninian's, North Britain, and of Jean Galloway daughter of —— Galloway of Burrowmeadow in Stirlingshire. He was born on the 18th of February 1718; and having early resolved to devote himself to a literary profession, was educated first under a Mr. John Nicholson at the parish school of St. Ninian's, and for some time at the grammar school of Stirling. He completed his course of academical study at the university of Edinburgh, and afterwards became master of the grammar-school of Annan. He was licensed to preach on the 27th of March 1746, and was the first licentiate of the presbytery of Annan after its erection into a separate presbytery. Soon after, he received a call from a congregation of Presbyterian dissenters at Carlisle, where he was ordained in November 1748. In this station he remained twelve years, and on the 13th of August 1760 became pastor of a dissenting congregation in Berwick upon Tweed. Here he married in 1763 Ann Balderston, daughter of Thomas Balderston, surgeon in Berwick; by whom he had no children, but with whom he enjoyed to the end of his life a large share of domestic happiness. He was removed from Berwick to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh in November 1768; was minister of the church of the New Grey

Friars from that time till November 1776; and then became colleague-miniſter in the old church, and remained in that ſtation till his death. The degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred on him by the univerſity of Edinburgh in 1770; and in 1774 he was unanimouſly choſen moderator of the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland, and is the only perſon on record who obtained that diſtinction the firſt time he was a member of the aſſembly.

From theſe facts, which contain the outlines of Dr. Henry's life, few events can be expected to ſuit the purpoſe of the biographer. Though he muſt have been always diſtinguiſhed among his private friends, till he was tranſlated to Edinburgh he had few opportunities of being known to the public. The compoſition of ſermons muſt have occupied a chief part of his time during his reſidence at Carliſle, as his induſtry in that ſtation is known to have rendered his labours in this department eaſy to him during the reſt of his life. But even there he found leiſure for other ſtudies; and the knowledge of claſſical literature, in which he eminently excelled, ſoon enabled him to acquire an extent of information which qualified him for ſomething more important than he had hitherto had in his view.

Soon after his removal to Berwick, he publiſhed a ſcheme for raiſing a fund for the benefit of the widows and orphans of Proteſtant diſſenting miniſters in the north of England. This idea was probably ſuggeſted by the proſperity of the fund which had almoſt thirty years before been eſtabliſhed for a proviſion to miniſters widows, &c. in Scotland. But the ſituations of the clergy of Scotland were very different from the circumſtances of diſſenting miniſters in England. Annuities and proviſions were to be ſecured to the families of diſſenters, without ſubjecting the individuals (as in Scotland) to a proportional annual contribution, and without ſuch means of creating a fund as could be the ſubject of an act of parliament to ſecure the annual payments. The acuteneſs and activity of Dr. Henry ſurmounted theſe difficulties; and, chiefly by his exertions, this

this uſeful and benevolent inſtitution commenced about the year 1762. The management was entruſted to him for ſeveral years; and its ſucceſs has exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations which were formed of it. The plan itſelf, now ſufficiently known, it is unneceſſary to explain minutely. But it is mentioned here, becauſe Dr. Henry was accuſtomed in the laſt years of his life to ſpeak of this inſtitution with peculiar affection, and to reflect on its progreſs and utility with that kind of ſatisfaction which a good man can only receive from "the labour of love and of good works."

It was probably about the year 1763 that he firſt conceived the idea of his Hiſtory of Great Britain: a work already eſtabliſhed in the public opinion; and which will certainly be regarded by poſterity, not only as a book which has greatly enlarged the ſphere of hiſtory, and gratifies our curioſity on a variety of ſubjects which fall not within the limits preſcribed by preceding hiſtorians, but as one of the moſt accurate and authentic repoſitories of hiſtorical information which this country has produced. The plan adopted by Dr. Henry, which is indiſputably his own, and its peculiar advantages, are ſufficiently explained in his general preface. In every period, it arranges, under ſeparate heads or chapters, the civil and military hiſtory of Great Britain; the hiſtory of religion; the hiſtory of our conſtitution, government, laws, and courts of juſtice; the hiſtory of learning, of learned men, and of the chief ſeminaries of learning; the hiſtory of arts; the hiſtory of commerce, of ſhipping, of money or coin, and of the price of commodities; and the hiſtory of manners, virtues, vices, cuſtoms, language, dreſs, diet, and amuſements. Under theſe ſeven heads, which extend the province of an hiſtorian greatly beyond its uſual limits, every thing curious or intereſting in the hiſtory of any country may be comprehended. But it certainly required more than a common ſhare of literary courage to attempt on ſo large a ſcale a ſubject ſo intricate and extenſive as the hiſtory of Britain from the invaſion of Julius Cæſar. That Dr. Henry neither over-rated his powers nor his induſtry, could only have been proved by the ſucceſs and reputation of his works.

But he ſoon found that his reſidence at Berwick was an inſuperable obſtacle to the minute reſearches which the execution of his plan required. His ſituation there excluded him from the means of conſulting the original authorities; and though he attempted to find acceſs to them by means of his literary friends, and with their aſſiſtance made ſome progreſs in his work, his information was notwithſtanding ſo incomplete, that he found it impoſſible to proſecute his plan to his own ſatisfaction, and was at laſt compelled to relinquiſh it.

By the friendſhip of Gilbert Laurie, Eſq; late lord provoſt of Edinburgh, and one of his majeſty's commiſſioners of exciſe in Scotland, who had married the ſiſter of Mrs. Henry, he was removed to Edinburgh in 1768; and to this event the public are indebted for his proſecution of the Hiſtory of Great Britain. His acceſs to the public libraries, and the means of ſupplying the materials which theſe did not afford him, were from that time uſed with ſo much diligence and perſeverance, that the firſt volume of his Hiſtory in quarto was publiſhed in 1771, the ſecond in 1774, the third in 1777, the fourth in 1781, and the fifth (which brings down the hiſtory to the acceſſion of Henry VII.) in 1785. The ſubject of theſe volumes comprehends the moſt intricate and obſcure periods of our hiſtory; and when we conſider the ſcanty and ſcattered materials which Dr. Henry has digeſted, and the accurate and minute information which he has given us under every chapter of his work, we muſt have a high opinion both of the learning and induſtry of the author, and of the vigour and activity of his mind; eſpecially when it is added, that he employed no amanuenſis, but completed the manuſcript with his own hand; and that, excepting the firſt volume, the whole book, ſuch as it is, was printed from the original copy. Whatever corrections were made on it, were inſerted by interlineations, or in reviſing the proof-ſheets. He found it neceſſary, indeed, to confine himſelf to a firſt copy, from an unfortunate tremor in his hand, which made writing extremely inconvenient, which obliged him to write with his paper on a book placed on his knee inſtead of a table, and which

unhappily increaſed to ſuch a degree that in the laſt years of his life he was often unable to take his victuals without aſſiſtance. An attempt which he made after the publication of the fifth volume to employ an amanuenſis did not ſucceed. Never having been accuſtomed to dictate his compoſitions, he found it impoſſible to acquire a new habit; and though he perſevered but a few days in the attempt, it had a ſenſible effect on his health, which he never afterwards recovered.—An author has no right to claim indulgence, and is ſtill leſs intitled to credit from the public, for any thing which can be aſcribed to negligence in committing his manuſcripts to the preſs; but conſidering the difficulties which Dr. Henry ſurmounted, and the accurate reſearch and information which diſtinguiſh his hiſtory, the circumſtances which have been mentioned are far from being unintereſting, and muſt add conſiderably to the opinion formed of his merit among men who are judges of what he has done. He did not profeſs to ſtudy the ornaments of language; but his arrangement is uniformly regular and natural, and his ſtyle ſimple and perſpicuous. More than this he has not attempted, and this cannot be denied him. He believed that the time which might be ſpent in poliſhing or rounding a ſentence, was more uſefully employed in inveſtigating and aſcertaining a fact: and as a book of facts and ſolid information, ſupported by authentic documents, his Hiſtory will ſtand a compariſon with any other Hiſtory of the ſame period.

But Dr. Henry had other difficulties to ſurmount than thoſe which related to the compoſition of his work. Not having been able to tranſact with the bookſellers to his ſatisfaction, the five volumes were originally publiſhed at the riſk of the author. When the firſt volume appeared, it was cenſured with an unexampled acrimony and perſeverance. Magazines, reviews, and even newſpapers, were filled with abuſive remarks and invectives, in which both the author and the book were treated with contempt and ſcurrility. When an author has once ſubmitted his works to the public, he has no right to complain of the *juſt* ſeverity of criticiſm. But Dr. Henry had to contend with the inveterate ſcorn of malignity. In compliance with

the uſual cuſtom, he had permitted a ſermon to be publiſhed which he had preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Chriſtian knowledge in 1773; a compoſition containing plain good ſenſe on a common ſubject, from which he expected no reputation. This was eagerly ſeized on by the adverſaries of his Hiſtory, and torn to pieces with a virulence and aſperity which no want of merit in the ſermon could juſtify or explain. An anonymous letter had appeared in a newſpaper to vindicate the Hiſtory from ſome of the unjuſt cenſures which had been publiſhed, and aſſerting from the real merit and accuracy of the book the author's title to the approbation of the public. An anſwer appeared in the courſe of the following week, charging him, in terms equally confident and indecent, with having written this letter in his own praiſe. The efforts of malignity ſeldom fail to defeat their purpoſe, and to recoil on thoſe who direct them. Dr. Henry had many friends, and till lately had not diſcovered that he had any enemies. But the author of the anonymous vindication was unknown to him, till the learned and reſpectable Dr. Macqueen, from the indignation excited by the confident petulance of the anſwer, informed him that the letter had been written by him. Theſe anecdotes are ſtill remembered. The abuſe of the Hiſtory, which began in Scotland, was renewed in ſome of the periodical publications in South Britain; though it is juſtice to add (without meaning to refer to the candid obſervations of Engliſh critics), that in both kingdoms the aſperity originated in the ſame quarter, and that paragraphs and criticiſms written at Edinburgh were printed in London. The ſame ſpirit appeared in Strictures publiſhed on the ſecond and third volumes; but by this time it had in a great meaſure loſt the attention of the public. The malevolence was ſufficiently underſtood, and had long before become fatal to the circulation of the periodical paper from which it originally proceeded. The book, though printed for the author, had ſold beyond his moſt ſanguine expectations; and had received both praiſe and patronage from men of the firſt literary characters in the kingdom: and though, from the alarm which had been raiſed, the bookſellers did not venture

ture to purchaſe the property till after the publication of the fifth volume, the work was eſtabliſhed in the opinion of the public, and at laſt rewarded the author with a high degree of celebrity, which he happily lived to enjoy.

In an article relating to Dr. Henry's life, not to have mentioned the oppoſition which his Hiſtory encountered, would have been both affectation and injuſtice. The facts are ſufficiently remembered, and are unfortunately too recent to be more minutely explained. That they contributed at firſt to retard the ſale of the work is undeniable, and may be told without regret now that its reputation is eſtabliſhed. The book has raiſed itſelf to eminence as a Hiſtory of Great Britain by its own merits; and the means employed to obſtruct its progreſs have only ſerved to embelliſh its ſucceſs.

Dr. Henry was no doubt encouraged from the firſt by the decided approbation of ſome of his literary friends, who were allowed to be the moſt competent judges of his ſubject; and in particular by one of the moſt eminent hiſtorians of the preſent age, whoſe hiſtory of the ſame periods juſtly poſſeſſes the higheſt reputation. The following character of the firſt and ſecond volumes was drawn up by that gentleman, and is well intitled to be inſerted in a narrative of Dr. Henry's life. " Thoſe who profeſs a high eſteem for the firſt volume of " Dr. Henry's Hiſtory, I may venture to ſay, are almoſt as nume- " rous as thoſe who have peruſed it, provided they be competent " judges of a work of that nature, and are acquainted with the dif- " ficulties which attend ſuch an undertaking. Many of thoſe who " had been ſo well pleaſed with the firſt were impatient to ſee the " ſecond volume, which advances into a field more delicate and in- " tereſting; but the Doctor hath ſhown the maturity of his judg- " ment, as in all the reſt, ſo particularly in giving no performance " to the public that might appear crude or haſty, or compoſed before " he had fully collected and digeſted the materials. I venture with " great ſincerity to recommend this volume to the peruſal of every " curious reader who deſires to know the ſtate of Great Britain, in a " period which has hitherto been regarded as very obſcure, ill ſup-

" plied

" plied with writers, and not poſſeſſed of a ſingle one that deſerves " the appellation of a good one. It is wonderful what an inſtruc- " tive, and even entertaining book the Doctor has been able to com- " poſe from ſuch unpromiſing materials: *Tantum ſeries junctura*que " *pollet*. When we ſee thoſe barbarous ages delineated by ſo able a " pen, we admire the oddneſs and ſingularity of the manners, cuſ- " toms, and opinions of the times, and ſeem to be introduced into a " new world; but we are ſtill more ſurpriſed, as well as intereſted, " when we reflect that thoſe ſtrange perſonages were the anceſtors of " the preſent inhabitants of this iſland. The object of an antiquary " hath been commonly diſtinguiſhed from that of an hiſtorian; for " though the latter ſhould enter into the province of the former, it " is thought that it ſhould only be *quanto baſta*, that is, ſo far as is ne- " ceſſary, without comprehending all the minute diſquiſitions which " give ſuch ſupreme pleaſure to the mere antiquary. Our learned " author hath fully reconciled theſe two characters. His hiſtorical " narrative is as full as thoſe remote times ſeem to demand, and at the " ſame time his inquiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing which " can be an object of doubt or curioſity. The one as well as the " other is delivered with great perſpicuity, and no leſs propriety, " which are the true ornaments of this kind of writing. All ſuper- " fluous embelliſhments are avoided; and the reader will hardly find " in our language any performance that unites together ſo perfectly " the two great points of entertainment and inſtruction."—The gentleman who wrote this character died before the publication of the third volume.

The progreſs of Dr. Henry's work introduced him to more extenſive patronage, and in particular to the notice and eſteem of the late earl of Mansfield. That venerable nobleman, who was ſo well intitled to the gratitude and admiration of his country, thought the merit of Dr. Henry's hiſtory ſo conſiderable, that, without any ſolicitation, after the publication of the fourth volume, he applied perſonally to His Majeſty to beſtow on the author ſome mark of his royal favour. In conſequence of this, Dr. Henry was informed by a letter from lord

lord Stormont, then ſecretary of ſtate, of His Majeſty's intention to confer on him an annual penſion for life of 100l. "conſidering his "diſtinguiſhed talents and great literary merit, and the importance "of the very uſeful and laborious work in which he was ſo ſucceſs-"fully engaged, as titles to his royal countenance and favour." The warrant was iſſued on the 28th of May 1781; and his right to the penſion commenced from the 5th of April preceding. This penſion he enjoyed till his death, and always conſidered it as inferring a new obligation to perſevere ſteadily in the proſecution of his work. From the earl of Mansfield he received many other teſtimonies of eſteem both as a man and as an author, which he was often heard to mention with the moſt affectionate gratitude. The octavo edition of his hiſtory, publiſhed in 1788, was inſcribed to his lordſhip. The quarto edition had been dedicated to the king.

The property of the work had hitherto remained with himſelf: but in April 1786, when an octavo edition was intended, he conveyed the property to Meſſrs. Cadell and Strahan for the ſum of 1000l.; reſerving to himſelf what ſtill remained unſold of the quarto edition. Dr. Henry had kept very accurate accounts of the ſales from the time of the original publication; and after his laſt tranſaction he found that his real profits had amounted in the whole to about 3,300l.; a ſtriking proof of the intrinſic merit of a work which had forced its way to the public eſteem, in ſpite of the malignant oppoſition with which the firſt volumes had to ſtruggle.

The proſecution of his hiſtory had been Dr. Henry's favourite object for almoſt thirty years of his life. He had naturally a ſound conſtitution, and a more equal and larger portion of animal ſpirits than is commonly poſſeſſed by literary men; but from the year 1785 his bodily ſtrength was ſenſibly impaired: notwithſtanding this he perſiſted ſteadily in preparing his ſixth volume, which brings down the hiſtory to the acceſſion of Edward VI. and it is now publiſhed by his executors: they flatter themſelves that it will be found intitled to the ſame favourable reception from the public which has been given to the former volumes. It was written under the diſadvantages of bad

bad health and great weakneſs of body. The tremulous motion of his hand had increaſed ſo as to render writing much more difficult to him than it had ever been: but the vigour of his mind and his ardour were unimpaired; and, independent of the general character of his works, the poſthumous volume will be a laſting monument of the ſtrength of his faculties, and of the literary induſtry and perſeverance which ended only with his life.

Dr. Henry's original plan extended from the invaſion of Britain by the Romans to the preſent times: and men of literary curioſity muſt regret that he has not lived to complete his deſign; but he has certainly finiſhed the moſt difficult parts of his ſubject. The periods after the acceſſion of Edward VI. afford materials more ample, better digeſted, and much more within the reach of common readers.

The works of an author make ſo conſiderable a part of his perſonal hiſtory, that the account of them is in danger of encroaching on the place which ought to be reſerved for his private life. But though Dr. Henry's character as a man was ſufficiently intereſting, his death is too recent to permit the minuteneſs of a biographer. An account of his habits, his friendſhips, his amuſements, his convivial intercourſe, ſuch as a reader of narratives of this ſort expects, cannot be given to thoſe who ſhared in his ſociety, without mixing the hiſtory of the living with the character of the dead. Nothing but what is general can be ſaid; and much muſt therefore be withheld which a friend might wiſh to read, and which might gratify the curioſity of a ſtranger.

Though his literary engagements might have been ſuppoſed to have given him ſufficient employment, he always found time for what he believed to be objects of public utility, as well as for the offices of private friendſhip. In public life no man was more ſteady or active in purſuing his purpoſe, or ſought the means of attaining it with more integrity. As an eccleſiaſtical man, he followed the unbiaſſed dictates of his own mind, uniformly promoting the meaſures which he thought moſt for the intereſt of religion and of his country, and perſevering in the principles he avowed, though in the general

general aſſembly they moſt frequently led him to be included in the votes of the minority. Of the public ſocieties of Edinburgh he was always one of the moſt uſeful and indefatigable members; regular in his attendance as long as his health permitted him, and always pure in his intentions. But in ſerving and aſſiſting his private friends, he diſcovered an ardour and activity through his whole life more intereſting than the moſt diſtinguiſhed literary fame: even the ſons of thoſe who had once been his companions, were certain of every aſſiſtance in his power, if he thought they deſerved it; and no conſideration could perſuade him to deſert a man whom he eſteemed, or whom he believed to have a claim on his friendſhip. He was particularly attentive to young men who were proſecuting a literary education. He had himſelf experienced difficulties in his youth, and mentioned them often as motives which he could not reſiſt, to aſſiſt the induſtry and merit of other men. His activity to ſerve his friends was always accompanied with an earneſtneſs and good will, which added greatly to the obligations he conferred. Beſides his friends, he was particularly attentive to his relations; of whom he had a number, whoſe circumſtances were not opulent; with them he ſhared his good fortune, as ſoon as the profits of his book enabled him to be uſeful to them; and with the exception of an annuity to Mrs. Henry, and a few ſmall legacies, left them by his will all the property he had acquired. His penſion and the profits of his book had placed him at laſt in eaſy circumſtances, and enabled him to do for his relations what gave great ſatisfaction to his worthy and benevolent mind.

Dr. Henry was naturally fond of ſociety; and few men ever enjoyed ſociety more perfectly, or were capable of contributing ſo much to the pleaſures of converſation. Notwithſtanding his literary purſuits, he was always ready to make one in a party of his friends; and attached himſelf to pleaſant and reſpectable companions wherever he found them, without any regard to the competitions or contrary opinions which unhappily ſo often prevent worthy men from aſſociating. His extenſive knowledge, his cheerfulneſs and pleaſantry,

ſantry, his inexhauſtible fund of humour and anecdote, would have made him a diſtinguiſhed character among any deſcription of men, although he had had no pretenſions as an author. His great extent of ſolid information gave a variety to his converſation, to which much was added by his talents for convivial pleaſantry. He had a ſtory or anecdote ready for every occaſion, and adapted to every ſubject; and was peculiarly happy in ſelecting the circumſtances which could render it intereſting and pointed. If the ſame narratives were ſometimes repeated, a circumſtance which was unavoidable, they were always ſeaſoned with a new reliſh; and even thoſe who lived moſt with him, have ſeldom been in his company without hearing from him ſomething which was as new to them as to ſtrangers. His character was uniform to the end. He converſed with the ardour and even the gaiety of youth long after his bodily ſtrength had yielded to the infirmities of age; and even within a few days of his death, which he was every day expecting, he could mix anecdotes and pleaſantry with the moſt ſerious diſcourſe.

For ſeveral years he had ſpent a part of every ſeaſon at Milnfield, a country-houſe with a few acres ſurrounding it, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, of which he had a leaſe for his own life and Mrs. Henry's. He had been attracted to this ſituation by its vicinity to his friend Mr. Laurie's eſtate, to whoſe family he had always an affectionate attachment. Here he proſecuted his ſtudies without interruption; and amuſed himſelf with ſuch improvements and alterations on his ſmall farm as his convenience or his fancy ſuggeſted to him. He built a ſmall room for a library, which he had ſurrounded with trees, and inſcribed "*Otio et Muſis*;" and, the ſituation admitting of it, he fitted up on the ground floor a place for a cold bath, which his phyſicians had directed him to uſe; on the door of which he had written, "Be eaſily pleaſed;" a circumſtance highly characteriſtical of his own temper in the common affairs of life.

His health had been gradually declining ſince the year 1785. He had been unable to preach for ſeveral years, and an aſſiſtant had ſup-

plied his place. On this account he ſpent more of his time than uſual at Milnfield. Till the ſummer of 1790 he was able to purſue his ſtudies, though not without ſome interruptions: but at that time, though he had no particular diſeaſe, a univerſal relaxation and debility aſſured him that his conſtitution was exhauſted. What rendered his ſituation more depreſſing ſtill, Mrs. Henry had for ſome time diſcovered ſymptoms of a cataract on her eyes, which in 1790 reduced her to a ſtate of almoſt total blindneſs. In the month of Auguſt he accompanied her to Edinburgh, where ſhe ſubmitted to an operation, which was ſo far unſucceſsful that ſhe did not recover her ſight during his life. From the time of his return to Milnfield in September, his ſtrength was ſenſibly diminiſhed; and he was ſoon convinced that he had but a few weeks to live. No man could meet death with more equanimity or fortitude, or with a fortitude derived from better ſources. He mentioned his death eaſily and often as an event which in his ſituation was deſirable, ſenſible that from the exhauſted ſtate of his body he could no longer enjoy this world, or be uſeful in it; and expreſſing in the moſt explicit terms his firm perſuaſion of the great doctrines of Chriſtianity, and the full expectation he derived from them of "life and immortality through "Jeſus Chriſt our Lord." His faculties were perfectly entire; nor could any change be obſerved in his manner or converſation with his friends. He was never confined to bed, and converſed eaſily till within a few hours of his death. He had a ſtrength of mind which falls to the lot of few; and Providence permitted him to preſerve the full poſſeſſion of it.

A few days before his death he executed a deed, which he dictated himſelf, by which he diſponed his collection of books to the magiſtrates, town-council, and preſbytery of Linlithgow, as the foundation of a public library; under certain regulations and conditions which he expreſſed very diſtinctly, and by means of which he flattered himſelf that a library might at laſt be created, which might contribute to diffuſe knowledge and literature in the country. This idea

had been ſuggeſted to him by his experience in the public utility of libraries of this ſort, which had been eſtabliſhed at Berwick and at Kelſo. By ſuch inſtitutions the means of knowledge may be obtained in remote ſituations at a ſmall expence, and are eaſily circulated among the different orders of men: and though his collection of books was not a large one, he believed that the inſtitution required only to be begun under proper regulations, and might ſoon become conſiderable if proper attention ſhould be given to it. His intentions were certainly pure; and the rules he ſuggeſted well ſuited to the deſign. The magiſtrates of Linlithgow have prepared a room, and curators for the management of the library have been choſen in terms of the deed. The public have reaſon to expect from them every thing by which they can promote the benevolent and reſpectable intentions of the founder. He gave very minute directions with regard to his affairs, and even dictated a liſt of his friends whom he wiſhed to be preſent at his funeral; and with a conſtitution quite worn out, died on the 24th of November 1790, in the ſeventy-third year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of Polmont, where a monument is erected to his memory.

Dr. Henry's perſonal virtues will not be ſoon forgotten. Among his friends he will always be remembered with tenderneſs: and his character as an author will be reſpected by poſterity, long after the events of his private life ſhall become too diſtant to be intereſting.

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BOOK VI.

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SECTION I.

The civil and military hiſtory of England, from the acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, *to the acceſſion of Henry* VIII. A. D. 1509.

THE victory gained at Boſworth, by Henry earl of Richmond over Richard III. was deciſive, and produced the moſt important conſequences. The victorious chieftain was proclaimed king by his army on the field of battle; a crown of ornament, which Richard had worn in the action, was placed upon his

A. D. 1485. Acceſſion of Henry VII.

A. D. 1485. head, and from that moment he aſſumed the name, ſtate, and authority of king of England.

Defects of Henry's title. The title of Henry VII. (as he muſt now be called) to the crown which he thus aſſumed, was quite inexplicable. The hereditary right or title to that crown was evidently in the houſe of York, of which there were ſeveral princes and princeſſes then alive in England *. Henry had even no title to the hereditary rights, or rather pretenſions, of the houſe of Lancaſter to the crown. He was deſcended, indeed, from one of the natural ſons of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter; and the natural children of that prince had been legitimated: but in the very act of their legitimation, they and their poſterity were declared to be incapable of inheriting the crown †. To a parliamentary right he could not then pretend; for he ſtood attainted as a traitor by an act of parliament ‡. One victory of one Engliſh army over another Engliſh army, could not be called a conqueſt of England; and Henry's little army, though victorious, had certainly no right to change the eſtabliſhed laws of ſucceſſion, and to chooſe a king, contrary to thoſe laws, for a great and powerful kingdom. But notwithſtanding all theſe defects in his title, of which he could not be ignorant, Henry acted in all reſpects, from the day of his victory, as if it had been perfectly clear, and liable to no objections.

Earl of Warwick impriſoned. The firſt act of Henry's government was equally unjuſt and cruel. On the day after the battle of Boſworth, he ſent ſir Robert Willoughby to ſheriff Hoton in Yorkſhire, with a commiſſion to ſeize Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, (the only ſon of George duke of Clarence, by the eldeſt daughter of the great earl of Warwick,) and conduct him to the Tower of London. This young prince, without being accuſed, or even ſuſpected of any crime, was kept a priſoner, from his infancy to his death, by the jealouſy of

* Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory. † Rym. Fœd. tom. vii. p. 849. ‡ Statutes.

two ſucceſſive tyrants *. So little were the feelings of humanity, and the moſt eſſential rules of juſtice, regarded, in thoſe unhappy times. A. D. 1485.

Joy at Henry's acceſſion.

Henry having refreſhed his troops a few days at Leiceſter, conducted them towards the capital, and was every where received with the loudeſt acclamations; which were, in general, ſincere expreſſions of joy at his acceſſion. The Lancaſtrian party had long fixed their eyes upon him as their head, and the only perſon of his family who was capable of aſſerting its pretenſions to the crown. The Yorkiſts, knowing his engagements to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter of Edward IV. rejoiced in his ſucceſs, hoping that their union would put an end to thoſe civil wars which had raged ſo long with ſuch deſtructive violence. The remaining partiſans of the late king were quite diſpirited, and conſulted their ſafety by their ſilence and retirement.

Enters London.

When the victorious prince and army approached London, the citizens went out in crowds to meet and welcome their new monarch. But on this occaſion Henry diſcovered his reſerved and haughty diſpoſition, by entering the city in a cloſe litter, and depriving the people of the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his perſon, which gave a check to their joy. He proceeded directly to St. Paul's, where he depoſited the ſtandards taken at Boſworth, and returned thanks to God for his victory †.

Promiſes to marry the lady Elizabeth.

Though Henry was inflamed with the moſt violent hatred to the rival family of York, by which he had been long and cruelly perſecuted, he was ſenſible he could not retain the poſſeſſion of the crown without forming an alliance with that family. He made haſte, therefore, in the preſence of an aſſembly of the principal clergy and nobility, to renew his promiſe to marry the princeſs Elizabeth ‡. But he determined not to perform that promiſe, till he was firmly

* Hall, Hen. VII. f. 1. Bacon's Hiſt. Hen. VII. p. 6. Polydore Virgil, p. 565.

† Bacon, p. 7, 8. ‡ Id. ibid.

A. D. 1485. ſeated on the throne, and had his own right to the crown recogniſed by parliament; that he might not ſeem to derive his title from the princeſs, or depend upon her life for the duration of his authority.

Coronation. As the ſweating ſickneſs raged in London at this time, he was forced to defer his coronation till the 20th October, when it was performed with the uſual pomp and ceremonies. On that occaſion Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, the king's uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanley was made earl of Derby; and Edward Courteney, earl of Devonſhire *.

Parliament. When the parliament met at Weſtminſter, November 7th, it was found, that many of the members of the houſe of commons were attainted for treaſon in the two laſt reigns, by acts of parliament yet unrepealed. This occaſioned no little perplexity and heſitation; as theſe members were the moſt zealous partiſans of the houſe of Lancaſter; and the judges were required to give their opinion on this caſe, ſo new and ſingular. Theſe ſages of the law, after mature deliberation, gave it as their opinion and advice, "That the attainted "members ſhould not take their ſeats till their attainders were re-"verſed." This prudent opinion was adopted, and the attainders of one hundred and ſeven gentlemen were reverſed †.

Settlement of the crown. The parliament then proceeded to the great buſineſs for which it had been called, the ſettlement of the crown. The king expreſſed his claims to the crown in few words, by ſaying, he had a juſt title to it by hereditary right, and by victory over his enemies. But, that he might not alarm the parliament and people by the claim of conqueſt, he added, that he did not intend to deprive any perſon of his inheritance. The parliament, without conſidering theſe claims, which were ill-founded, but attending only to his preſent poſſeſſion of the crown, which was undeniable, enacted, "That

* Bacon, p. 9. † Records of Parliament, 1 Hen. VII.

"the

" the inheritance of the crown of this realm of England, and alſo A. D. 1485.
" of France, ſhall reſt, remain, and abide in the moſt royal perſon
" of our now ſovereign lord king Henry the Seventh, and in the
" heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually, with the grace of
" God, ſo to endure, and in none other *." It is remarkable, that the princeſs Elizabeth, undoubted heireſs of the houſe of York, and conſequently of the crown of England, is not once mentioned in this act of ſettlement, and that the laſt words of it ſeem to have been inſerted to cut off her claim. This was owing to the jealous and haughty ſpirit of Henry, and his hatred of the houſe of York, and muſt have been very offenſive to the friends of that houſe.

Acts of parliament.

The parliament then, by one act, ſecured indemnity to thoſe who had fought under the earl of Richmond at the battle of Boſworth; and by another, attainted the duke of Norfolk, and thirty other lords and gentlemen who had fought under king Richard at that battle †. The laſt of theſe acts was certainly unjuſt and cruel. It could not be high treaſon in theſe lords and gentlemen to fight under the banner of a prince to whom they and the whole kingdom had ſworn fealty, againſt the earl of Richmond, who did not ſo much as pretend to be king, and who was at that time an attainted outlaw. Accordingly, we are told by a contemporary hiſtorian, that this act met with great oppoſition, and occaſioned long and warm debates in parliament; and that hiſtorian, though he evidently writes under great reſtraint and terror, breaks out into this pathetic exclamation: " O God! what ſecurity can princes have, that their ſub-
" jects will defend their perſons in the day of battle; when being
" forced there, perhaps, by their abſolute commands and threats, the
" ſide they fight for, as is often the caſe, being worſted, they find
" their own lives and fortunes involved in the common ruin ‡?"

* Record of Parliament. Hall, Hen. VII. f. 3. † Statutes, 1 Hen. VII.
‡ Continuat. Hiſt, Croiland, p. 581.

Though

A. D. 1485. Addreſs.

Though the Yorkiſts were numerous in this parliament, and diſliked this ſeverity, which fell only on their friends and party, many of them concealed their thoughts, in hopes that the marriage of the king with the princeſs Elizabeth would extinguiſh his hatred to the friends of her family, and put an end to the calamities of their country. They had influence to procure an addreſs from the parliament to the king, to haſten the concluſion of that marriage *.

Pardon.

Henry, finding that he had puſhed his reſentment againſt thoſe who had oppoſed him rather too far, thought it prudent to publiſh a free pardon to all his ſubjects, who ſignified their ſubmiſſion to his government, by taking the oath of fealty. On this, many who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the late king, iſſued from their ſanctuaries and hiding-places, and took the benefit of that pardon. At the ſame time he reſtored Edward Stafford, the eldeſt ſon of the late Henry duke of Buckingham, to the honours and princely fortune of his family †.

1486. Henry's marriage.

Though Henry was not an impatient lover, he was a quick-ſighted politician; and perceiving that the delay of his marriage was one of the chief ſources of the doubts and fears of his ſubjects, he determined to remove that cauſe of their diſguſt. This long expected marriage was accordingly celebrated, January the 18th, A. D. 1486, with royal pomp. The rejoicings on this occaſion, in London, Weſtminſter, and other places, were exceſſive, far ſuperior to thoſe at the king's acceſſion and coronation. Henry did not reliſh theſe rejoicings; on the contrary, they gave great diſguſt to his jealous and ſullen ſpirit; as they convinced him, that the houſe of York was ſtill the favourite of the people, and that his young and beautiful conſort poſſeſſed a greater ſhare of their affections than himſelf. This, it is ſaid, deprived her of the affections of her huſband, who treated her unkindly during her life ‡.

* Continuat. Hiſt. Croiland, p. 581. † Bacon, p. 14, 15. ‡ Ibid. p. 16.

England

A. D. 1486.

England was not at war with any other nation at the acceſſion of Henry VII.; and it was one of the firſt cares of that ſagacious prince to ſecure the continuance of this external peace, ſo neceſſary to one in his circumſtances. With this view he prolonged the truce with France, and ſpared no pains to prevent diſputes with Scotland, and to unite the royal families by intermarriages *.

External peace.

Henry now enjoying peace abroad, and tranquillity at home, ſet out on a progreſs into the north, where he knew the people had been more generally attached to the late king and to the houſe of York, than in any other part of England. When he was celebrating the feaſt of Eaſter at Lincoln, he was informed that the lord Lovet, with Humphry and Thomas Stafford, had left the ſanctuary at Colcheſter, which did not ſeem to give him much concern, and he proceeded to York. There he received more certain and more alarming intelligence; that the lord Lovet was advancing towards York at the head of four thouſand men, and that the two Staffords with an army were beſieging Worceſter. The king was not inſenſible of his danger, but without betraying any ſymptoms of fear, he prepared for his defence; and having collected about three thouſand men, he gave the command of them to his uncle Jſper duke of Bedford, with directions to march boldly towards the enemy; and when he approached them, to proclaim a full and free pardon to all who would lay down their arms. Lord Lovet, dreading the effect of this proclamation, fled in the night; and his followers, ſeeing themſelves without a leader, accepted of the offered pardon. The army before Worceſter, hearing of the diſperſion of their confederates, diſbanded; and the two Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Cobham near Abington. But as that obſcure church had not the privilege of protecting traitors from juſtice, they were taken from thence, and Humphrey, the eldeſt brother, was executed, and the

Inſurrection ſuppreſſed.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 281. See vol. v. of this work, p. 309, 310.

other

A. D. 1486. other pardoned *. Thus ended an inſurrection, which, under more able leaders, might have been very dangerous.

Prince Arthur born.

Soon after Henry returned to London from the north, he deigned to pay a viſit to his queen at Wincheſter, who was there prematurely delivered of a ſon, September 20th. The young prince was named Arthur, in honour of the renowned Britiſh prince of that name, from whom the king pretended to derive his deſcent, by his grandfather Owen Tudor †.

Henry's hatred to the Yorkiſts, and its effects.

Though the late inſurrection had been ſo eaſily ſuppreſſed, the ſpirit of diſcontent and animoſity againſt the king, that had excited it, ſtill continued, and daily increaſed. This ſpirit was raiſed and inflamed by Henry's inveterate hatred to the houſe of York and all its partiſans, of which he had given early, and continued to give daily, proofs. To this they imputed his procuring the parliamentary ſettlement of the crown upon himſelf and his heirs, without any mention of the princeſs Elizabeth; his delaying ſo long to marry that princeſs; his harſh treatment of her after marriage; his denying her the honour of being crowned, which had never been denied to any queen conſort; his frowning upon all the friends of the family of York, and refuſing them every favour. This conduct was the more irritating to the Yorkiſts, that they had expected, and thought they had merited, a very different treatment, as they had contributed ſo much to his elevation to the throne. In a word, the whole York party was ripe for rebellion, and wanted only a proper head to have renewed all the horrors of the civil wars. Such a head was ſo earneſtly deſired, that it was reported, and generally believed by thoſe who wiſhed it to be true, that Richard duke of York, the youngeſt ſon of Edward IV. was ſtill alive, and would ſoon appear to aſſert his right to the crown; which gave occaſion to the myſterious tranſaction I am now to relate, but which will never be perfectly underſtood.

* Hall, f. 4. Bacon, p. 17, 18. † Hall, f. 5.

Richard

A.D. 1487.

Richard Simon, a prieſt reſiding in Oxford, had a pupil under his care, named Lambert Simnel, the natural ſon of a baker. This youth was about fifteen years of age, acute, ſenſible, and ſagacious; handſome in his perſon, graceful in his deportment, and every way qualified to perſonate Richard duke of York, whoſe appearance was earneſtly deſired and generally expected. To fit him for doing this, his preceptor gave him his beſt inſtructions. But whether this ſcheme was formed by the prieſt himſelf, or contrived by ſome perſon of higher rank and greater conſequence, cannot be diſcovered, though the laſt ſeems to be moſt probable. While Simon was inſtructing his pupil how to perſonate the duke of York, a report was propagated, and generally believed, that Edward earl of Warwick had made his eſcape from the Tower of London, and would ſoon emerge into public view. This determined Simon, or thoſe who conducted this plot, to change their plan, and to make Simnel perſonate the earl of Warwick.

Lambert Simnel.

No ſcheme could be more unfeaſible than this, or more unlikely to ſucceed. The perſon and family of Simnel were known to thouſands in and about Oxford. The perſon of the earl of Warwick was ſtill better known; he was alive, in the poſſeſſion of the king, and ready to be produced, to confound the impoſtor and undeceive the people. Whoever were the managers of this ſcheme, they were ſenſible of this difficulty; and they reſolved to begin their operations in Ireland, where neither the earl nor Simnel were perſonally known, and where the people of all ranks hated Henry, and were devoted to the houſe of York. With this view Simon and his pupil removed of themſelves, or were conducted by others, into Ireland.

Removed to Ireland.

Henry had been ſo much engaged in England ſince his acceſſion, that he had almoſt totally neglected Ireland, and ſuffered thoſe who had been inveſted with power in that iſland by the two late kings of the houſe of York, to retain their places. Thomas Fitzgerald earl Kildare, a zealous Yorkiſt, was lord deputy, his brother lord

Proclaimed king.

A. D. 1487. chancellor, and almoſt all the biſhops had been promoted by Edward or Richard. It is highly probable too, that the lord deputy, and perhaps ſome others, had been let into the ſecret of this deſign by the promoters of it in England, and inſtructed how to act. However that may be, Simon and his pupil met with a moſt favourable reception in Ireland. The citizens of Dublin expreſſed great joy on their arrival in that city, and Simnel was univerſally believed to be the real earl of Warwick. The lord deputy, (obſerving that the ſentiments and diſpoſitions of the people coincided with his own inclinations,) after converſing with Simnel, and aſking him ſome queſtions about the manner of his eſcape, declared himſelf fully convinced that he was Edward Plantagenet, only ſon of George duke of Clarence. The example of the deputy was followed by many other perſons of rank. Simnel was conducted with great pomp from his lodgings in the city to the caſtle of Dublin, where he was attended as a prince, and ſoon after proclaimed king of England and lord of Ireland, by the name of Edward VI. with all the uſual ſolemnities.

Henry alarmed.

Henry was greatly alarmed at the news of this ſudden and ſurpriſing revolution in Ireland. His apprehenſions were increaſed when he heard that John earl of Lincoln, a brave and active nobleman, ſon to Elizabeth ducheſs of Suffolk, eldeſt ſiſter to the two late kings, had left the kingdom, and was gone to the court of his aunt, Margaret ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, his moſt inveterate and moſt formidable enemy. This convinced Henry that the plot now diſcloſed in Ireland had been formed in England, and would be ſupported by the earl of Lincoln, the ducheſs of Burgundy, and perhaps many others.

Queen Dowager confined.

Henry, on this occaſion, exerted his uſual activity, to prepare for his defence, and to diſcover the authors and favourers of this plot. With this view he held a council at Shene, with his moſt confidential friends. At the breaking up of this council an unexpected ſcene

was opened. The queen dowager was apprehended and conducted to the nunnery of Bermondſey, and all her eſtates and effects of every kind confiſcated. The reaſon aſſigned for this ſevere treatment of ſo near a relation was, that ſhe had left the ſanctuary at Weſtminſter, and put her daughters into the hands of the late king; a crime, if it was a crime, of a very old date, and ſuppoſed to have been long ago forgiven. But the real reaſon, as it was univerſally believed, was, that Henry had diſcovered that ſhe was concerned in the preſent plot to dethrone him: and when we conſider the reſtleſs intriguing ſpirit of the queen, and her hatred of Henry, for excluding her from all power, and for his harſh treatment of her daughter and the friends of her family, this will not appear improbable. Her ſon, the marquis of Dorſet, was committed to the Tower, to prevent the effects of his reſentment, for the confinement of his mother *. A. D. 1487.

The next ſtep taken by Henry to defeat the deſigns of his enemies was leſs violent and more effectual. He cauſed the real earl of Warwick to be carried in proceſſion through the principal ſtreets of London, permitting all who pleaſed, to approach his perſon and enter into converſation with him; after which he was conducted to St. Paul's, where the nobility and perſons of rank were introduced to him, and invited to aſk him ſuch queſtions as they thought proper, for their entire ſatisfaction. This contributed very much to keep the people of England quiet, and to prevent their promoting what they were convinced was an impoſition. It had little or no effect upon the Iriſh, who boldly affirmed, that the perſon exhibited by Henry was an impoſtor, and that they were in poſſeſſion of the true Plantagenet †. Earl of Warwick exhibited in London.

When the earl of Lincoln arrived at Bruſſels, and applied to Margaret ducheſs of Burgundy, he found her as forward to promote Simnel crowned.

* Polydore Virgil, p. 571. Bacon, p. 25. † Ibid.

A. D. 1487. any ſcheme for dethroning Henry as he could deſire. She accordingly furniſhed him and the lord Lovel, (who had taken ſhelter in her court,) with two thouſand German ſoldiers, commanded by Martin Swartz, a brave experienced officer; and with ſhipping to tranſport them to Ireland, where they landed March 19th, A. D. 1487. This reinforcement inſpired the Iriſh with ſo much confidence, that they prepared for the coronation of their pretended king; and all things being provided, Lambert Simnel was crowned (with a crown taken from an image of the Virgin Mary) by the archbiſhops of Armagh and Dublin, aſſiſted by other prelates and nobles, in the cathedral of Dublin *: a very extraordinary honour for the natural ſon of an obſcure mechanic! But this was the age of ſurpriſing revolutions.

The Iriſh, knowing that their own country could not long ſupport a court and army, and hoping to enrich themſelves with the ſpoils of England, determined to make that country the ſeat of the war. They embarked with their auxiliaries, and landed at the Pyle of Foudray in Lancaſhire, June 4th; where they were joined by Sir Thomas Broughton, a gentleman of conſiderable influence in thoſe parts. Being now about 8000 ſtrong, they advanced into Yorkſhire, expecting great reinforcements in that country: but in this they were diſappointed; the people, diſliking the Iriſh, and convinced that the pretended Edward VI. was an impoſtor, remained quiet.

Battle of Stoke. In the mean time Henry had not been idle. He publiſhed a general pardon to all who had engaged in this rebellion, upon their ſubmiſſion; he guarded the ports with great care; ſent ſpies into Ireland and Flanders; ſtationed couriers on the ſea-coaſts to bring him intelligence; viſited the ſhrines of the moſt celebrated ſaints to implore their protection; and provided an army to encounter his enemies. As ſoon as Henry heard of their landing, and the rout

* Hall, f. 9. Polydore Virgil, p. 572. Bacon, p. 31, &c. Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 332.

they

they had taken, he marched toward them with great diligence; A. D. 1487. and the two armies met on a plain at the village of Stoke near Newark, where a bloody battle was fought, June 16th, A. D. 1487. The leaders of the invaders expecting no mercy if they were taken, determined to conquer or die, and inſpired their followers with the ſame reſolution. The battle raged with uncommon fury no leſs than three hours, when the Iriſh, being deſtitute of defenſive armour, and no longer able to reſiſt the Engliſh archers, began to fly, and the king obtained a complete victory, at the expence of about 2000 of his beſt troops. Of the Iriſh and Germans about 4000, with the earl of Lincoln, lord Lovel, ſir Thomas Broughton, Martin Swartz, and all their other leaders, fell in the action, or in the purſuit *. Lambert Simnel and his preceptor, Richard Simon, were taken, and met with more merciful treatment than they had reaſon to expect. The prieſt was impriſoned for life; Simnel was firſt employed in the loweſt offices about the king's kitchen, and afterwards made one of his falconers †. It is in vain to gueſs at the motives to this lenity; they will never be known.

Delinquents puniſhed.

Henry ſpent the remainder of the ſummer in the north, making the moſt diligent inquiries after all who had aided the late invaders, or who had expreſſed any wiſhes for their ſucceſs. Few of the delinquents were put to death, but many of them were ſeverely fined; and the king, on this occaſion, diſcovered to the world that avarice was his ruling paſſion.

Speech to parliament.

Having reduced the country to order, he returned to the capital; finding it neceſſary to pay attention to the ſtate of affairs on the continent: and that he might be enabled to do this with effect, he called a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, November 9th, A. D. 1487. Morton, archbiſhop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, informed the two houſes of the reaſons which had deter-

* Hall, f. 10. Bacon, p. 35. † Hall, ibid.

mined

A. D. 1487. mined the king to call this parliament. " The cauſes," ſaid he, " of your preſent aſſembling are two: the one a foreign buſineſs; " the other, matter of government at home. 1. The French king " (as no doubt you have heard) maketh, at this preſent, hot war " on the duke of Britaine. His army is now before Nants, and " holdeth it ſtraitly beſieged, being the principal city in ſtrength " and wealth of that duchy. You may gueſs at his hopes, by his " attempting the hardeſt part of the work firſt. The cauſe of this " war he knoweth beſt. He alledgeth the entertaining and ſuccour- " ing of the duke of Orleans, and ſome other French lords, whom the " king taketh for his enemies. Others divine of other matters. Both " parties have, by their ambaſſadors, divers times prayed the king's " aids; the French king's aids or neutrality; the Brittons' aids " ſimply; for ſo their caſe requireth. The king, as a Chriſtian " prince, and bleſſed ſon of holy church, hath offered himſelf as " mediator, to treat a peace between them. The French king " yieldeth to treat, but will not ſtay the proſecution of the war. " The Brittons, that deſire peace moſt, hearken to it leaſt, not " upon confidence or ſtiffneſs, but upon diſtruſt of true meaning, " ſeeing the war goes on. So as the king, after as much care and " pains to effect a peace as ever he took in any buſineſs, not being " able to remove the proſecution on the one ſide, nor the diſtruſt on " the other, cauſed by that proſecution, hath let fall the treaty; not " repenting of it, but deſpairing of it now, as not likely to ſucceed. " Therefore, by this narrative you now underſtand the ſtate of the " queſtion, whereupon the king prayeth your advice; which is no " other, but whether he ſhall enter into an auxiliary and defenſive " war for the Brittons againſt France *." This ſpeech produced the deſired effect. The parliament granted the king a liberal ſupply, and adviſed him to enter into the war †.

* Bacon, p. 51, &c. † Parliament. Hiſt. vol. xi. p. 419.

Henry

A. D. 1487. The queen crowned.

Henry was not ignorant that many of his ſubjects, particularly the numerous friends of the houſe of York, were greatly offended at his unkind contemptuous treatment of his queen, in delaying her coronation ſo long; and therefore, to avoid the effects of their reſentment, he at length conſented to it; and that ceremony was performed, November 25th, A. D. 1487. About the ſame time he reſtored the marquis of Dorſet, the queen's uterine brother, to his liberty *.

1488. Earl of Northumberland killed.

Though the ſupplies for the war in Brittany had been cheerfully granted by parliament, they were not ſo cheerfully paid. The people in the counties of York and Durham oppoſed the collectors; and the earl of Northumberland found it neceſſary to acquaint the king with their oppoſition, and deſire directions how to proceed. Having received poſitive commands from court, to cauſe the tax to be levied with the greateſt ſtrictneſs, he communicated theſe commands to a meeting of the gentlemen of the county of York, in a tone, it is ſaid, rather too imperious. When the people were informed of this, they became furious and ungovernable; broke into the earl's houſe, and put him and ſeveral of his ſervants to death. Hitherto this mob had been conducted by one of their own number, called John a Chambre; but ſir John Egermond now placed himſelf at their head, and declared open war againſt Henry, as a tyrant and uſurper. As ſoon as the king received intelligence of this inſurrection, he diſpatched a body of troops, commanded by Thomas Howard earl of Surry, to meet the inſurgents, who diſperſed them without much difficulty. Sir John Egermond eſcaped to Flanders, but John a Chambre and twelve of the ringleaders of this mob were hanged at York, and the tax was levied without any further oppoſition †.

Truce with France.

Henry was far more active in collecting the ſupplies granted by the late parliament, than in applying them to the purpoſe for which

* Bacon, p. 38. † Hall, f. 16.

they

A. D. 1488. they were given. Reſolved, if poſſible, to keep the money in his own coffers, he ſent ambaſſadors to the king of France, March 17th, A. D. 1488, to negotiate, as he pretended, a peace between that king and the duke of Brittany, which he had told his parliament he knew to be in vain. The real buſineſs of theſe ambaſſadors was of a very different nature; and they actually concluded a truce between England and France, to continue to the 17th January, A. D. 1489, leaving the unhappy Brittons (who are not once mentioned in the treaty) a prey to their too powerful enemies *. What could be more baſe and diſhonourable than this tranſaction; more unjuſt to his own ſubjects; or more cruel and ungrateful to the duke of Brittany, by whom he had been ſo long protected and ſupported in his exile †?

Battle of St. Aubin.

The duke was now in great diſtreſs, with a powerful enemy in the heart of his dominions; but he had ſtill many brave captains and loyal ſubjects, who reſolved to make one great effort to ſave their prince and country. A conſiderable army was raiſed, and marched toward the enemy. The two armies met July 28th, A. D. 1488, near St. Aubin, where a battle was fought, in which the Brittons were defeated with great ſlaughter. Edward lord Woodville, brother to the queen dowager of England, (who had raiſed 400 men, and carried them into Brittany,) fell in this fatal action, with almoſt all his followers ‡.

Peace between France and Brittany.

By this defeat the affairs of the duke being almoſt quite deſperate, he humbly ſupplicated the king of France for peace; which that prince granted, not from generoſity or compaſſion, but from the fear of rouſing the king of England, whoſe intereſt it was to ſupport the duke, and whoſe ſubjects ardently deſired a war with France. By this peace, concluded in Auguſt, it was ſtipulated, that Charles

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 337. 344.

† Bacon, the great hiſtorian of this reign, knew nothing of this infamous treaty.

‡ Hall, f. 15. Bacon, p. 62.

ſhould

ſhould retain all the towns and forts he had taken, and withdraw the reſt of his army out of the country; which laſt article he eluded. A. D. 1488.

Francis II. duke of Brittany died September the 9th, a few days after the concluſion of this peace; leaving the princeſs Anne, his daughter, in her thirteenth year, heireſs of his dominions and diſtreſſes.

It would be tedious to conduct the reader through all the intricate mazes of Henry's policy on this occaſion. He certainly acted with much art and little honeſty; but, unfortunately for him, his antagoniſts were more artful and no honeſter than himſelf. The ends at which he aimed were theſe: to keep his money; to avoid war; and yet to preſerve Brittany from being annexed to France. All this he hoped to accompliſh by his ſuperior cunning. As ſoon as he heard of the death of duke Francis, he affected to feel the moſt tender concern for his daughter in her diſtreſs; he was loud and vehement in his declarations, that he would defend her and her dominions with all his power; and he ſent embaſſies with much parade into Flanders, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and even Italy, to make the French believe he was forming a powerful confederacy againſt them for the defence of Brittany *. But the French miniſters were too well acquainted with Henry's real character, to be either deceived or intimidated by theſe appearances. Henry's policy.

That the Brittons might not quite deſpair of ever receiving any aſſiſtance from England, and that the French might be induced to believe that he was now at laſt in earneſt, Henry concluded a treaty with the ducheſs Anne at Redon, February 10th, A. D. 1489, in which he engaged to ſend her an army of ſix thouſand archers, to remain in Brittany from the time of their landing to the 1ſt of November in the ſame year. But how cruel were the conditions on which this aid was granted? The moſt ample ſecurity was de- 1489. A treaty.

* Rym. Fœd. p. 348—389.

A. D. 1489. manded and given, by delivering certain ſtrong towns into the king's hands, for the repayment of every farthing expended in raiſing, tranſporting, paying, and maintaining theſe troops, till they were ſafely relanded in England, though he had actually received from his own ſubjects the ſupplies granted by parliament for the performance of this very ſervice. But, which is ſtill more extraordinary, in this treaty Henry reſerved to himſelf the power of obſerving his truce with France, which rendered theſe expenſive auxiliaries in a great meaſure uſeleſs. In a word, the moſt griping uſurer could not have made a harder bargain with his moſt neceſſitous debtor, than this great king made with the diſtreſſed princeſs, to whom he pretended to be a father and protector *.

Engliſh auxiliaries in Brittany.

The Engliſh auxiliaries landed in Brittany in March, where they remained in great tranquillity till November, when they all returned to England, except five hundred left to guard the cautionary towns. The French obſerved the truce with great ſtrictneſs, to deprive the Engliſh of any pretence for breaking it, and the campaign paſſed without any action †. In the mean time, the unfortunate Brittons were the only ſufferers, and actually ſuffered more from the protecting, than from the invading army.

Marriage.

Duke Francis had begun to negociate the marriage of his eldeſt daughter with Maximilian king of the Romans, from whom he expected aſſiſtance. Theſe negociations were now brought to a concluſion, and they were married in November this year by proxy, with this uncommon ceremony: the prince of Naſſau, Maximilian's proxy, put his naked leg into the bed where the young ducheſs was laid; as a kind of conſummation of the marriage. This tranſaction was kept a profound ſecret a conſiderable time.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 364—369.

† The hiſtorians, who knew not of the truce, ſay, there were ſome ſkirmiſhes; but theſe were probably only tilts or tournaments.

As

A. D. 1490. Treaty.

As the ducheſs Anne could not expect any preſent aid from Maximilian, whoſe affairs were much embroiled, ſhe was obliged to have recourſe again to the king of England; and gave a commiſſion, 15th February 1490, to her chancellor, and ſeveral others, to negociate with that prince for further aid. In that commiſſion, ſhe gave Henry many fair words, and conſtantly called him her lord and father *. But all this, and every thing the commiſſioners could ſay, made no impreſſion on Henry. Inſtead of obtaining aſſurances of further aids, (except in words,) he made them agree to a very diſadvantageous treaty, containing additional ſecurities for the repayment of the money expended on the late auxiliaries, and of his other expences in the affairs of Brittany; acting uniformly more like a covetous uſurer than a great prince †.

Henry threatens war.

This year was almoſt wholly ſpent in negociating various treaties with different princes and ſtates, on commercial and other ſubjects. In the treaties with the king of the Romans and the king and queen of Spain, it was agreed, that the three contracting parties ſhould declare war againſt king Charles, and invade France, for the recovery of their own rights and the rights of their allies, and particularly of Anne ducheſs of Brittany. As Henry's chief object in making theſe treaties was to intimidate the French, and to pleaſe his own ſubjects, who ardently deſired to defend Brittany, he took care to make them as public as poſſible, by cauſing them to be proclaimed in all the towns in every county of England, and to be communicated to the court of France by his ambaſſadors ‡.

1491.

Though the French miniſters did not yet believe that Henry really intended war, they were deſirous of diſcovering, if poſſible, what he did intend; and with this view they ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to London. Henry gave a commiſſion to his great confident, biſhop

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 387. † Ibid. p. 394. ‡ Ibid. p. 410. 431.

A. D. 1491. Fox, the earl of Ormond, and the prior of Canterbury, to treat with theſe ambaſſadors *. At their firſt meeting, Gaguien, prior of the order of the Holy Trinity, made a flaming harangue, in which he magnified, in very extravagant ſtrains, his maſter's admiration of the wiſdom, valour, and other virtues of the king of England; his warm affection and friendſhip for him; and his earneſt deſire to live at peace with him. As a proof of his entire confidence in his dearly beloved brother, he had deſired them to communicate to him a very important ſecret: that he deſigned in a ſhort time to lead an army in perſon into Italy, to aſſert his right to the kingdom of Naples, unjuſtly detained from him; and then to proceed to make war upon the Ottomans, for the recovery of the Holy Land. He had nothing at preſent to aſk, but a mere trifle, hardly worth mentioning. All the world knew, that their maſter was ſuperior lord of Brittany; and as ſuch, had a right to be guardian to the heireſs, and to diſpoſe of her in marriage; and hoped that the king of England would give him no oppoſition in the exerciſe of that right. The Engliſh told the ambaſſadors, they would conſult their maſter, and give them an anſwer in a few days. At their next meeting, biſhop Fox made a ſhort ſpeech, and told the ambaſſadors, that if their maſter had ſo great an affection for the king as they pretended, it would be better to ſhow it by actions, than only by words. As to the marriage of the heireſs of Brittany, the king would not meddle in it, if their maſter would marry by the book, and not by the ſword. He commended the pious deſign of making war upon the Turks; and when their maſter engaged in that war, the king would petition for a ſhare in the danger, expence, and glory of the expedition. If the French king is bound in honour, as you ſay, to aſſert his right to the kingdom of Naples, the king my maſter is bound by his honour to aſſert his right to Normandy, Guienne,

Speeches.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 410-431.

Anjou, and even to the kingdom of France *. This laſt ſtroke ſo irritated the ambaſſadors, that they replied with warmth, "The "king our ſovereign is able to defend his ſceptre with his ſword;" then broke off the conference, and departed. A. D. 1491.

In the beginning of this year the ducheſs of Brittany being involved in great diſtreſs and danger, ſent the prince of Orange, the earl of Dunois, and her chancellor Montaubon, to communicate the ſecret of her marriage with Maximilian to Henry, and to implore his protection. But they implored in vain. Nothing could move his covetous unfeeling heart to riſk any more money. On the contrary, he continually demanded, and obtained, from her ambaſſadors, additional ſecurities for the money he had expended. It is impoſſible to peruſe the treaties he made with the agents of this diſtreſſed princeſs in the courſe of this year, without feeling the moſt lively indignation at this ſelfiſh ſordid prince, who could ſee unmoved the only child of his protector ſtripped of all her dominions, when it was ſo much his intereſt, and ſo much in his power, to ſave her; and when his ſubjects panted for liberty to fly to her relief †. Henry's ungenerous behaviour to the Brittons.

When king Charles and his council conſidered the haughty anſwer given to their ambaſſadors, and were informed that no preparations were making for war in England, they were fully convinced that Henry's intention was to intimidate them with threats which he did not deſign to execute. They reſolved, therefore, to puſh the war, and finiſh the conqueſt of Brittany as ſoon as poſſible. With this view they collected all their forces, and inveſted Rennes, the capital of the duchy, and reſidence of the ducheſs ‡. Rennes beſieged.

* Bacon, p. 82—93. I ſuſpect theſe ſpeeches were made by the noble hiſtorian who hath recorded them. This practice of inſerting ſpeeches that were never ſpoken, gives an author an opportunity of diſplaying his eloquence, but at the expence of his veracity; the moſt valuable virtue of an hiſtorian.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 433. 437, 438, 439. 443. 456, 457, 458, 459.

‡ Ibid. p. 437. 444. 446. 455. 462.

In

A. D. 1491. Embaſſies.

In this extremity that diſtreſſed princeſs ſent two ſucceſſive embaſſies to Henry, to importune him for immediate relief, to prevent her from falling into the hands of her enemies. But nothing could prevail upon him to riſk any more of his money. He only renewed his threats of invading France, in conjunction with Maximilian king of the Romans, and Ferdinand king of Spain; and began to make ſome preparations for the execution of theſe threats *.

The French change their plan.

The ſiege of Rennes proved more tedious and difficult than was expected; and the French miniſters began to fear the interference of the neighbouring powers, particularly of England, whoſe intereſt it was to prevent ſo great an acceſſion to the monarchy of France. They therefore ſecretly formed a deſign of acquiring Brittany by a method more ſafe and eaſy than that of conqueſt. When this deſign was firſt formed cannot be diſcovered; becauſe it was conducted, from the beginning to the end, with the moſt profound ſecrecy, on which its ſucceſs depended. It is moſt probable that it was firſt thought of during the ſiege of Rennes. The mareſchal de Rieux, one of the chief inſtruments in its execution, certainly knew nothing of it when he was in England, in the ſummer this year, ſoliciting ſupplies †.

King of France and ducheſs of Brittany married.

Charles VIII. king of France, had been contracted ſeveral years to Margaret only daughter of Maximilian king of the Romans, and had received extenſive territories as her fortune. The young princeſs reſided at Paris, and bore the title of queen of France. Anne ducheſs of Brittany was married, with all the ſolemnities the church required, to Maximilian, and had taken the title of queen of the Romans. The council of France propoſed to diſſolve both theſe marriages, (as they may be called,) and to unite their ſovereign to the ducheſs in the ties of matrimony, and thereby get the peaceable poſſeſſion of her dominions. They gained the prince of Orange, the

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 437. 444. 446. 455. 462.

† Ibid. p. 444.

duke

duke of Orleans, the earl of Dunois, the mareſchal de Rieux, the chancellor Montaubon, and others, who, by their united efforts and inceſſant importunities, at length prevailed upon the young princeſs to give her conſent. Preliminaries were ſoon ſettled; the French were admitted into Rennes, and the royal nuptials were ſolemnized with great pomp, 16th December, A. D. 1491. A. D. 1491.

The news of this event threw Maximilian (who was moſt cruelly injured and affronted by it) into a furious rage, which he vented in bitter reproaches and threats of vengeance, that he had not power to execute. Henry was exceedingly chagrined to ſee all his fine political ſchemes defeated, and his precious treaſures, which he had expended on Brittany, in danger of being loſt. To prevent this greateſt of misfortunes, (as he eſteemed it,) he determined to make the moſt vigorous efforts. He had already made ſome preparations for war at the expence of his ſubjects, by exacting a benevolence, as it was very improperly called. This odious method of raiſing money was a direct violation of an act of parliament made in the reign of his immediate predeceſſor, on whom he had ſo liberally beſtowed the name of tyrant *. This benevolence was levied by commiſſioners appointed in every county, furniſhed with very artful enſnaring inſtructions †. Not contented with the great ſums of money raiſed by the benevolence, he called a parliament, which in its firſt ſeſſion granted him two-fifteenths. To this parliament, at the opening of its ſecond ſeſſion, January 26th, A. D. 1492, Henry made a ſpeech, in which he declared his reſolution to make immediate war on France, and never to deſiſt till he had ſubdued that kingdom. He put them in mind of the glorious victories of Creſſy, Poictiers, and Agincourt; of a king of France a priſoner in London, and a king of England crowned in Paris. The war, he ſaid, would be expenſive at firſt, but he hoped ſoon to make it maintain itſelf ‡. 1492. Henry prepares for a war with France;

* Statutes, 11 Rich. III. † Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 446, 447, 448. 464.
‡ Bacon, p. 96, 97, 98.

The

A. D. 1492. The parliament, tranſported with joy at the proſpect of a war with France, gave a kind of ſanction to the late illegal benevolence, by commanding the arrears of it to be levied, and made ſeveral acts relating to war *.

invades France; Henry having ſpent the greateſt part of this year in preparing for his intended expedition againſt France, ſailed from Sandwich, October 6th, attended by a ſplendid train of his nobility, and a gallant army of 25,000 foot, and 1,600 men at arms, and landed at Calais the ſame day †. This formidable invaſion occaſioned little or no alarm in France. The French miniſters perfectly well knew that Henry had no intention to fight, or make conqueſts. It is even probable, that the conditions of the peace had been ſettled before the embarkation, by Giles lord D'Aubeney, governor of Calais, and the mareſchal Des Quardes, governor of Picardy, who had been commiſſioned by the two kings, in the preceding harveſt, to meet and treat of peace ‡. However that may be, ſomething was to be done, to ſave appearances, and prevent the ſecret of the peace from tranſpiring too ſoon. The Engliſh army marched from Calais October 15th, and

makes peace. inveſted Boulogne, but made little progreſs in the ſiege. At the ſame time Henry received letters from his two allies, Ferdinand and Maximilian, informing him of what he very well knew, that they were not prepared for invading France, which he made as public in the army as poſſible, to abate their fondneſs for the war, and reconcile them to the approaching peace §. Fox, biſhop of Bath and Wells, and the lord D'Aubeney, were commiſſioned, October 29th, to treat with the mareſchal Des Quardes and others at Eſtaples, where, in three days, the plenipotentiaries ſettled all the conditions of the treaty, or rather bargain. When this treaty (by which Charles agreed to pay to the Engliſh monarch 620,000 crowns in gold, equivalent to 124,000 pounds, for the money he had expended on

* Statutes, 7 Hen. VII.
† Bacon, p. 103.
‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 481. 497.
§ Bacon, p. 110, 111.

Brittany,

Brittany, and 125,000 crowns, equivalent to 25,000 pounds, as arrears of the penſion granted by Lewis XI. to Edward IV.) was preſented to Henry, he affected to doubt whether he ſhould ratify it or not, and referred it to a council of the great lords and chief officers of his army for their advice. The members of this council, gained, as it is ſaid, by bribes and penſions from the king of France, adviſed their ſovereign to ratify the treaty, and preſented a long petition, containing their reaſons for this advice, which were chiefly theſe: the lateneſs of the ſeaſon; the difficulties of the ſiege; the failure of his allies; the greatneſs of the ſum to be received; the advantages of peace to commerce, &c. In this petition they were not aſhamed to affirm, that it was the moſt glorious peace that any king of England had ever made with a king of France; and declared, that if any of his ſubjects preſumed to find fault with it, they would defend it, or take all the blame of it upon themſelves *. With this petition, dictated by himſelf, the king complied, and ratified the treaty, November 6th, A. D. 1492. By ſuch a long train of crooked policy did this avaricious prince deceive and pillage his ſubjects, and diſgrace his country, to amaſs treaſures which he did not need, and had not the heart to uſe. A. D. 1492.

The great lords and chieftains who petitioned for the peace had probably been refunded the expences they had been at in preparing for the war. But this was not the caſe with many other gentlemen, who had borrowed money, or ſold their eſtates, to equip themſelves and followers, in hopes of gaining both riches and honours by their conqueſts; and were therefore very ill-pleaſed with this unexpected peace, which blaſted all their hopes. The people of England in general had been much diſpleaſed at the loſs of Brittany, and their diſcontents were greatly increaſed by the ſudden return of that expenſive armament, for which they had been ſo ſeverely taxed, with- 1493. Henry unpopular.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 490. 494. 501. 504.

A. D. 1493. out having performed any thing for the honour or advantage of their country. In a word, Henry was very unpopular at this period, when a pretender to his crown appeared, who is well known in hiſtory by the name of Perkin Warbeck, but who called himſelf Richard duke of York, the youngeſt ſon of Edward IV. late king of England.

Difficulty of diſcovering the truth.

It would be eaſy to adopt any one of theſe two opinions on this ſubject: 1. That Warbeck was an impoſtor; or, 2. That he was the real duke of York, and even to ſupport that opinion with plauſible and ſpecious arguments. But it is not ſo eaſy to eſtabliſh the truth of either of theſe opinions ſo fully and clearly as to leave no ground of doubt in the mind of an attentive and critical inquirer. The relation given of this matter by the noble hiſtorian of this reign, and implicitly followed by many ſubſequent hiſtorians, is too laboured and artificial to be ſtrictly true in all its parts; at leaſt many things are poſitively affirmed in it, without any proof, which he could hardly know, and which are exceedingly improbable. 1ſt, It is affirmed, that Margaret ducheſs dowager of Burgundy ſpent ſeveral years in ſearching for a young man to perſonate the duke of York, who ſhe knew to be dead, in order to pull down Henry, who was married to her niece, by whom he had two young princes of great hopes. This is a degree of perverſeneſs, wickedneſs, and malice, which is ſcarcely credible *. 2dly, It is affirmed further, that ſhe was ſo fortunate as to find a young man exactly of the age of the duke of York, who, beſides a ſtriking reſemblance in his perſon to Edward IV. was as admirably qualified to act the part deſigned, as if he had been created for that purpoſe. "Such a mercurial," to uſe the words of the noble hiſtorian, "as the like hath ſeldom been

* It cannot be denied that Margaret countenanced Lambert Simnel, knowing him to be an impoſtor. But Lambert was entirely in the power of the earl of Lincoln, her nephew, whom, it is probable, ſhe wiſhed to ſee on the throne. She had not now any prince of the houſe of York to ſubſtitute in the room of Henry.

"known;

" known; and had ſuch a crafty and bewitching faſhion, both to " move pity and induce belief, as was like a kind of faſcination or " enchantment *." Beſides, though he was the ſon of one John Oſbeck, a converted Jew, and had ſpent his youth in wandering from place to place, he acted the prince with as much dignity and propriety as if he had been educated in a court. 3dly, It is affirmed, that Margaret brought this young man to her court, but ſo ſecretly, that no perſon ſaw him or heard of him, and that ſhe privately inſtructed him in every thing relating to the perſons and characters of Edward IV. his queen, the princes their ſons, and the princeſſes their daughters, and all the little incidents that had happened in the court of England when the duke of York was a boy, though ſhe had left England ſeveral years before that duke was born. But how this hiſtorian came to the knowledge of all this we are not informed. 4thly, It is ſaid, that when Perkin was perfect in his leſſons, and able to anſwer all queſtions that could be put to him, he was ſent to Portugal, where he remained a whole year; during which the ducheſs took care to have a report propagated, that the duke of York was alive, and would ſoon make his appearance. Finally, We are informed, that when the war was ready to break out between France and England, Margaret, thinking this a proper ſeaſon to produce her pupil on the ſcene, ſent Perkin a meſſage to ſail into Ireland, where the houſe of York was much beloved, and there take upon him the name and character of Richard duke of York, which he did accordingly †. What truth may be in all this I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but I confeſs it ſeems to me more like a tale contrived to ſolve appearances, than genuine hiſtory ſupported by proper evidence. A. D. 1493.

When Perkin Warbeck, calling himſelf Richard duke of York, (how truly I ſhall by and by inquire,) arrived at Cork, he was Warbeck in Ireland;

* Bacon, p. 113, 114. † Id. p. 112—118.

A. D. 1493. joined by the mayor of that city, and ſeveral others. But the reſort to his ſtandard was far from being general. The Iriſh ſtill ſmarted from the wounds they had received in ſupporting Lambert Simnel; and were in general averſe to venture ſo ſoon upon a ſecond attempt of the ſame kind. Perkin wrote to the two potent earls of Deſmond and Kildare, intreating their aſſiſtance. But theſe noblemen were not willing to engage in ſo dangerous an undertaking *.

in France; When Perkin's affairs were in this unproſperous ſtate in Ireland, he received a meſſage by two ambaſſadors from the king of France, inviting him to Paris, and promiſing him protection and aſſiſtance. Having communicated this joyful news to his followers in Ireland, he embarked with the ambaſſadors. At his arrival in Paris, he was received by Charles with all the honours due to the duke of York; lodged, ſerved, and attended as a great prince, and a guard aſſigned for his honour and protection. Here he was joined by ſir George Nevil, and about a hundred other Engliſh gentlemen †.

in Flanders. This gale of proſperity was not of long duration. As ſoon as Charles was certain of a peace, a hint was given him to leave France. He obeyed with great celerity, for fear of being delivered to the king of England, went to the court of the ducheſs of Burgundy, preſented himſelf before her, as her unfortunate nephew Richard duke of York, and claimed her protection as her near relation. The ducheſs, it is ſaid, acted her part with great dexterity on this occaſion. She at firſt treated him roughly, calling him an impoſtor; ſaid ſhe had been once deceived, but would not be deceived a ſecond time. To prove him to be an impoſtor, in preſence of her whole court, ſhe aſked him many queſtions about king Edward, his queen and family, in which ſhe had before inſtructed him, and appeared aſtoniſhed at his anſwers. At length, as overcome by the force of evidence, ſhe embraced him in a tranſport of joy, and cried out,

* Bacon, 117, 118. † Id. p. 119.

" I have

"I have found my long loſt nephew; he is indeed the duke of "York *." She afterwards gave him the name of the White Roſe of England, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and treated him in all reſpects as the head of her family, and the undoubted heir of the crown of England †. A. D. 1493.

The news of theſe tranſactions ſoon reached England, and gave no little joy to people of all ranks, who either hated the king, or were attached to the houſe of York. But knowing the ſeverity of Henry's government, and that his ſpies were numerous, they were conſtrained to conceal their joy. Several gentlemen, however, of the York party held private conſultations, and ſent ſir Robert Clifford to Bruſſels to inveſtigate the truth. He was well received: and having had frequent converſations with Warbeck, he wrote to his friends in England, that he had been well acquainted with the perſon of the duke of York, and was ſo certain that this young man was that prince, that there remained no room for doubt ‡. A conſpiracy.

In the mean time Henry was not idle; he ſaw a ſtorm gathering around him, and prepared to meet it with calmneſs and intrepidity. His firſt care was, to endeavour to convince his ſubjects, that the duke of York had been put to death at the ſame time with his brother Edward V. There were only two perſons then alive who had been concerned in that horrid ſcene, ſir James Tirrel, lieutenant of the Tower, and John Dighton, one of the murderers. They were both committed to the Tower and examined, and their declarations publiſhed, which were to this purpoſe: That John Dighton and Miles Foreſt ſmothered the two princes in their bed, and then called in their maſter ſir James Tirrel, who ſaw their dead bodies laid forth naked; that they were firſt buried under the ſtairs, but afterwards removed by the prieſt of the Tower to another place, which could Endeavours to prove the death of the duke of York.

* Whether this great ducheſs was as good an actreſs as hiſtorians have repreſented her, may be doubted.

† Bacon. ‡ Id. p. 122.

not

A. D. 1493. not now be diſcovered, becauſe the prieſt was dead. When they had given this evidence of their own guilt, they were ſet at liberty, to the diſgrace of public juſtice. The teſtimony of ſuch miſcreants met with little credit; and Henry never made uſe of it in any of his ſubſequent declarations *.

Endeavours to diſcover Warbeck.

Henry's next care was to diſcover, if poſſible, the family and hiſtory of the adventurer who perſonated the duke of York. With this view he ſent ſeveral artful and truſty ſpies into the Low Countries, and from them, as it is ſaid, he received information of the following particulars: that he was the ſon of one John Oſbeck, a converted Jew of Tournay: that he was born in London: that Edward IV. had been his godfather, which is not very probable: that when he was a child, his parents had carried him with them to Tournay: that when he was a young boy he had lived ſome time with a relation at Antwerp, after which he became ſuch a wanderer, that he could be no further traced: only, it is added, that in all his wanderings, he converſed much with the Engliſh; but how this came to be known, when he could not be traced, it is difficult to conceive. It appears plainly to have been put in to account for his ſpeaking the Engliſh language ſo perfectly †. In a word, it is evident, that Henry, with all his art and induſtry, could diſcover very little of the hiſtory of this young man, whoever he was.

Warbeck betrayed.

Henry diſpatched other agents of higher rank, on a more diſhonourable buſineſs, in which they had better ſucceſs. Several gentlemen went over to Bruſſels; inſinuated themſelves into Warbeck's confidence, by pretending to be his moſt zealous partiſans, watched all his words and actions, and tranſmitted accounts of every thing to Henry; who pretended to be in a violent rage againſt them; declared them outlaws, and procured them to be excommunicated in the moſt public manner. He directed theſe agents to

* Bacon, p. 123. † Id. p. 114, 115.

ſpare

ſpare no expence to gain ſir Robert Clifford, which they accompliſhed; and he being Warbeck's greateſt confident, became a moſt dangerous enemy to him and his friends *. In conſequence of informations received from him, John Ratcliffe, lord Fitzwalter, ſir Simon Mountfort, ſir Thomas Thwaits, William Dawbigney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Creſſner, and Thomas Aſtwood, were all ſeized in one day, tried, and condemned as guilty of high treaſon, for correſponding with, and promiſing aid to, Perkin Warbeck. Lord Fitzwalter, ſir Simon Mountfort, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Dawbigney were ſoon after executed †. Theſe diſcoveries and executions ſtruck terror into all the partiſans of Perkin in England. They ſaw they were betrayed; they knew not whom to truſt, and could not form any confederacy. A. D. 1493.

Another diſcovery and execution followed, which ſtruck them with ſtill greater conſternation. Sir Robert Clifford returned to England, appeared before the king, ſitting in council in the Tower, January 7th, A. D. 1494, and accuſed ſir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, who was preſent, of high treaſon. Though Henry was in the ſecret, he affected to be exceedingly ſurpriſed, and to diſbelieve the accuſation; but ſir Robert perſiſting in it, the lord chamberlain was committed to priſon, tried, and found guilty. Our information of the particular facts with which he was charged, and of the evidence brought againſt him, is very imperfect. He is ſaid to have confeſſed rather too much, with a view to ſoften the king's diſpleaſure, and regain his favour. His accuſer, ſir Robert Clifford, ſwore, that he had declared to him, "if he were ſure that young "man (meaning Warbeck) were king Edward's ſon, he would "never bear arms againſt him." This, I imagine, was not treaſon 1494. Sir William Stanley beheaded.

* There is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that Clifford was an agent of Henry's from the beginning. He was of a Lancaſtrian family, the ſon of that lord Clifford who killed the young earl of Rutland at Wakefield.

† Bacon, p. 130, 131.

A. D. 1494. in the eye of the law, but it was the blackeſt treaſon in king Henry's eyes, who hated the houſe of York, and all who favoured its title. But though ſir William Stanley was condemned, it was not believed, either by himſelf or others, that the ſentence would be executed. It is hardly poſſible for one man to be under greater obligations to another, than Henry was to ſir William Stanley, and his brother lord Stanley, who was married to the king's mother. They ſaved his life, gained him the victory, and placed a crown upon his head, at Boſworth. But great obligations are apt to excite diſguſt, rather than gratitude, in haughty and ſelfiſh ſpirits. Beſide this, there were two other conſiderations, which had a powerful influence on Henry's hard and covetous heart. He knew that the execution of ſir William Stanley would convince all his ſubjects that they could expect no mercy, if they did any thing in favour of the pretender to his crown; and that the confiſcation of his great eſtate would fill his coffers *. Theſe conſiderations at laſt prevailed, and ſir William Stanley, the greateſt benefactor of an unrelenting maſter, was beheaded on Tower-hill, 16th February, A. D. 1495 †.

1495. Warbeck makes an attempt upon England. Henry's vigilance and ſeverity prevented any inſurrection in favour of Warbeck; and the princes on the continent were ſo much engaged in proſecuting their own ſchemes, that they could give him no aſſiſtance. He knew, however, that he had many friends in England who hated the king, and wiſhed for a revolution; and he determined to make a trial of their ſtrength and reſolution, by appearing among them. Having, with the aſſiſtance of his great patroneſs, the ducheſs of Burgundy, collected a conſiderable body of troops of different nations, and, in general, of deſperate fortunes, he embarked with them, and approached the coaſt of Kent,

* Sir William Stanley had an eſtate of 3000l. a year, (a great ſum in thoſe times,) 40,000 marks in money and plate, beſides jewels, furniture, horſes, cattle, ſheep, &c. to a great value.

† Bacon, p. 133, 134. Hall, f. 36.

near

near Sandwich, July 3d, A. D. 1495; when he commanded a party of his men to land, to gain intelligence, and invite the country to declare for him. But it being obſerved that they were all foreigners, and of a ſuſpicious appearance, the gentlemen and common people took arms, to protect their property from being plundered. They tried ſeveral ſtratagems to entice Warbeck to come on ſhore; but finding that he was on his guard, they fell upon his men who had landed, killed many, and took one hundred and fifty of them priſoners. By the king's command theſe were all hanged, to ſhew foreigners, as well as his own ſubjects, what they might expect if they engaged in ſuch attempts *. Warbeck, finding that none of his men returned, ſuſpected what had happened, and ſailed back to Flanders. A. D. 1495.

Warbeck ſoon had reaſon to fear that he would not long enjoy protection in that country. The interruption of trade between England and the Netherlands, which the protection already afforded him had occaſioned, was become very diſtreſsful to the Flemings; and the archduke Philip, their ſovereign, at their earneſt requeſt, was negociating a treaty of friendſhip and commerce with England. This treaty was concluded, 24th February, A. D. 1496; and by the fourth article, the contracting parties mutually agreed, not to admit the enemies of each other into their territories; and by the fifth article, each of the parties engaged to expel ſuch enemies of the other as had already been admitted into his territories, within a month after it was required †. Theſe articles were evidently deſigned to deprive Warbeck and his followers of that protection which they had hitherto enjoyed in Flanders. 1496. Treaty.

Warbeck was not ignorant of theſe tranſactions; and wiſely reſolving to depart before he was compelled, he ſailed, with ſuch followers as ſtill adhered to him, into Ireland. But there he found Warbeck in Ireland;

* Bacon, p. 141, 142. † Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 550.

A. D. 1496. that the people of all ranks, for various reaſons, were more averſe than ever to embark in his quarrel, which obliged him to ſeek for protection and aſſiſtance in another country *.

in Scotland. Henry, from the moment of his acceſſion, had endeavoured by all means to preſerve peace with Scotland. But theſe endeavours had not always been ſucceſsful, eſpecially after the acceſſion of James IV. who, being a young and warlike prince, was apt to reſent the incurſions of the borderers, which occaſioned frequent diſputes. Though the emperor Maximilian, the archduke Philip his ſon, and Charles king of France, were all at peace with Henry, and bound by treaties not to protect his enemies in their dominions; they did not really wiſh him well, and would have rejoiced to ſee his fall. Theſe princes, it is ſaid, gave Warbeck letters of recommendation to the king of Scotland, which determined him to direct his courſe to that country. When he arrived at Edinburgh, he was admitted to a ſolemn public audience of the king, at which he behaved with equal art and dignity. Having approached the king, ſeated on his throne and ſurrounded by his nobles, he addreſſed him in an eloquent ſpeech, to this purpoſe: That he was the unfortunate Richard duke of York, the youngeſt ſon of king Edward IV.: that he had been ſaved from death by the murderers of his brother Edward V., delivered from the Tower, conducted to the continent, and there abandoned, for what reaſon God only knew: that he then reſolved to conceal himſelf till the tyrant Richard III. died, when he propoſed to appear and claim the crown; but that one Henry Tudor had come from France and uſurped the throne: that after this he had led the life of a wretched wanderer ſeveral years; but that at length, being aſhamed of a way of life ſo unbecoming his birth, he had diſcovered himſelf to his dearly beloved aunt, the ducheſs of Burgundy, and to Charles king of France, who had both acknowledged

* Bacon, p. 148.

and

and assisted him; but that the providence of God had reserved the honour of raising him to the throne of his ancestors to the king of Scotland, in order to establish a perpetual amity between the two nations *. To this speech king James, it is said, replied, "That "whoever he was, he should never have reason to repent that he "had put himself under his protection." A. D. 1496.

A truce between England and Scotland had been concluded at Edinburgh, 25th June, A. D. 1493, to continue to the last day of April, A. D. 1501. By the fifth article of that truce it was stipulated, that neither of the two kings should admit the enemies of the other into his dominions, or give them any assistance †. This article was evidently intended by king Henry to prevent Perkin Warbeck, hi most dangerous enemy, from obtaining admission into, or assistance from, Scotland; and it could not but be so understood by king James. Besides this, Henry had always discovered a sincere desire to live at peace with James, to redress all his grievances, and even to enter into the most intimate connexion with him, by offering him his eldest daughter, the princess Margaret, in marriage, only a few days before Warbeck's arrival in Scotland ‡. Nor could James be ignorant of the danger of provoking so wise, brave, and fortunate a prince, possessed of so much power and wealth, by wantonly attempting to pull him from his throne, without any provocation. It must therefore have been some very powerful motive which determined king James to disregard so many obligations and inducements to live at peace with his powerful and friendly neighbour, unless we suppose him to have been an absolute madman, who had no concern either for his honour or his interest. In a word, it is hardly possible to conceive any other motive that can account for the conduct of king James on this occasion, but a

King James convinced that Warbeck was the duke of York.

* Bacon, p. 148—153. There is good reason to suspect that this harangue, given us at full length by the noble historian, was his own composition. The language of it is evidently more modern than that of the fifteenth century.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 535. ‡ Ibid. p. 635, 636.

A. D. 1496. full conviction that Warbeck really was what he pretended to be, the duke of York. Such a conviction may be ſuppoſed to have excited a very lively compaſſion in the boſom of James, a brave and generous prince, and to have made him overlook every other conſideration. It is a further proof that James was at this time convinced that Warbeck was not an impoſtor, that he conſented to his marriage with lady Katherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, one of the moſt noble, beautiful, and accompliſhed ladies in his dominions*. It is alſo probable, that James was made to believe that the people of England in general entertained the ſame favourable opinion of Warbeck, and that they would receive him with open arms, as ſoon as they ſaw him ſupported by a powerful army.

Warbeck's manifeſto.

King James, having determined to aid Warbeck, raiſed an army, with which he invaded England, in October, A. D. 1496, and publiſhed a manifeſto, inviting all the ſubjects of that kingdom to repair to the ſtandard of their rightful ſovereign, Richard IV. by the grace of God king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, and prince of Wales. This manifeſto, which is long and artfully drawn, narrated his deliverance from the Tower; the uſurpation of his crown by one Henry, ſon to Edmond Tudor, ſon to Owen Tudor, a man of low birth: this Henry's cruel perſecutions of him, and oppreſſions of his ſubjects: that he had now entered his kingdom, by the grace of God and the aid of his dearly beloved couſin the king of Scots, to aſſert his right, and confound the calumnies of the uſurper, who was preparing to leave the land with the treaſures he had amaſſed by his exactions. He then intreats and commands all his loving ſubjects to prevent the eſcape of his great enemy, and promiſes 1000l. in money, and 100 marks a year in land, to any who ſhall kill, or take him priſoner. He next promiſes to uſe his utmoſt efforts to repair the miſchiefs that had been done to the

* Bacon, p. 153.

kingdom

kingdom by the uſurper; "by his manifold treaſons, abominable "murders, manſlaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of "the people by diſmes, taſks, talliages, benevolences, and other un-"lawful impoſitions and grievous exactions." He threatened all who continued to adhere to his adverſary with the ſevereſt puniſhments, and promiſed a free pardon to all who abandoned him and returned to their duty. Finally, he invited and commanded all his ſubjects to attend his perſon in their moſt defenſible array *. A. D. 1496.

This manifeſto did not produce the deſired effect. Few or none of the Engliſh joined the invading army; which was not only owing to their doubts concerning Warbeck, but alſo to their national animoſity againſt the Scots; to their high opinion of Henry's policy and good fortune; and to their dread of his ſeverity. When the Scots (who for ſome time behaved as friends rather than enemies) obſerved that none of the Engliſh joined them, they had recourſe to the uſual way of making war on the borders, by ſpoiling and plundering the country. On this occaſion Warbeck, it is ſaid, acted the part of a good humane prince with great propriety, by expoſtulating with king James on this cruel method of making war; and declaring he would rather loſe a crown, than obtain it by the ruin of his ſubjects. James (who, it is probable, began now to ſuſpect that he had been deceived) anſwered peeviſhly, that he gave himſelf too much concern about ſubjects who did not acknowledge him for their ſovereign †. About the end of the year the Scots returned into their own country, to ſecure their booty.

Though Henry could not but be irritated at this deſtructive unprovoked invaſion, he had all his paſſions under ſuch ſubjection to his avarice, that he proceeded calmly in his plan of adding to his 1497. Parliament.

* See this manifeſto, Appendix, No. I. This copy, tranſcribed from MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum, is very different from that in ſir Francis Bacon's hiſtory of this reign, p. 154—160.

† Bacon, p. 160.

treaſures

A. D. 1497. treaſures by every event. In order to this, he gave a ſhocking exaggerated deſcription of the murders, rapes, burnings, and devaſtations committed by the Scots in their late invaſion, to a parliament which met at Weſtminſter, January 16th, A. D. 1497; and declared that he was determined, for his own honour, and the honour of the nation, to reſent this inſult in a ſignal manner. The parliament really felt the reſentment which their ſovereign feigned, and granted him 120,000l. for a war with Scotland, under certain reſtrictions, to prevent its being applied to any other purpoſe. But Henry, without the leaſt regard to theſe reſtrictions, immediately ſet about the collection of the money with his uſual ſtrictneſs *.

Inſurrection

Taxes are often more frankly impoſed than they are paid. The people of Cornwal, living far from the ſeat of danger, diſcovered great reluctance to the payment of this tax, in which they were encouraged by two popular demagogues, Michael Joſeph, a blackſmith, and Thomas Flammock, a country lawyer. Flammock, who was eſteemed a kind of oracle, aſſured them that this was an unlawful tax, which they were not obliged to pay; becauſe the barons in the north were bound by their tenures to defend the kingdom againſt the Scots. He adviſed them further, to take arms, to proceed to London in a peaceable and orderly manner, and to preſent a petition to the king, praying him to give up this unlawful tax, and to puniſh thoſe evil counſellors who adviſed him to oppreſs his ſubjects by ſuch heavy taxes. They followed this advice, aſſembled in great numbers, with belts, bows, pikes, and ſuch weapons as they could procure, and marched under the conduct of their two leaders, Flammock and Joſeph; their numbers daily increaſing as they advanced through the counties of Devon and Somerſet. When they arrived at Wells they amounted, it is ſaid, to 16,000. There Thomas Touchet, lord Audley, a nobleman of a reſtleſs ambitious ſpirit, put himſelf at their

* Records of Parl. vol. vii. Parl. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 441.

head, and conducted them towards the capital. They obliged him, A. D. 1497.
however, to deviate into Kent, in hopes that the people of that county would join them, which was prevented by the influence of the noblemen and gentlemen of the county. This diſappointment made ſome of the inſurgents deſert, and diſcouraged thoſe who remained. But as they met with no oppoſition, they ſtill advanced, and encamped at Blackheath, within ſight of London, about the middle of June *.

Though Henry had given theſe inſurgents no oppoſition in their progreſs, he was not ignorant of any of their proceedings, nor unprepared for their reception. He had collected a great army at London, compoſed of all the fighting men in the neighbouring counties, and had recalled the lord Daubeney, with the troops deſigned for an expedition againſt Scotland. This army was ſo much ſuperior to that of the inſurgents, that he divided it into three bodies; directing the firſt, commanded by the earl of Oxford, to take a compaſs and attack them in the rear, and the ſecond, commanded by lord Daubeney, to attack them in front, retaining the third about his own perſon, in St. George's Fields, to ſecure the city. Though the Corniſh were brave and ſtrong men, yet being undiſciplined and ill armed, they could not long reſiſt two ſuch attacks. About 2000 of them were killed, and almoſt all the reſt taken priſoners, June 22d, A. D. 1497. On this occaſion Henry acted with uncommon lenity; contenting himſelf with the execution of lord Audley and the two incendiaries, Flammock and Michael Joſeph; he gave up the other priſoners to the diſpoſal of their captors, who ſet them at liberty for two or three ſhillings a man †. ſuppreſſed.

While Henry was engaged with the Corniſh inſurgents, king James made a ſecond irruption into the north of England, and beſieged Invaſion.

* Hall, f. 42. Hollingſh. p. 781. Bacon, p. 163—166.
† Bacon, p. 163—172. Hall, f. 42, 43.

A. D. 1497. ſieged the caſtle of Norham, at the ſame time plundering the neighbourhood. But having received intelligence that the earl of Surrey was approaching with an army of 20,000 men, he raiſed the ſiege and retired into his own kingdom. The earl marched about four miles into Scotland, took and demoliſhed the little caſtle of Ayton, and then returned to Berwick, and diſbanded his army *.

Negociation. Henry earneſtly deſired a peace with Scotland, to deprive Warbeck of an aſylum in that country, whence he might give him frequent alarms: but was unwilling to be the firſt propoſer of peace, for fear of a repulſe. He prevailed, therefore, on Peter D'Ayala, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at his court, to go into Scotland, (where he had a commiſſion from his maſter to execute,) and endeavour to diſcover king James's inclinations as to peace or war. D'Ayala, finding that James was not averſe to peace, acquainted Henry, that if he would ſend proper perſons into Scotland, with full powers to treat, a peace or truce would be concluded. Henry, in conſequence of this information, gave the propoſed commiſſion, July 4th, to his great confident Richard Fox biſhop of Durham, and other two, who met with the plenipotentiaries of Scotland at Ayton, and entered on a negociation †.

Warbeck leaves Scotland. When king James reſolved to make peace with England, he intimated to Warbeck, in the ſofteſt terms, that it was become neceſſary for him to leave Scotland, and take up his reſidence in ſome other country. Warbeck, it is ſaid, behaved on this trying occaſion with compoſure and dignity. He thanked the king for the protection and aſſiſtance he had afforded him, and the many favours he had conferred upon him, of which, he ſaid, he ſhould ever retain a grateful remembrance. He then embarked, with his amiable conſort, (who would not forſake him,) and about 120 followers, and landed at Cork, July 30th.

* Bacon, p. 163—172. Hall, f. 42, 43. † Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 677.

The

The departure of Warbeck ſmoothed the road to peace between the two Britiſh monarchs, and a truce was ſubſcribed by the plenipotentiaries of both princes, in the church of Ayton, September 29th, A. D. 1491, to continue from that day for ſeven years *. Peter D'Ayala, who acted as mediator in this negociation, acquired great honour by his activity and impartiality, and was highly praiſed by both the contracting parties. About three months after, this truce was prolonged, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of the longeſt liver †. A. D. 1497. Truce.

Though Henry had happily repelled the attacks of his foreign enemies, quelled the inſurrections of his ſubjects, and made peace with all the neighbouring princes, and might therefore expect to enjoy ſome tranquillity, he was ſoon involved in new troubles. When the priſoners who had been taken at Blackheath, and had obtained their liberty with ſo much eaſe, returned home, they revived the hopes and inflamed the diſcontents of their countrymen, by telling them, that the king did not dare to put them to death, or to keep them priſoners, becauſe he knew that almoſt all his other ſubjects were diſcontented and ripe for rebellion. Upon hearing this, the people of Cornwal and Devonſhire, where the odious tax was ſtill collected with great ſeverity, flew to arms, and reſolved to make another attempt more directly againſt the king than the former. Having no perſon of eminence or ability to lead them, they turned their eyes towards Warbeck, and ſent meſſengers, it is ſaid, into Ireland, to invite him to come and put himſelf at their head. However that may be, Warbeck, either on information or invitation, ſailed from Ireland, and landed at Whitſand-bay, September 7th, A. D. 1498, with his wife and about a hundred men, who ſtill followed his fortunes. Being joined by three thouſand of the inſurgents 1498.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 678. † Ibid. p. 679.

A. D. 1498. at Bodmin, he publiſhed a manifeſto ſimilar to that which he had formerly publiſhed, with the neceſſary alterations *.

Exeter beſieged. Warbeck, by the advice of his confederates, beſieged Exeter, the ſtrongeſt and moſt opulent city in thoſe parts. But the citizens, dreading to be plundered by his undiſciplined followers, rejected all his fair promiſes, and reſolved to make a brave defence. As he had no artillery, he attempted to take the place by burning the gates and ſcaling the walls; but being repulſed, with the loſs of two hundred men, he raiſed the ſiege, and marched to Taunton in Somerſetſhire, September 20th †.

Warbeck in ſanctuary. In the mean time Henry, who could not be at eaſe while a pretender to his throne was at liberty, made much greater preparations than were neceſſary to cruſh ſo feeble an inſurrection, with a view to get Warbeck into his hands. He declared publicly, that now was the time for ſuch of his ſubjects as wiſhed to gain his favour, to exert themſelves in his ſervice. This engaged the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Devonſhire, and ſeveral other barons, to raiſe their forces and take the field. The lord D'Aubeney, with a conſiderable body of troops, advanced towards the enemy, announcing the approach of the king with a much greater army. Though the inſurgents were now become deſperate, and declared to Warbeck that they were ready to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his defence, yet ſeeing himſelf on the point of being attacked by forces ſo far ſuperior to his own, he fled in the night, and took ſanctuary in the monaſtery of Bewley ‡. The lord D'Aubeney having heard of Warbeck's flight, ſent five hundred horſe in purſuit of him, who arriving too late to prevent his admiſſion into the ſanctuary, ſurrounded it, to prevent his eſcape. When the inſurgents found that they were abandoned by their leader, they ſubmitted to the king's mercy, and

* Stowe, p. 480. Bacon, p. 179, 180. † Ibid. 181. Hall, f. 46.
‡ Stowe, p. 480.

were

were dismissed, except a few of the ringleaders, who were soon after hanged at Exeter *. A. D. 1498.

Lady Katherine Gordon.

The king being informed that the lady Katherine Gordon, spouse to Warbeck, was at St. Michael's-mount in Cornwal, sent a party of horse to bring her from thence. When she was brought into his presence, he was so much affected by her beauty, modesty, and distress, that he treated her with great tenderness, sent her to his queen, and settled upon her a decent allowance for her support. This unfortunate lady was long known in the court of England by the name of the White Rose; a name that had been given to her husband on account of his supposed birth, and continued to her on account of her innocence and beauty †.

Warbeck in custody

Henry now deliberated with his council what was to be done with Warbeck. Some advised to take him out of the sanctuary by force, and put him to death. But the violation of sanctuaries was a dangerous measure in those times, and would have embroiled the king with the pope and clergy. Others advised to tempt him to leave the sanctuary and surrender, by a promise of life. This promise was made and accepted. Warbeck came out of the sanctuary, was conducted to London, and carried through the principal streets of that city, November 28th, amidst the hisses, taunts, and insults of the mob, which he bore with dignity and composure. He was then committed to the custody of certain trusty keepers, with a strict charge not to suffer him to escape. Henry never admitted him into his presence, but gratified his curiosity by viewing him from a window ‡.

in the Tower.

Warbeck, impatient of restraint, escaped from his keepers, but finding that he was hotly pursued, and would soon be taken, he entered himself a sanctuary-man in the monastery of Shene in Surrey; and though the prior interceded with the king in his favour,

* Hollingshead, p. 784. Bacon, p. 181. † Ibid. p. 184.
‡ Ibid. p. 186. Stowe, p. 480.

A. D. 1498. he was taken from the ſanctuary and brought back to Weſtminſter. There he was prevailed upon to acknowledge that he was an impoſtor, and to give an account of his real family and adventures, which he read to the people from a ſcaffold near the gate of Weſtminſter-hall on one day, and on the next day from a ſcaffold in Cheapſide; after which he was committed to the Tower *.

Warbeck's confeſſion.

Almoſt all the means which Henry employed to convince his ſubjects that Warbeck was an impoſtor had a contrary effect. Even this confeſſion, which, it might have been imagined, would have removed all their doubts, rather increaſed them. It was very different from the account publiſhed by the king from the information of his ſpies, at the beginning of theſe troubles; and therefore both could not be true. Henry had publiſhed, that Warbeck was born in London, and that Edward IV. was his godfather. Warbeck declared in his confeſſion, that he was born at Tournay in Flanders, and that he had never been in any of the Britiſh iſles till he arrived at Cork, in the ſervice of a merchant. He added further, that when he appeared in that city, dreſſed in ſilk clothes belonging to his maſter, ſeveral people came to him, and affirmed that he was the earl of Warwick, who had formerly been at Dublin; which he denied, and made oath before the mayor, that he was not that earl: that they then affirmed he was the natural ſon of Richard III. which he alſo denied with many oaths: but at length, by their importunity, and giving him aſſurance of the ſupport of the earls of Deſmond and Kildare, they prevailed upon him to perſonate Richard duke of York. Theſe gentlemen, he ſaid, put him to learn Engliſh, and inſtructed him how to ſpeak and act in his new character. If this be true, it exculpates the ducheſs of Burgundy from being the contriver of this impoſture, and the inſtructreſs of this impoſtor. In a word, the people were diſappointed and diſſatisfied with this confeſſion, as it did not give them the ſatisfactory information they expected †.

* Hall, f. 49.

† See Warbeck's confeſſion, Appendix, No. II.

When Warbeck had remained ſome months in the Tower, he formed a ſcheme for effecting an eſcape; gained four of his keepers, and communicated his deſign to his unhappy fellow-priſoner, Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, who agreed to accompany him in his flight. This plot being diſcovered, Warbeck was tried for attempting to eſcape out of priſon, with a deſign to excite a new inſurrection, found guilty, and hanged at Tyburn, 23d November, A. D. 1499; with John O'Water, late mayor of Cork, one of his moſt zealous accomplices. From the ſcaffold on which he was executed, Warbeck read his former confeſſion to the people, with a declaration that it was true *. Thus died this extraordinary perſon, concerning whoſe real birth and character ſuch different opinions have been entertained, ſo much has been ſaid and written, and ſo much is ſtill wanting to render that part of our hiſtory perfectly clear and ſatisfactory. My own private opinion, with the reaſons on which it is founded, I have thrown into the Appendix, N° III. to prevent the interruption of the narrative by controverſy.

A. D. 1499. Warbeck executed.

The earl of Warwick was brought to his trial, November 21ſt; and being accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt the king's perſon and government, he confeſſed the crime, (which he was incapable of committing,) and threw himſelf upon the king's mercy. But no mercy reſided in the unrelenting heart of Henry. Being condemned by his peers, who muſt bear their ſhare of the guilt and infamy of this barbarous murder, he was beheaded on Tower-hill, 28th November, A. D. 1499 †. Thus fell, by the hands of the executioner, the laſt of the male line of the Plantagenets, who had reigned in England 331 years, from the acceſſion of Henry II. A. D. 1154, to the acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485. It would be difficult to find in hiſtory a more ill-fated prince than Edward earl of Warwick: without any crime but his high birth, he was confined in

Earl of Warwick executed.

* Hall, f. 51. Bacon, p. 194. † Hall, and Bacon, ibid.

priſon

A. D. 1499. priſon from his childhood; denied all means of information, and all intercourſe with man; and finiſhed his wretched life by a violent death. Can any political conſiderations juſtify ſuch horrid cruelty, or ſcreen the perpetrators of it from the execration of poſterity? It brought much odium upon Henry at the time, of which he endeavoured to transfer a part to another artful tyrant, Ferdinand king of Spain, who refuſed to give his daughter in marriage to the prince of Wales while the earl of Warwick lived.

1500. Henry at Calais. In this and all the ſucceeding years of this reign, England was neither diſturbed by foreign invaſions nor internal inſurrections; and Henry was chiefly employed in ſtrengthening the bonds of peace between him and all the neighbouring princes; in amaſſing treaſure, which he had always moſt at heart; and in diſpoſing of his children in marriage. To avoid a dreadful peſtilence which raged in England this year, he ſailed with his queen and court to Calais, 8th May, and had an interview with Philip, archduke of Auſtria and ſovereign of Burgundy and Flanders, near that place. At this interview theſe two princes treated one another with the higheſt marks of reſpect, the warmeſt expreſſions of friendſhip, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the faithful obſervance of the commercial treaty which had lately been concluded. The archduke flattered the king agreeably, by calling him his father and protector. In a word, Henry was ſo well pleaſed, that he ſent a circumſtantial account of what had paſſed at this interview, to the mayor and aldermen of London, which occaſioned great rejoicing in the city. The peſtilence being now abated, the king, queen, and court returned to England in June *.

Henry lived in perfect harmony with Charles VIII. and his ſucceſſor Lewis XII. kings of France, ever ſince the peace of Eſtaples. Theſe princes being engaged in the wars of Italy, found it neceſſary to cultivate peace with England, and paid the annuity of 25,000 crowns, ſtipulated by that peace, with great punctuality.

* Hall, f. 51. Stowe, p. 481.

To

A. D. 1500. Marriages.

To render the peace with Scotland more ſecure and permanent, which Henry very much deſired, a ſcheme was formed for uniting the royal families, by a marriage between king James and the princeſs Margaret, Henry's eldeſt daughter. This propoſal, as it was moſt decent, was made by James, and joyfully liſtened to by Henry. The terms of the contract of this marriage were ſoon and eaſily ſettled by the plenipotentiaries of the two kings. A diſpenſation from the pope was obtained in the month of July this year *. But as the royal bride was only in the eleventh year of her age, the marriage was not conſummated till about three years after. A treaty of marriage between Arthur prince of Wales and the princeſs Catherine, third daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Spain, had been negociated for ſeveral years, and was at laſt concluded, between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings, at Bewdley in the dioceſe of Hereford, 19th May, 1499; but the princeſs did not arrive in England till October 2d, 1501, and the marriage was celebrated with great pomp in St. Paul's, November 14th. Theſe two marriages, in the courſe of time, were productive of the moſt important conſequences. They were among the happieſt events in the annals of this iſland, and of unſpeakable advantage to both kingdoms †. The ſecond of theſe marriages proved the remote occaſion of the reformation of religion.

1501. Henry's arts of gaining money.

Few princes have been better acquainted with the enriching arts of getting and keeping money than Henry VII. It would be endleſs, and indeed impoſſible, to enumerate all the arts of this kind which he put in practice; but it may be proper to mention a few of them. War, which empties the coffers of other princes, contributed greatly to fill thoſe of Henry. He well knew that his ſubjects conſidered the French and the Scots as their natural enemies, and that to propoſe a war with either of theſe nations, would procure

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xii. p. 765. † Ibid. p. 756. 780.

an

A. D. 1501. an ample ſupply from his parliament. Such wars were therefore once and again propoſed; and when he had thereby obtained a ſupply, he immediately concluded a peace, and kept the money. The inſurrections with which he was haraſſed in the firſt years of his reign, he contrived to render no leſs lucrative, by the forfeitures of the noblemen and gentlemen concerned in them; and by exacting as heavy fines and compoſitions from thoſe of inferior rank who had favoured them, as they were able to bear. Many penal laws had been enacted in former ages, which, by the lapſe of time and the change of circumſtances, had become obſolete and forgotten. He employed in his ſervice certain expert lawyers, who ſearched into theſe laws, and who employed innumerable ſpies in all parts of the kingdom, to diſcover thoſe who had tranſgreſſed them. Theſe unhappy perſons were apprehended and caſt into priſon, where they were long detained without being brought to trial; and, in the mean time, frequent alarms were given them of their danger, till they were brought to offer large compoſitions to obtain deliverance. Such of them as obſtinately refuſed to compound for their delinquency were tried; not before the ordinary courts of juſtice, but before commiſſioners appointed by the king for that purpoſe, who tried and condemned them in a ſummary manner, without juries and without witneſſes. Many gentlemen who had born offices were accuſed before theſe commiſſioners of certain miſdemeanours, which it was pretended they had committed in the execution of their offices. The ſame arts were practiſed with thoſe gentlemen to bring them to offer compoſitions; and if they refuſed, they were tried, condemned, and ſeverely fined. For example, ſir William Capel, who had been lord mayor of London, was fined 2,700l. and, after a long ſtruggle, and remaining ſeveral years in priſon, was forced to compound for 1,600l.; Thomas Kneſworth, mayor of London, and his two ſheriffs, ſuffered a long impriſonment, and at length obtained their deliverance by the payment of 1,400l.; Chriſtopher Hawis,

Hawis, mercer and alderman of London, was ſo haraſſed by thoſe inquiſitors, that he died of a broken heart; ſir Lawrence Alemore and his two ſheriffs were fined 1000l. and committed to priſon, but obtained their deliverance by the king's death *. The feudal ſyſtem of government had been long upon the decline in England; and the ſeveral preſtations drawn by thoſe who held their lands of the crown had, in ſome preceding reigns, been levied with leſs ſtrictneſs than formerly. But Henry compelled the tenants of the crown to pay the full amount of all theſe preſtations. Beſide this, many gentlemen, who held their lands by other tenures, were brought before the king's commiſſioners, and compelled to ſubmit to the payment of all the feudal preſtations, to avoid greater inconveniences, with which they were threatened. A. D. 1501.

Outlaws on perſonal actions were compelled to pay exorbitant ſums, before they could obtain their charters of pardon. Several laws were enacted which had a ſpecious appearance of promoting the public good, but in reality were only intended to increaſe the revenues of the crown. In a word, hardly any juſtice, and no favour, could be obtained from theſe commiſſioners of the king, without paying for it a very extravagant price. Theſe were a few of the arts by which this avaricious monarch haraſſed his ſubjects, and increaſed his treaſures. Sir Richard Empſon and Edmond Dudley, two bold unfeeling lawyers, with their ſpies and informers, were the chief inſtruments employed by Henry in theſe iniquitous tranſactions.

Earl of Oxford's compoſition.

So unrelenting was the avarice of this prince, that his beſt and moſt zealous friends, who had done him the moſt eſſential ſervices, were not exempted from theſe exactions. John de Vere, earl of Oxford, had been a moſt zealous Lancaſtrian, and had done and ſuffered more for that cauſe than any other perſon. His great eſtate had been twice forfeited, and he had endured a long impriſonment

* Stowe, p. 485.

A. D. 1501. in the caſtle of Hams, from which he had made his eſcape; joined Henry, when he was earl of Richmond, in France; came over with him into England; and contributed greatly, by his valour and military ſkill, to the victory at Boſworth. This nobleman entertained the king ſeveral days in a ſplendid and ſumptuous manner at his caſtle of Heddingham. At the departure of his royal gueſt, the earl's ſervants, friends, and retainers, in their livery-coats and cogniſances, were ranged in two lines, between which he was to paſs. The king obſerving their rich dreſſes and prodigious numbers, called to the earl and ſaid, "My lord, I have heard much of your hoſpitality; but I "ſee it is greater than the ſpeech. Theſe handſome gentlemen and "yeomen, which I ſee on both ſides of me, are ſure your menial ſervants." The earl ſmiled, and ſaid, "It may pleaſe your grace, "that were not for mine eaſe: they are moſt of them my retainers, "that are come to do me ſervice at ſuch a time as this, and chiefly to "ſee your grace." The king ſtarted a little, and ſaid, "By my "faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I may not "endure to have my laws broken in my ſight: my attorney muſt "ſpeak with you." The earl was accordingly proſecuted for tranſgreſſing the laws againſt retainers, and forced to compound for no leſs than 15,000 marks *. Henry did not only graſp with eagerneſs at great forfeitures and compoſitions, but was attentive to the moſt trifling gains. Of this the noble hiſtorian of this reign gives us the following remarkable example: "I remember to have ſeen," ſays he, "a book of accounts of Empſon's, that had the king's hand "almoſt to every leaf by way of ſigning, and was in ſome places "poſtilled in the margin with the king's hand likewiſe, where was "this remembrance: "*Item*, Received from ſuch a one five marks, "for a pardon to be procured; and if the pardon do not paſs, the "money to be repaid, except the party be ſome otherways ſatisfied."

* Bacon, p. 211.

"And

" And over againſt this memorandum, in the king's own hand, " OTHERWAYS SATISFIED *." A. D. 1501.

Arts of ſaving money.

Henry excelled no leſs in the arts of ſaving than of obtaining money; the expences of his houſehold were regulated by the moſt ſtrict and correct œconomy. He conſtituted his ſecond ſon, Henry duke of York, warden of the marches toward Scotland, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, when he was only two years of age. In the management of his greateſt affairs, and in his embaſſies to foreign courts, he chiefly employed clergymen, and rewarded them with preferments in the church, inſtead of money, &c. &c. By theſe, and other arts of the ſame kind, this prince collected a greater maſs of money than ever was in the poſſeſſion of any former king of England. This, it is ſaid, at length amounted to 1,800,000l. in money, beſide plate and jewels, all which he kept with the moſt anxious care in ſecret apartments of his palace at Richmond, under his own lock and key.

1502. Death of prince Arthur.

Arthur prince of Wales, and the princeſs Catherine of Spain his conſort, ſoon after their marriage, were conducted to the caſtle of Ludlow, the place appointed for their ſtated reſidence; there, in the ſpring of the year, the prince fell into a diſtemper of which he died, April the 2d. This event, no doubt, affected Henry as a parent; but it ſeems to have afflicted him full as much from his apprehenſions of the loſs of money it was likely to occaſion. The fortune of the princeſs was 200,000 crowns, of which Henry had received 100,000. Her dowry, as princeſs dowager of Wales, was to be one third part of the revenues of the principality of Wales, of the dukedom of Cornwal, and earldom of Cheſter. If the princeſs were ſent back to Spain, that part of her fortune which had been received muſt have been returned; and it might alſo have weakened that ſtrict union which had long ſubſiſted between the courts of Spain and England. If ſhe

* Bacon, p. 212.

A. D. 1502. continued to reſide in England, ſhe muſt have enjoyed her dower. Neither of theſe alternatives could be agreeable to a prince of Henry's diſpoſition.

Projected marriage.

To avoid theſe inconveniences, Henry formed the extraordinary ſcheme of a marriage between his only ſurviving ſon, Henry duke of York, then in the eleventh year of his age, and the widow of his late brother prince Arthur; though ſhe had cohabited with that prince five months, and from an apprehenſion that ſhe might be with child, the king abſtained ſeveral months from creating his ſon Henry, prince of Wales. This extraordinary project being communicated to Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Spain, met with their approbation, and ſteps were ſoon after taken to carry it into execution.

Earl of Suffolk.

Henry's hatred and jealouſy of the houſe of York ſtill continued unabated. John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, died A. D. 1491; leaving Edmund de la Pole his ſon and heir. But Henry diſputed the ſucceſſion to the eſtate and honours of his family, and forced him to a compromiſe, by which he was permitted to enjoy the title of the earl of Suffolk, and the eſtate of that earldom *. This nobleman had the misfortune to kill a man in a ſudden guſt of paſſion, for which he was arraigned and tried in the court of King's Bench, and then obtained a pardon. Diſguſted at theſe injuries and affronts, he went out of the kingdom, without leave, to the court of Margaret ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, his aunt. Henry, by ſending him ſolemn promiſes of forgiveneſs and good uſage, prevailed upon him to return to England, A. D. 1501. But the earl having contracted a heavy load of debt, by his extravagant expences at the marriage of prince Arthur, he became uneaſy, and fled into Flanders in the ſpring of this year. Henry now became apprehenſive that he had accomplices in England, and that an inſurrection

* Rotuli Parliamentorum, tom. vi. p. 474, &c.

was

was intended; he therefore directed ſir Robert Curſon, governor of the caſtle of Hams, to join the earl of Suffolk at Bruſſels, inſinuate himſelf into his favour, and diſcover his deſigns and accomplices. In conſequence of informations ſent by this emiſſary, the lord William Courteney, brother to the earl of Devonſhire, ſir James Tyrrel, ſir John Windham, and ſome other gentlemen, were apprehended, tried, and found guilty of treaſon. Sir James Tyrrel and ſir William Wyndham were beheaded on Tower-hill, May 6th, 1502. The unhappy earl of Suffolk, on the death of his aunt Margaret, was reduced to great diſtreſs, and wandered about in France and Germany, but was at length permitted by the archduke of Auſtria to reſide privately in Flanders *. A. D. 1502.

Henry ſuſtained another loſs in his family by the death of his amiable conſort, queen Elizabeth, on Saturday, February 11th, A. D. 1503. She had been delivered of a daughter upon Candlemas-day preceding, and her child ſurvived her only a few days. As this princeſs had never gained the affection of her huſband, it is probable that her death did not give him much concern; and he ſoon after began to think of a ſecond marriage †. 1503. Death of the queen.

Henry and the king and queen of Spain having given full powers to their plenipotentiaries to negociate the contract of marriage between prince Henry, lately created prince of Wales, and Catherine princeſs dowager of Wales, his late brother's widow, that contract was ſigned June 23d, A. D. 1503; but as the prince was then hardly twelve years of age, the conſummation of the marriage was ſeveral years delayed, and did not actually take place till after the death of the king his father; though a papal diſpenſation for it was granted December 26th, A. D. 1503 ‡. Marriage.

One of the preſtations due by thoſe who held their lands of the crown *in capite*, by the feudal ſyſtem of government, was an aid to the 1504. Parliament.

* Bacon, p. 203. Hall, f. 54. Stowe, p. 484.
† Stowe, p. 484.
‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 75, &c. Bacon, p. 216.

king

A. D. 1504. king for knighting his eldeſt ſon, and marrying his eldeſt daughter. Henry had knighted his eldeſt ſon, prince Arthur, before his marriage; and had lately married his eldeſt daughter, the princeſs Margaret, to the king of Scotland; and would not ſuffer ſuch an opportunity of getting money to eſcape. He therefore called a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter on the 25th of January, of which Edmond Dudley, the moſt hated man in the kingdom, was choſen ſpeaker: ſo abſolute was Henry now become. The parliament, to avoid the trouble and perplexity of levying theſe obſolete aids according to the ancient cuſtom, made him a grant of 40,000l. of which he was graciouſly pleaſed to remit 10,000l., and was ſtill a conſiderable gainer. At this parliament too, ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen were attainted, and their eſtates forfeited; ſome of them for offences of a very old date. Among theſe were, Edmond earl of Suffolk, the lord William Courteney, ſir James Tyrrel, ſir George Nevil, ſir Thomas Wyndham, &c. Not contented with theſe grants and forfeitures, Henry appointed commiſſioners for a general benevolence, though he was engaged in no war, nor involved in any troubles which could occaſion an extraordinary expence *.

1505. Marriage. Henry, after ſome time ſpent in deliberation, fixed upon the queen dowager of Naples, who had a very large dower aſſigned her by her late huſband, king Ferdinand, for his ſecond wife: but he reſolved to proceed with caution. He ſent three gentlemen to Naples, not inveſted with any public character, but furniſhed with letters from the princeſs of Wales, which procured them acceſs to the intended bride. He gave theſe gentlemen very particular directions to obſerve attentively the complexion, ſtature, health, temper, inclinations, and behaviour of the queen, and to examine into the ſtate and value of her dower. Theſe gentlemen made a very favourable report of the perſon and character of the queen; but informed him, that the

* Rotuli Parliamentorum, tom. vi. p. 532, &c.

reigning king of Naples had deprived her of her dower, and had granted her a moderate penſion for life. This extinguiſhed Henry's love in a moment, and put an end to that project *. A. D. 1505.

Philip archduke of Auſtria had married the princeſs Jane, eldeſt ſurviving daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, king and queen of Spain. That princeſs, by the death of her mother Iſabella, heireſs of Caſtile, was become the heireſs of that kingdom: her father Ferdinand of Arragon had been appointed adminiſtrator of Caſtile, by the laſt will of his deceaſed conſort; but the archduke, intending to hold the poſſeſſion of the crown of Caſtile with his father-in-law, embarked, with his conſort and court, on the 10th of January, for Spain; but his fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and his own ſhip with much difficulty got into the port of Weymouth, January 26th. Philip and queen Jane being extremely ſick, went on ſhore, contrary to the advice of his council. 1506. King of Caſtile in England.

As ſoon as Henry was informed of this event, he ſent the earl of Arundel, with a ſplendid retinue, to compliment Philip and the queen, and aſſure them that his ſovereign was on the way to wait upon them. Philip, finding that it would be impoſſible for him to avoid the king's viſit, immediately ſet out for Windſor, where he was received by Henry with every poſſible demonſtration of reſpect and friendſhip †.

Henry, having the archduke and his conſort, the queen of Caſtile, now in his poſſeſſion, began to ruminate upon what advantage might be derived from this accident. Among other things, he prevailed upon Philip, who could deny him nothing, to make a new commercial treaty, much more advantageous to the Engliſh than the former, which had been called by the people of the Low Countries *intercurſus magnus*, or the great treaty; this was called by them *intercurſus malus*, or the bad treaty ‡. Treaty.

* Bacon, p. 218, &c. † Ibid. p. 223.
‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 126.

Henry

A. D. 1506. Treaty of marriage.

Henry then intimated to Philip his deſire to marry his ſiſter Margaret ducheſs dowager of Savoy. To this Philip cheerfully conſented. Thomas Wolſey, then chaplain to the king, who afterwards made ſo diſtinguiſhed a figure, was employed to negociate this treaty, which was concluded at Windſor, March 20th. By this treaty, Philip engaged to give with the ducheſs, his ſiſter, 300,000 crowns of gold, and an yearly penſion of 3,850 crowns. By the treaty it was agreed, for the further ſecurity of the money, that the principal lords of the Low Countries ſhould become bound by oath for the payment *.

Earl of Suffolk.

Henry, not yet contented with theſe advantages, preſſed Philip to deliver Edmond de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, into his hands; and Philip expreſſing great reluctance to betray a nobleman who had truſted in his protection, Henry gave him aſſurances that he would not put the earl to death, and contrived to make his return to England appear voluntary. He was accordingly brought to Dover, delivered to Henry, and committed to the Tower; he having given his conſent to return, upon being aſſured of his life. Henry, after inveſting Philip with the order of the garter, and entertaining him magnificently about three months, having obtained all the advantages he could expect, ſuffered him to purſue his voyage into Spain †.

1507. Treaty of marriage.

When Philip was in England, ſome propoſals were made of a marriage between his ſon, Charles prince of Caſtile, and the princeſs Mary, Henry's youngeſt daughter; and ambaſſadors were appointed to negociate that treaty, which was at length concluded and ſigned at Calais, December 21ſt, A. D. 1507. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, that Charles ſhould marry the princeſs as ſoon as he was fourteen years of age, and her fortune was fixed at 250,000 crowns of gold. Such advantageous bargains did Henry make, that, though an old man, he was to receive a much greater fortune with the

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 126—132. † Bacon, p. 223.

ducheſs

ducheſs of Savoy, than he was to give with his daughter Mary, to Charles, the youthful heir of all the extenſive dominions of Auſtria and Spain *. A. D. 1507.

Henry had for ſome years paſt been much afflicted with the gout, and about this time fell into a declining ſtate of health, which gradually impaired his ſtrength, and threatened his diſſolution. This put an end to all his thoughts of marriage, and engaged him to make preparations for his approaching death, by acts of mercy, juſtice, and piety. Beſides granting a general pardon, excepting to thieves and murderers, and a few particular perſons, he paid the debts of all the priſoners in London and Weſtminſter who were confined for forty ſhillings, or under, and ſet them at liberty †. 1508. Henry prepares for death.

Henry, perceiving the approaches of death, made his laſt will and teſtament, at his palace of Richmond, on the laſt day of March, A. D. 1509. Some of our hiſtorians had ſo good an opinion of this prince, that they aſſure us his ſoul aſcended to heaven as ſoon as it left his body ‡. But he does not ſeem to have entertained ſuch ſanguine hopes himſelf, but rather to have been very apprehenſive of the pains of purgatory, if not of ſomething worſe. This appears from the whole ſtrain of his laſt will, which is, in many reſpects, a curious compoſition, and exhibits a lively picture of his mind at that awful ſeaſon. Diſquieted by a ſenſe of guilt and a dread of puniſhment, he fled to the arts of ſuperſtition for relief. But, accuſtomed to make good bargains, he took every poſſible precaution to ſecure a ſufficient number of maſſes and prayers of the beſt quality for his money. He directed his executors to cauſe two thouſand maſſes to be ſaid for his ſoul within a month after his deceaſe, at the rate of ſix-pence a piece. He ordered them alſo to diſtribute 2000 l. to priſoners and poor people of different denominations, upon condition that they prayed fervently for his ſoul by name. "And in 1509. Laſt Will.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 271. † Hall, f. 51. ‡ Id. Ibid. Bacon, p. 232.

A. D. 1509. "this partie," ſaid he, "we hertily deſire our executours to thinke "and conſidere howe neceſſarie behoofull and howe profitable it is to "dede folks to bee praied for." He had ſome time before entered into formal contracts with the clergy of all the cathedrals, conventual and collegiate churches, in the kingdom, to ſay a certain number of maſſes and prayers for certain ſums of money; and he now granted them, by his will, additional ſums, to engage them to ſay their maſſes with greater ſolemnity, and their prayers with greater fervency. To relieve his mind from the anxiety under which it laboured on account of his oppreſſive exactions, he conſtituted a number of commiſſioners, with authority to make reſtitution to all whom he had injured and oppreſſed. But ſtill, to prevent impoſition, he directed them to make no reſtitution to any for what had been taken from them by courſe of law, which was the moſt common method of his oppreſſive exactions; and he appointed Empſon and Dudley, the two chief inſtruments of his oppreſſion, two of theſe commiſſioners. But it would be tedious to enumerate all the other arts he employed to preſerve his ſoul from thoſe puniſhments which he dreaded *.

Death. Having languiſhed about three weeks after he made his will, he expired in his palace at Richmond, April 21ſt, A. D. 1509, in the 24th year of his reign, and 54th of his age.

Character. Henry VII. was in ſtature a little above the middle ſize, ſlender, ſtrong, and active. His deportment was, in general, grave, reſerved, and ſtately; but he could put on a ſmiling countenance, and aſſume a gracious engaging manner, when he ſaw convenient. In perſonal courage he was not defective, but it was attended with caution, and not of the impetuous enterpriſing kind. Though he ſometimes threatened, he never really intended to engage in any foreign war; becauſe he knew it was exceedingly expenſive, and peculiarly dan-

* See the Will of Henry VII. publiſhed by Thomas Aſtle eſq. with an ingenious preface by the Editor.

gerous

gerous to a prince with a diſputed title and diſcontented ſubjects. A. D. 1509.
From theſe conſiderations, rather than from timidity, he cultivated peace with all the neighbouring princes. In application to buſineſs he was indefatigable, and deſcended to the moſt minute details. He was his own miniſter, impenetrably ſecret in all his ſchemes, and preſcribed to his ſervants the parts they were to act, without acquainting them with his views. His underſtanding was good, but neither very quick nor comprehenſive; but he ſupplied the want of quickneſs by mature deliberation; and the ſucceſs with which all his meaſures were crowned, procured him the name of the Solomon of the age, and a very high reputation for wiſdom, both at home and abroad. He has been highly admired for diminiſhing the exorbitant power of the great barons, which had often endangered the crown and oppreſſed the people. This he certainly endeavoured, and in part accompliſhed. But it was far from being a difficult taſk. The civil wars had ruined two-thirds of the great families, and at his acceſſion there were only twenty-ſeven temporal peers in England. The great defects in the character of this prince proceeded not from the weakneſs of his head, but the hardneſs of his heart, which was exceedingly ſelfiſh and unfeeling; little ſuſceptible of the impreſſions of love, friendſhip, pity, or any generous benevolent affection. He was an unkind huſband to an amiable conſort; never had a friend, and ſeldom forgave an enemy. As a ſon, he treated his venerable mother with formal reſpect, but allowed her no influence; as a father, he was careful, but not affectionate; as a maſter, he was far from being generous. His vexatious exactions of various kinds, his ſeverity to ſir William Stanley, and his cruelty to the innocent earl of Warwick, have procured him, and not unjuſtly, the odious name of tyrant. An inordinate love of money, and an unrelenting hatred to the houſe of York, were his ruling paſſions, and the chief ſources of all his vices and of all his troubles.

SECT. II.

The Civil and Military Hiſtory of England, from the Acceſſion of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509, *to the Acceſſion of Edward* VI. A. D. 1547.

A. D. 1509. Acceſſion of Henry VIII.

FEW kings have aſcended their thrones with greater advantages, and fairer proſpects of a happy reign, than Henry VIII. of England. He was in his eighteenth year, handſome, healthy, ſtrong, and active; excelled in all faſhionable and manly exerciſes, had a taſte for the fine arts, and was learned, for his time of life and the age in which he flouriſhed. His title to the crown was indiſputable; he was at peace with all his neighbours; his coffers overflowed with money, and his ſubjects were tranſported with joy at his acceſſion *.

Wiſe meaſures.

The firſt meaſures of the young monarch were wiſe and popular. On the day after his father's death, when he was proclaimed in London, he retired to the Tower, to avoid the tumultuary acclamations of the people, and to enjoy leiſure to attend to buſineſs. By the advice, it is ſaid, of his wiſe and virtuous grandmother, Margaret counteſs of Richmond and Derby, he formed an excellent council, compoſed of men of eminent abilities and long experience in buſineſs; and though, from his age and temper, he was fond of pleaſurable amuſements, he frequently attended the meetings of his council, to gain ſome knowledge of his affairs. Two very popular proclamations were immediately publiſhed, the one confirming the general pardon that had been granted by the late king; the other inviting all who had been injured by the too rigorous execution of antiquated penal laws in the late reign, to lay their complaints be-

* Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. apud Kenet, vol. iii. p. 1.

fore

fore certain commiſſioners appointed to hear and redreſs their wrongs. A. D. 1509.
Sir Richard Empſon and Edmund Dudley eſq. the two deteſted inſtruments of thoſe vexatious proſecutions, were committed priſoners to the Tower, and many of their agents and informers to other priſons. Theſe meaſures gave univerſal ſatisfaction, and inſpired the people with the moſt ſanguine hopes of a mild adminiſtration *.

The king's marriage.

One of the firſt and moſt important affairs that engaged the attention of the council was, the marriage of the young king. He had been contracted, 23d June, A. D. 1503, to Catherine of Spain, his brother's widow, and a diſpenſation for the marriage had been obtained from the pope; but on the day in which he completed his fourteenth year, he had proteſted againſt that contract; and it was now debated in council, whether he ſhould adhere to his proteſt, or fulfil the contract †. William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, a wiſe and virtuous prelate, oppoſed the marriage as inceſtuous, and contrary to the laws of God, with which the pope, he ſaid, could not diſpenſe. But Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, ſecretary and lord privy ſeal, with a great majority of the council, adviſed the king to proceed to the marriage, and enforced their advice by many ſtrong political and prudential arguments. Henry, with ſome reluctance, it is ſaid, complied with this advice; and this extraordinary marriage was ſolemnized at Greenwich, June 7th, A. D. 1509 ‡. A marriage which afterwards made a mighty noiſe, and produced effects altogether unexpected, and directly contrary to the intentions of thoſe who promoted it with the greateſt zeal. So ſhort-ſighted are the wiſeſt politicians, and ſo little do they know what will be the conſequences of their ſchemes! The pope, in particular, who granted the diſpenſation for this marriage, imagined he had thereby ſubjected Henry and his poſterity

* Lord Herbert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII. apud Kenet, vol. iii. p. 2, 3.
† Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 76—86. 89. ‡ Ibid. p. 251.

for

A. D. 1509. for ever to himſelf and his ſucceſſors; becauſe the legality of his marriage and their legitimacy would depend on the plenitude of the papal power. The effect, it will ſoon appear, was directly contrary to his expectations, and proved that, with all his pretenſions to infallibility, he ſaw no further into futurity than other men.

Informers puniſhed. The commiſſioners who had been appointed to hear the complaints of thoſe who had been injured in the late reign, ſoon found that it would not be ſo eaſy to repair the loſſes of the numerous complainers, as to gratify their revenge by puniſhing their oppreſſors. They therefore adopted that as the leaſt expenſive method, and made three of the moſt active and odious informers to ride through the principal ſtreets of London, June 6th, with their faces to the horſes tails, and then ſet them on the pillory, where they were ſo roughly uſed, that they all died ſoon after in priſon *.

Coronation, &c. Great preparations having been made for the coronation of the king and queen, that ceremony was performed at Weſtminſter, June 24th, with extraordinary pomp, and at a prodigious expence both to the king and the nobility †. The coronation was followed by a ſucceſſion of tournaments and other ſplendid and expenſive diverſions, in which the young king ſpent much of his time and treaſures. Not contented with the guard eſtabliſhed by his father, he inſtituted a band of fifty ſpearmen, each ſpearman to have three great horſes for his own uſe, and to be attended by an archer, a demilance, and valet, all on horſeback. The ſpearmen were dreſſed in cloth of gold, and the trappings of their horſes were of the ſame coſtly materials ‡. In a word, Henry now diſcovered ſo ſtrong a paſſion for magnificence of all kinds, as threatened the ſpeedy diſſipation of all the money which had been hoarded by his father. This gave no little concern to ſome of his miniſters, particularly to biſhop Fox, who loſt much of his influence at court, by

* Stowe, p. 487. † Hall, Henry VIII. fol. 2—4. ‡ Ibid. fol. 5, 6.

his remonſtrance againſt this extravagance; and his rival, the earl of Surrey, lord treaſurer, gained the aſcendant by indulging the king's humour *. A. D. 1509.

Five days after his coronation, Henry ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of his excellent grandmother, for whom he had always entertained a very great regard and reverence; and who, if ſhe had lived ſome years longer, might have preſerved him from various errors, by her affectionate and prudent admonitions †. Death of the counteſs of Richmond.

In the firſt year of his reign Henry confirmed the treaties which had been made by his father, with the emperor, the kings of France, Spain, and Scotland, and declared his reſolution to cultivate peace with all theſe princes ‡. How happy would it have been for him and his ſubjects, if he had adhered to that wiſe and virtuous reſolution! Treaties confirmed.

Though a few of the inferior agents in the late oppreſſions had been puniſhed, the people could not be ſatisfied, while the two grand oppreſſors, Empſon and Dudley, remained alive. It was not ſo eaſy, however, to convict them, as it had been to convict their under-agents. They were both expert lawyers, had acted with great caution, and had carefully preſerved the orders they had received from their late maſter for all their tranſactions. When they were firſt brought before the council, Empſon, who was equally bold and eloquent, made a noble defence for himſelf and his fellow-priſoner. Trials of Empſon and Dudley.

"The crime," he ſaid, "of which they were accuſed, and for "which they were to be tried, was of a very extraordinary nature. "Others were tried for violating the laws, but they were to be tried "for putting the laws in execution, though they were bound to do "ſo by their offices, and by the expreſs commands of their ſove-"reign, to whom the execution of the law was committed by the "conſtitution. If they were to be ſacrificed to the clamours of

* Herbert, p. 4. † Stowe, p. 487.
‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 257. 260, 261. 267.

"thoſe

A. D. 1509. "thoſe whom their duty had obliged them to puniſh, he intreated "that the cauſe of their ſufferings might be kept a profound ſecret; "becauſe if it was known in foreign countries, it would be con- "cluded that all law and government were diſſolved in Eng- "land *." In a word, it was ſoon found that it would be difficult, if not impoſſible, to convict theſe men of the crimes of which they had been really guilty, without bringing a heavy load of infamy on the memory of the late king, by whoſe direction and authority they had acted. It was reſolved, therefore, to try them for a crime for which they could plead no authority, but of which, it is probable, they were not guilty; truſting to the public odium under which they laboured for a verdict againſt them. Accordingly, Edmund Dudley was tried at Guildhall in London, July 16th, for high treaſon, and found guilty; and ſir Richard Empſon was tried at Northampton, October 1ſt, for the ſame crime, and alſo found guilty. The ſame accuſation was brought againſt both; viz. that in March laſt, when the late king was ſick, they had engaged certain of their friends to be ready to appear in arms in London, as ſoon as the king died; whence it was inferred, that they had conſpired to ſeize the perſon of the young king, and either to rule him, or put him to death; than which inference nothing could be more improbable. After they were found guilty, they were committed to the Tower †.

1510. Wolſey introduced at court. Richard Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, had been ſo long accuſtomed to court-favour and public buſineſs, that he ardently deſired to recover the influence which he had loſt; and with this view, he reſolved to introduce a perſon to the king who he hoped would prove a powerful co-adjutor to himſelf, and a formidable competitor to his rival, the earl of Surrey. This was the famous Thomas Wolſey, ſo well known in hiſtory by the title of Cardinal Wolſey, who, from the humble ſtation of a butcher's ſon in Ipſwich, arrived at a degree

* Herbert, p. 3. † Id. p. 4, 5.

of

of opulence, power, and influence, in the affairs of Europe, to which no Britiſh ſubject ever attained. Fox was well acquainted with Wolſey's great activity, captivating addreſs, and dexterity in buſineſs, from the ſucceſs with which he had executed ſome commiſſions in the late reign *; but the rapid progreſs he made in gaining the confidence and favour of the young king, far exceeded his expectations and deſires: for though Henry was then only in his nineteenth, and Wolſey in his fortieth year, before he had been many months at court, he became his boſom friend, the companion of all his pleaſures, the repoſitory of all his ſecrets, the diſpenſer of all his favours, and at length his only confidential miniſter. The firſt office beſtowed on Wolſey was that of king's almoner, with a grant of all deodands and forfeitures for felony, to which many other offices, benefices, and grants, were ſoon after added †. In November, A. D. 1510, he was admitted a member of the privy council, and from that time he was really prime miniſter. A. D. 1510.

The firſt parliament in this reign met at Weſtminſter January 21ſt, A. D. 1510. The temporal peers ſummoned to this parliament were, one duke, one marquis, eight earls, and twenty-ſix barons ‡. Henry VII. was as frugal of his honours as of his money. William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury and chancellor, made a ſpeech, or rather preached a ſermon, to both houſes, on this text: "Fear God, and honour the king;" inſiſting chiefly on the laſt part of his text §. Receivers and triers of petitions, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, were then nominated. The commons choſe ſir Thomas Inglefield to be their ſpeaker, who was preſented to the king in the houſe of lords January 23d, and accepted. At the ſame time an order was made, that both houſes ſhould meet at nine in the morning, for the diſpatch of buſineſs. Parliament.

* See Biographia Britannica, article Wolſey.
† Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 267. 269. Biographia Britannica.
‡ Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 2. § Ibid. p. 3.

A. D. 1510. Proceedings in parliament.

The great object of this parliament was, to prevent the repetition of thoſe vexatious exactions and proſecutions which had occaſioned ſo much diſtreſs and diſcontent in the preceding reign. With this view, ſome of thoſe antiquated penal laws, on which theſe proſecutions had been founded, were repealed, and others explained, and their ſeverity mitigated *. With the ſame view, Empſon and Dudley, who had been already found guilty of high treaſon by a jury of their peers, were attainted by an act of parliament, and both beheaded on Tower-hill Auguſt 17th, by a warrant extorted from the king by the clamours of the people †. To ſhew their affection to their youthful ſovereign, this aſſembly voluntarily granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, though he abounded in treaſure, and was at peace with all the world. An imprudent act, which ſerved only to encourage the young king in his extravagance.

Treaty.

A treaty of peace between Henry and Lewis XII. king of France, was concluded March 23d, A. D. 1510, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and great precautions were taken to render it ſecure ‡. But it will ſoon appear that all theſe precautions were in vain, and that this peace was of very ſhort duration. During the remainder of this year, Henry had nothing to divert him from purſuing his pleaſures and diverſions, which he did with great ardour, and at an immenſe expence.

1511. Queen delivered of a ſon.

On the firſt day of January, A. D. 1511, the queen was delivered of a ſon at Richmond, which gave univerſal joy to the whole kingdom, as well as to the king and court. But this joy was ſoon ſucceeded by ſorrow; for the young prince, who was named Henry, expired at the ſame place on February 23d §. Ferdinand of Spain, Henry's father-in-law, now pretended to meditate an expedition

* See Statutes, 1 Hen. VIII.
† Ibid. cap. iv. Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 7, 8. Stowe, p. 488.
‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 270—275. 277—280. 286. 289.
§ Stowe, p. 288.

againſt

againſt the Moors in Barbary, and ſolicited an aid of 1000 Engliſh archers, which was granted *. Theſe troops, which were eſteemed the beſt in Europe, landed at Calais June 1ſt, and were honourably received and entertained. But Ferdinand, having laid aſide this expedition, (which he never really intended,) they were ſoon after ſent home, well contented with their entertainment, and the valuable preſents they had received. Henry ſent a ſimilar aid of 1500 archers, this ſummer, to Margaret ducheſs of Savoy, governeſs of the Low Countries, for her nephew Charles, prince of Spain, who was at war with the duke of Guilders. Theſe troops, having done good ſervice at ſeveral ſieges, returned home at the end of the campaign †. A. D. 1511.

Though England at this time enjoyed a profound peace, which nothing ſeemed capable of diſturbing, the affairs of the continent were cruelly embroiled; and the moſt artful ſchemes were ſecretly formed to draw the rich and powerful, but young, raſh, and unſuſpecting Henry, into quarrels, with which he had no concern, and from the iſſue of which it was determined he ſhould reap no benefit. Theſe ſchemes were formed by his ſpiritual father the Pope, and his father-in-law Ferdinand of Spain, two perſons for whom he had the greateſt veneration; and their propoſals were ſo admirably adapted to work upon his reigning paſſions of vanity and ambition, that he was more to be pitied than blamed for falling into the ſnare. Snares laid for Henry.

Pope Julius II. was unqueſtionably one of the moſt reſtleſs, ambitious, and faithleſs men that ever lived; and though he pretended to be the vicegerent of the meek and peaceful Saviour of mankind, he acted the part of a firebrand during his whole pontificate, and practiſed every art to kindle and keep alive the flames of war. He had been the chief inſtrument in forming the famous league of Cam- Character of pope Julius II.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 296. † Stowe, p. 488.

A. D. 1511. bray, for the deſtruction of the Venetians; and he now laboured, with equal ardour, to form a ſimilar league againſt the eldeſt ſon of the church, and moſt virtuous prince of the age, Lewis XII. king of France, who, by his power in Italy, he apprehended would obſtruct the ſucceſs of the ſchemes he had formed for aggrandiſing the popedom, and his own family, with the ſpoils of his weaker neighbours. Into this league he propoſed to bring not only all the enemies, but all the allies, of the king of France; particularly the emperor Maximilian, and the kings of Spain and England.

Schemes of the pope, &c.

It would be tedious to trace all the intricate mazes of the negociations of his holineſs, with the emperor and the king of Spain, who were almoſt as artful and as perfidious as himſelf. It is ſufficient to ſay, that, after various intrigues, the holy father and his two dearly-beloved ſons agreed upon this plan: that the pope, who, in conjunction with the Venetians, was already at open war with the king of France, ſhould launch the thunders of the church againſt that rebellious ſon and his ſubjects, who impiouſly dared to diſobey the common father of all Chriſtians; while the two monarchs ſhould continue to make the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of inviolable attachment to that prince, till the king of England was engaged in the league, and all the confederates were ready to fall upon him at once. The honourable office of deceiving the king of England, and drawing him into the league, was committed to his father-in-law, who performed it with great dexterity and ſucceſs *.

Treaty.

Ferdinand, by his ambaſſador at the court of England, communicated to Henry the plan of the league, as a mark of his confidence and paternal affection, and repreſented how honourable it would be, for a young prince of his great power and piety and learning, to become the protector of the church; and how favourable an opportunity this was, of recovering the ancient dominions of his crown in

* Thuanus, lib. i. F. Paul. Hiſt. Conc. Trent.

France.

France. To pleaſe him ſtill further, it was promiſed that the pope would confer upon him the title of the Moſt Chriſtian King, which the king of France had forfeited; and that he ſhould be declared the head of the holy Italian league *. Theſe offers and propoſals were ſo flattering to Henry's bigotry, vanity, and ambition, that he yielded to the temptation, agreed to enter into the league, and to violate the treaty of peace with Lewis; to the faithful obſervance of which he had ſolemnly ſworn only a few months before. Having formed this reſolution, he began privately to prepare for war, and gave a commiſſion to ſeveral gentlemen in each county, June 20th, to array and exerciſe all the men at arms and archers in their county, and to make a return of their names, and the quality of their arms, before the firſt day of Auguſt †. The reſolution of declaring war againſt France, met with oppoſition in the council of England, on very ſolid grounds. "The natural ſituation of iſlands," it was ſaid, "ſeems not to ſort with conqueſts on the continent. If we will "enlarge ourſelves, let it be in the way for which Providence hath "fitted us, which is by ſea ‡." But Henry was ſo intoxicated with the thoughts of being the protector of the pope, and of the conqueſts he expected to make in France, that all oppoſition was in vain; and he concluded a treaty with his father-in-law, November 10th, A. D. 1511. The preamble of this treaty affords a curious ſpecimen of political hypocriſy. After repreſenting Lewis XII. as an enemy to God and religion, and a cruel unrelenting perſecutor of the church, who deſpiſed all admonitions, and had even rejected the generous offer which the pope had made him, of the pardon of all his ſins, it proceeds in this pious ſtrain: "That the two kings, "knowing how detrimental this conduct might prove to the catholic "faith, the church of God, and the welfare of Chriſtendom, had "thought proper to agree upon the following articles, to the praiſe and

A. D. 1511.

* Pet. Martyr. Epiſt. p. 279. 462. Herbert, p. 8. Guicciard. c. 11.
† Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 300. ‡ Herbert, p. 8.

"glory

A. D. 1511. "glory of Almighty God, of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and of the "whole triumphant court of heaven." It is not indeed very eaſy to diſcover the connection between the glory of God and the articles of this treaty, which were to this effect: That the two kings ſhould unite their forces to make a conqueſt of the province of Guienne, from a prince with whom they were united by the moſt ſolemn treaties, and who had given them no offence *.

Perfidy of Ferdinand.

In this treaty Ferdinand affected to appear perfectly diſintereſted, and to have nothing at heart but the aggrandiſement of the king of England, by the acquiſition of Guienne. But this was far from being the intention of that ſelfiſh perfidious prince, who contrived to make the expedition turn entirely to his own advantage, and to the great loſs and mortification of his dearly-beloved ſon.

1512. Parliament.

Henry, having now reſolved upon a war with France, ſummoned a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, February 4th, A. D. 1512, and was opened by William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, chancellor, with a ſermon on theſe words: "Righte-"ouſneſs and peace kiſſed each other." On which (ſays an ancient hiſtorian) he preached a long hour and a half, to his great commendation, and the ſingular comfort of his hearers †. No mention was made of the intended war till the fifteenth day of the parliament, when the chancellor diſcloſed to the lords the ſecret reaſon for which it had been called, and cauſed an apoſtolic brief to be read, containing a long detail and bitter complaints of the grievous injuries which the king of France had done to the pope and church of Rome. The chancellor, the treaſurer, and ſome other lords, were ſent to make the ſame diſcovery to the commons ‡.

Proceedings.

The proſpect of a war with France was exceedingly pleaſing to the people of England in this period. The remembrance of the glorious victories their anceſtors had gained, and the great eſtates

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 312, &c. † Journals, vol. i. p. 10. Stowe, p. 490.
‡ Journals, p. 13.

they had poſſeſſed in that kingdom, was freſh in their minds, and they fondly hoped to gain ſimilar victories and eſtates. The parliament, therefore, entered with great alacrity into the king's views, and granted two tenths and two fifteenths, to be levied from the laity, and the clergy in convocation granted a ſubſidy of twenty-three thouſand pounds *. Then the parliament, after ſitting forty-nine days, was prorogued to November 4th. A. D. 1512.

Henry being now amply furniſhed with the ſinews of war, raiſed an army of ten thouſand men, chiefly archers, with a train of artillery. This army, commanded in chief by the marquis of Dorſet, embarked at Southampton May 16th, and landed at Guipiſcoa. They were received and treated with reſpect, but ſaw no appearance of the Spaniſh army they expected to join them on their landing. After they had remained a month in their camp, they received a meſſage from Ferdinand, intreating them to have a little patience, and his army would join them in a ſhort time, to undertake the ſiege of Bayonne. But he had a very different object in view †. Expedition into Spain.

John D'Albert, king of Navarre, was in ſtrict alliance with the king of France, and on that account had been excommunicated by the pope, and his kingdom offered to any prince who would take poſſeſſion of it. This kingdom lay conveniently for Ferdinand; and therefore, inſtead of joining his forces to the Engliſh for the conqueſt of Guienne, commanded his general, the duke of Alva, to invade Navarre, with the army he had raiſed, under pretence of an expedition againſt the Moors. To facilitate the ſucceſs of this enterpriſe, he amuſed the weak unfortunate king John with deluſive negociations for a peace, while the French were engaged in ſecuring Guienne againſt the expected invaſion. The Spaniſh army met with little oppoſition, and made a conqueſt of Navarre in a few months ‡. While the Spaniſh army was employed in the conqueſt of Navarre,

* Wilkins Concil. tom. iii. p. 852.
† Stowe, p. 488.
‡ Pet. Martyr. Epiſt. 563. 570, &c.

the

A. D. 1512. the ſituation of the Engliſh in their camp at Fontarabia was exceedingly diſagreeable. Too weak to attempt the ſiege of Bayonne, or engage in any important enterpriſe, they remained idle in their camp, enraged at their perfidious ally, and brooding over their blaſted hopes of conqueſt. Being ill-ſupplied with proviſions, and making too free with the wines of the country, diſeaſes broke out among them, of which ſeveral hundreds died. In the mean time, Ferdinand was not aſhamed to importune the marquis of Dorſet, by frequent meſſages, to join the Spaniſh army, and aſſiſt in the conqueſt of Navarre; but the marquis reſiſted all theſe importunities, as being directly contrary to his commiſſion and inſtructions; and was no leſs importunate in demanding ſhips, to tranſport his army back to England, which Ferdinand was obliged, by treaty, to furniſh when demanded. At length, when the conqueſt of Navarre was completed, and the preſence of the Engliſh was no longer neceſſary to keep the French at bay, and prevent their oppoſing the progreſs of the Spaniards, ſhips were provided, the Engliſh army embarked, and arrived in their own country in December, diſcontented, diſpirited, and diminiſhed in their numbers *. Thus ended this campaign, in which Ferdinand gained a kingdom, and Henry got nothing but diſgrace and loſs.

Sea-fight. Henry, at the ſame time that he ſent his army into Spain, fitted out a fleet of ſixteen ſtout ſhips, commanded by ſir Edward Howard, the lord admiral; who, having conveyed the tranſports with the troops till they were out of danſer, cruiſed in the channel, took many merchant ſhips, made ſeveral deſtructive deſcents on the coaſts of France, and then returned to Southampton. The fleet being there ſupplied with water and proviſions, and joined by another ſquadron of twenty-five ſail, put to ſea again; and having fallen in with the French fleet, conſiſting of thirty-nine ſail, Auguſt 10th, a fierce

* Hall, f. 20. Herbert, p. 9.

conflict

conflict immediately enſued. In the heat of the action the Regent, of one thouſand tons, the largeſt ſhip in the Engliſh navy, grappled with the French admiral, which taking fire, both ſhips were preſently involved in flames, and all on board, to the number of ſeventeen hundred men, periſhed. The two hoſtile fleets were ſo much aſtoniſhed at this deplorable and ſudden deſtruction of ſo many brave men, that they ſeparated, as if it had been by mutual conſent, without any further fighting *. A. D. 1512.

The parliament met again November 4th, the day to which it had been prorogued; and as the king was actually engaged in an expenſive war with France, and was preparing for a war with Scotland, they granted him two tenths and two fifteenths, beſide an aid of 160,000l. to be raiſed by a poll-tax on perſons of all denominations, at rates proportioned to their rank and circumſtances. In this ſeſſion ſeveral ladies, lords, and gentlemen, (and among others, Thomas, ſon and heir of ſir Richard Empſon,) whoſe parents and anceſtors had been condemned for treaſon, and their eſtates forfeited, were reſtored to their honours and fortunes †. The parliament was then prorogued to November 7th, A. D. 1513. Parliament.

Though the preceding campaign had been unprofitable to Henry, it had been very pernicious to the king of France. By his withdrawing the greateſt part of his troops from Italy, for the defence of his kingdom, he loſt the duchy of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, which had coſt France much blood and treaſure to acquire. While pope Julius II. was rejoicing in theſe events, and keenly engaged in forming a powerful confederacy againſt France, he was overtaken by death, on February 21ſt, A. D. 1513, and was ſucceeded in the papal chair, March 11th, by cardinal John de Medici, who took the name of Leo X. ‡ 1513. Pope's death.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 327. Hall, f. 20.
† Rolls, 4 Hen. VIII.
‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 249.

A. D. 1513.

Confederacy againſt France.

The new pope proſecuted the ſchemes of his predeceſſor, for expelling the French out of Italy, enlarging the papal dominions, and ſecuring the ſovereignty of Florence to his own family. The negociations which had for ſome time been carried on at Mechlin with great ſecrecy, for forming a confederacy between the pope, the emperor, and the kings of Spain and England, againſt France, were brought to a concluſion, and the league was ſigned by the plenipotentiaries, April 5th, A. D. 1513. By the league the pope engaged to invade France in Provence or Dauphiny, and to fulminate the thunders of the church againſt the king of France and all his allies. The emperor engaged to invade France, or ſome other territories belonging to the king of France out of Italy. To enable him to do this, the king of England was to pay him 100,000 gold crowns. The king of Spain engaged to invade Bearn, Guienne, or Languedoc, and the king of England, Guienne, Normandy, or Picardy. All the invading armies were to be ſtrong and well-appointed. None of the confederates were to make a truce or peace with the common enemy, without the conſent of all the reſt. The emperor and the king of England were to ratify this treaty within one month, the pope and king of Spain within two months *.

Perfidy of the confederates.

Henry was highly pleaſed with this treaty, and entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of victories and conqueſts, by the aid of theſe powerful allies. But in this he was much miſtaken. None of his allies intended to invade France, or to fulfil any of their engagements, but that of receiving his money. Knowing his youthful ardour and ambition, as well as his power and wealth, their object was to engage him in a war with France, from which each of them hoped to derive advantages, without any expence or trouble. So ſhameful was the duplicity of Ferdinand, his father-in-law, that he was negociating a truce for one year in his own name, and in the name of

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 354.

his

his allies, the emperor and the king of England, with the king of France and his allies, the king of Scotland and duke of Guilders, at the ſame time that he was negociating the above confederacy againſt France, and both theſe treaties (ſo contradictory to one another) were concluded, ſigned, and ſworn to with great ſolemnity, by his plenipotentiaries, at different places, almoſt on the ſame day *. This he eſteemed a maſterly ſtroke in politics; but it certainly deſerved a very different name. A. D. 1513.

As ſoon as Henry had reſolved on a war with France, he laboured earneſtly to ſecure the continuance of peace with Scotland. But all his endeavours were in vain. King James complained that he had been unkindly and even unjuſtly treated by his brother-in-law, in ſeveral particulars. Greater attention was now paid to theſe complaints than formerly; offers of redreſs and ſatisfaction were made, and commiſſioners appointed, on both ſides, to adjuſt all differences. But theſe commiſſioners could come to no agreement †. The truth is, that king James had ſecretly reſolved to ſupport the ancient allies of his family and country, and concluded a treaty with the king of France, 22d May, A. D. 1512, in which the two monarchs agreed to aſſiſt and ſupport one another with all their power againſt all men. He endeavoured, however, to conceal his hoſtile intention againſt England, that his country might not be made the ſeat of the war. But the Engliſh miniſters were not deceived. They ſaw plainly that a war with Scotland was unavoidable, and Henry gave a commiſſion to the earl of Surrey, Auguſt 6th, A. D. 1512, to array all the fencible men in Yorkſhire, and the other five northern counties, and to have them in conſtant readineſs to oppoſe the Scots ‡. Negociations for an accommodation were ſtill carried on, and Henry gave one commiſſion, February 2d, Henry prepares for a war with Scotland.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 350.
† Ibid. p. 309. 332. 347. Hollingſhed, p. 295, 296.
‡ Rym. ibid. p. 339.

A. D. 1513. A. D. 1513, to William lord Conyers and ſir Robert Drury, to treat with the commiſſioners of the king of Scotland, with power to promiſe the redreſs of all grievances; and another to lord Dacre and Doctor Weſt, to the ſame purpoſe, February 15th *. But theſe negociations were unſucceſsful.

Expedition into France. Henry ſpent the firſt five months of this year in making every poſſible preparation for a vigorous offenſive war with France, and defenſive war with Scotland. For though he had no real ground of quarrel with either of theſe powers, he was ſo deluded by the promiſes of his deceitful allies, and by the vain ambition of appearing the great protector of the pope and church, that he embarked in theſe wars with the greateſt ardour and the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. About the middle of May the earl of Shrewſbury conducted eight thouſand men to Calais, and was followed by lord Herbert with ſix thouſand, about the end of that month †. With theſe troops they inveſted Tiruenne, a ſtrong town in Artois, June 22d. The king, having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, ſailed from Dover June 30th, and landed at Calais the ſame evening, attended by an army of twelve thouſand men, his favourite Wolſey, now his prime miniſter, and a gallant train of noblemen and gentlemen, impatient to diſplay their courage under the eye of their youthful ſovereign.

Tiruenne was bravely defended by a numerous garriſon; and a report prevailing that the duke of Longueville was advancing with an army to his relief, Henry marched from Calais July 21ſt, and arrived in the camp before Tiruenne with eleven thouſand men Auguſt 4th. The emperor Maximilian, who, as well as the other confederates, had made no preparation for invading France, was not aſhamed to inliſt in the ſervice of the king of England at the rate of 100 crowns a day, and proved an uſeleſs expenſive ſoldier,

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 346, 347. † Ibid. p. 370.

and

and moſt pernicious counſellor. On the approach of the duke of Longueville, Henry drew out to meet him, and an action enſued Auguſt 19th, commonly called *the battle of the ſpurs*, in which the Engliſh obtained an eaſy victory: for the French cavalry, ſeized with a panic, uſed their ſpurs inſtead of their ſwords, and galloping off, left their general and ſeveral brave officers in the hands of their enemies *. The garriſon of Tiruenne, deſpairing of any relief, ſurrendered the place on honourable terms Auguſt 22d. This Conqueſt, which had coſt Henry an immenſe ſum of money, was diſmantled and deſtroyed, by the intereſted advice of the emperor, that its garriſon might no longer infeſt the contiguous territories of his ſon, Charles duke of Burgundy. A. D. 1513.

Henry was again miſled by the emperor, whoſe age, dignity, and cunning gave him ſuch an aſcendant, that he directed all the motions of the Engliſh army to promote his own views. Inſtead of taking advantage of the conſternation into which the French were thrown by their late defeat, he proceeded in great ſtate, by ſlow marches, and inveſted the populous city of Tournay, September 22d. The citizens of Tournay enjoyed ſeveral peculiar privileges, and, among others, that of defending their own city; for which, on this occaſion, they diſcovered themſelves to be very unfit. They ſurrendered a few days after they were ſummoned, agreeing to pay 50,000 crowns immediately, 4000 livres a year for ten years, and to admit an Engliſh garriſon †. Tournay taken.

On the ſame day that Tournay ſurrendered, Henry received the important news of the death of James IV. who had been ſlain September 9th, in the memorable battle of Flowdon-field, of which a circumſtantial account ſhall be given in the Hiſtory of Scotland. Death of James IV.

Henry was greatly elated by this flow of ſucceſs, and kept a moſt magnificent court at Tournay. He was there viſited by Margaret Confederacy.

* Herbert, p. 16. Peter Martyr, ep. 526, 527.

† Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 377. Herbert, p. 17.

governeſs

A. D. 1513. governeſs of the Low Countries, and her nephew Charles prince of Spain, with a ſplendid train of lords and ladies, who were all ſumptuouſly feaſted, and nobly entertained with tournaments and other diverſions, for fourteen days, at an incredible expence *. Henry returned this viſit, October 11th, to the court of Burgundy at Liſle, where he ſpent ſeveral days in the diverſions of thoſe times. While the princes and their courtiers were engaged in theſe amuſements, their miniſters were employed in negociating a new treaty of confederacy againſt France, which was ſigned and ſealed by the king of England, at Liſle, October 15th. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, 1. That, as winter was approaching, the king of England, after leaving a ſufficient garriſon in Tournay, might retire with his army into his own dominions. 2. That the emperor ſhould keep on foot an army of ſix thouſand infantry and four thouſand cavalry, during the winter and ſpring, for the defence of the Low Countries, the further ſecurity of Tournay, and for haraſſing the frontiers of France; and that Henry, to enable him to do this, ſhould pay him 30,000 crowns of gold on the laſt day of each of the ſix winter and ſpring months, and 20,000 in May; in all, 200,000. 3. That by the firſt of June next, the emperor and the king of England ſhould invade France, each at the head of a powerful army, and neither make peace nor truce but by mutual conſent. 4. That the emperor, his daughter the archduchеſs Margaret, his grandſon Charles duke of Burgundy, the king of England, his queen, and his ſiſter the princeſs Mary, ſhould all meet at Calais about the middle of May, and there ſolemnize the marriage of Charles and Mary †. In this tranſaction all was ſincerity on the ſide of Henry, and all the groſſeſt diſſimulation on the part of his confederate.

Wolſey biſhop of Tournay.

The biſhopric of Tournay had been lately vacant, and the biſhop-elect refuſing to ſwear fealty to the conqueror, Henry beſtowed that

* Hall, f. 45. Rym. p. 379. † Ibid.

rich

rich ſee, with the abbey of Saint Martin's in the ſame city, *in commendam*, on his almoner and favourite, Thomas Wolſey, who attended him in that expedition. This was a ſtrong mark of the king's eſteem and friendſhip, which was ſoon followed by many others *. A. D. 1513.

Henry, having left ſir Edward Poynings with a competent garriſon in Tournay, marched the reſt of his army to Calais, where he embarked November 24th, and landed at Dover the ſame day. Thence he proceeded to Richmond, where the queen reſided, and beſtowed rewards and honours on ſeveral lords and gentlemen, who had attended him in France, or had fought under the earl of Surrey againſt the Scots †. In the diſtribution of rewards Wolſey was not neglected. He was appointed biſhop of Lincoln, and the rich abbey of Saint Alban's was given him *in commendam*. Henry returns to England.

In this campaign the Engliſh had behaved every where with their uſual bravery, and their arms had been crowned with ſucceſs; but that ſucceſs, though purchaſed at an immenſe expence, was of no advantage to their country. They had indeed greatly diſtreſſed the king of France, with whom they had no quarrel; they had alſo killed the king of Scots, their ſovereign's neareſt relation, who would have been his moſt faithful ally, if he had not wantonly engaged in this unneceſſary war with France; they had likewiſe gained the city of Tournay, which they kept a few years with much difficulty and at a great expence ‡. They had, it is true, moſt effectually promoted the intereſts of their treacherous confederates, the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, who violated all their engagements, and deſerted them without a moment's heſitation, as ſoon as they had obtained their own ends. May their poſterity avoid engaging in quarrels in which they have little or no concern, and laviſhing their blood and treaſures for faithleſs ungrateful allies! His ſucceſs unprofitable.

* Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 6. † Hall, f. 46. ‡ Strype, vol. i. ch. i.

A. D. 1514. Perfidy of the pope and the other confederates.

While Henry was thus fighting the battles of the church, the pope regaled him (to pleaſe his vanity) with the groſſeſt flattery; and, at the ſame time, boldly trampled on the rights of his crown and the laws of his country. He ſent four bulls into England, dated in February, A. D. 1514. By one of theſe he declared, that he had reſerved the biſhopric of Lincoln to his own diſpoſal. By another he beſtowed that biſhopric on Thomas Wolſey; declaring any other nomination or election that had been made by any others, through ignorance or preſumption, (meaning the nomination by the king and election by the chapter,) to be null and void. By the third, he preſcribed the form of the oath of obedience to the pope and ſee of Rome, Wolſey was to ſwear, in which he did not forget to make him ſwear to perſecute all heretics and ſchiſmatics. By the fourth, he commanded the chapter of Lincoln to receive and obey Wolſey as their biſhop *. Wolſey accepted of theſe bulls, by which he was involved in a premunire, but obtained a pardon from the king March 4th †. Before this, the pope had ſecretly concluded a peace with the king of France, without giving the leaſt hint of his intention to the champion of the church, whoſe arms had brought that prince to ſubmit to his terms: a conduct equally contemptuous, treacherous, and ungrateful. After that peace was concluded, he wrote Henry a moſt flattering letter, extolling his zeal and piety in eſpouſing the cauſe of the church ſo warmly, and telling him, that his invincible bravery, and the terror of his name, had compelled its enemies to ſubmit, by which the deſign of the war was accompliſhed, and he had gained immortal glory ‡. Still further to pleaſe him, and prevent his reſenting ſo many affronts and injuries, he ſent him a conſecrated ſword and bonnet, accompanied with a letter, full of the moſt fulſome flattery, which were received with great ceremony as preſents of ineſtimable value §. Such was the vanity of this prince, and the

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiii. p. 390.
† Ibid. p. 394.
‡ Ibid. p. 386.
§ Ibid. p. 393.

bigotry

bigotry of thoſe times! Henry's other confederates were no leſs perfidious, than their holy father the pope. Maximilian violated every ſtipulation of the late treaty of Liſle, without any heſitation or apology; and Ferdinand, at the ſame time that he was ſoliciting his ſon-in-law to enter into a new confederacy againſt France, concluded a truce with that crown for another year *. A. D. 1514.

Though Henry, blinded by his own bigotry, the intereſted counſels of his favourite Wolſey, and the arts of his confederates, had engaged with great ardour in this war againſt France, he now began to ſee his error, and the treachery of his allies. The duke of Longueville, who was then a priſoner in England, and admitted by Henry to ſhare in his pleaſures and amuſements, took every opportunity of unfolding the characters, and expoſing the deceitful arts of his confederates; and of extolling the honour and good faith of his own ſovereign, and repreſenting the earneſt deſire he had of a peace, and an intimate and cordial friendſhip with the young king of England, for whom he entertained the higheſt eſteem. When the duke found that the king liſtened to theſe diſcourſes, he propoſed a treaty of peace, to be cemented by a marriage between his ſovereign (who had lately become a widower) and the lady Mary, Henry's youngeſt ſiſter. That princeſs had been betrothed to the emperor's grandſon, Charles prince of Spain; and by one article of the contract, the prince had engaged to ſend an ambaſſador into England, to eſpouſe the princeſs in his name within forty days after he had completed his fourteenth year. The prince had neglected to perform this article; and therefore the princeſs and the king her brother thought themſelves at liberty to enter into other engagements. Henry, who was an affectionate brother, was much pleaſed with the propoſed marriage, and, in converſation, he acquainted the duke with the preliminaries on which he was willing to treat of the peace and marriage. The Treaties with France begun.

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 395.

A. D. 1514. ſubject of this converſation he immediately communicated in a familiar letter, written with his own hand, to his favourite Wolſey. In this remarkable letter, directed To my Lord of Lincoln, he informed him, that the preliminaries were theſe two: 1. That the peace ſhould be for the joint lives of the two kings, and one year longer. 2. That the king of France ſhould pay him 100,000 crowns a year. To which, ſays he, the duke anſwered, "that he colde "natt aſſure me theroff; but that he truſtyde, ſeyng my demans "were ſo reſonable, that hys maſter wholde agre thereto. On truſt "hereon we woll that yow begyne to penne the reſydue off the ar-"tycylles as ſoone as yow can. And thus fare yow well. Written "with the hande off your lovyng maſter, HENRY R.*"

Treaties with France finiſhed.

Though Lewis diſliked the ſecond preliminary, he was ſo deſirous of the peace and marriage, that (hoping to obtain an alteration in the treaty) he gave one commiſſion to the duke of Longueville, John de Sylva, and Thomas Bohier, to treat of a peace with England, dated July 29th, A. D. 1514; and another commiſſion to the ſame perſons, on the ſame day, to treat of his marriage with the princeſs Mary. He furniſhed theſe commiſſioners, at the ſame time, with full powers to bind and oblige him to pay to the king of England one million of crowns, partly as arrears due on ſeveral accounts, and partly as a teſtimony of the great eſteem and love he bore to that prince †. This he hoped Henry would be prevailed upon to accept, inſtead of the 100,000 crowns a-year, which he was unwilling to grant, as it had the appearance of an annual tribute; and in this hope he was not diſappointed. On the ſame day that the king of France executed theſe deeds at St. Germains, the princeſs Mary ſolemnly renounced her eſpouſals with the prince of Spain, on account of his breach of faith, and her contempt of him and averſion to him for that reaſon, in her brother's palace of Wainſted, in the pre-

* See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 403, 404. † Ibid. p. 408.

ſence

ſence of many perſons of high rank *. Henry appointed the duke of Norfolk, Thomas Wolſey biſhop of Lincoln and poſtulate archbiſhop of York, and Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter, his plenipotentiaries, Auguſt 2d, to treat with thoſe of France on the peace and marriage. As both parties were really deſirous of the peace and alliance, theſe treaties were finiſhed in five days, and ſigned at London Auguſt 7th, A. D. 1514 †. As the Engliſh plenipotentiaries were prevailed upon, in the negociation, to depart from their demand of 100,000 crowns a-year, and accept of the ſum of one million of crowns for the whole, another treaty for regulating the terms of payment, and aſſigning the reaſons for which that ſum was to be paid, was ſigned at the ſame time ‡. Thus was this holy war (as it was called) terminated by ſtipulations merely ſecular, and the defence of the church and the pope, from the perſecution of the king of France, the pretence for which it had been undertaken, was not ſo much as mentioned in any of theſe treaties. The plenipotentiaries of France earneſtly endeavoured to procure the reſtoration of Tournay for a ſum of money; but though it was evidently Henry's intereſt to reſtore it, Wolſey's apprehenſions of loſing the profits of that rich biſhopric rendered all their efforts abortive. In this manner that inſolent favourite ſacrificed the intereſts of his king and country to his own. A. D. 1514.

While theſe treaties were in agitation, the king received a letter from cardinal John de Medicis, dated at Rome July 14th, acquainting him, that his ambaſſador cardinal Bambridge, archbiſhop of York, had died on that day; and that the pope, at his requeſt, had promiſed not to appoint a ſucceſſor to his ſee, till he knew his majeſty's pleaſure ‖. The king immediately recommended Wolſey; and in the mean time granted him, Auguſt 5th, the cuſtody of the archbiſhopric, with all its revenues §. Thus was this inſatiable Greatneſs of Wolſey.

* See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 409. † Ibid. p. 413—427. ‡ Ibid. p. 428—439.
‖ Ibid. p. 404. § Ibid. p. 450.

A. D. 1514. aſpiring prieſt at once poſſeſſed of the archbiſhopric of York, the biſhoprics of Tournay and Lincoln, the adminiſtration of the biſhoprics of Worceſter, Hereford, and Bath, (whoſe biſhops were foreigners,) with ſeveral rich abbeys and other benefices, which made his revenues far ſuperior to thoſe of any other peer or prelate, if not to thoſe of the king himſelf. The pope complied with Henry's recommendation, and appointed Wolſey archbiſhop of York, on account of his extraordinary learning, piety, and virtue. Such was the hypocritical cant of the court of Rome, in which truth was totally diſregarded.

Marriage. In conſequence of the late treaty, the king of France eſpouſed the princeſs Mary of England, by his proxy, Lewis duke of Longueville, at Greenwich, Auguſt 13th; after which the princeſs aſſumed the title of queen of France. When all things were prepared, the young and blooming queen was conducted by the duke of Norfolk, with a ſplendid train of lords and ladies, to Abbeville, and there married to Lewis XII. in perſon, October 9th, A. D. 1514*: but this marriage had not ſubſiſted three months, when it was diſſolved by the death of the king, January 1ſt, A. D. 1515.

Parliament. The parliament had been prorogued November 7th, A. D. 1513, to January 20th, A. D. 1514, when it met at Weſtminſter for diſpatch of buſineſs. In the time of this ſeſſion, ſeveral noblemen, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the preceding campaign in France and the north of England, were raiſed to higher titles, by royal patents, containing valuable grants of lands, as rewards for their ſervices, and to enable them to ſupport their honours: particularly Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, was created duke of Norfolk; Sir Charles Brandon, viſcount Liſle, was created duke of Suffolk; Thomas Howard, ſon to the duke of Norfolk, was created earl of Surrey; and Humphrey Stafford was reſtored to the title of duke

* See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 333–335.

of

of Buckingham, and the eſtates of his family, which had been forfeited by his father; and theſe patents, with the grants contained in them, were confirmed by acts of parliament *. As Henry was then preparing for another vigorous campaign againſt France, parliament granted him an aid of 160,000l. † But his councils ſoon took a more pacific turn. A. D. 1514.

Though the death of Lewis XII. conſidering his age and infirmities, and the very unequal marriage in which he had fondly engaged, excited little ſurpriſe, it occaſioned no little ſorrow among his own ſubjects, by whom he was much beloved, and who had given him the honourable name of *the father of the people*. He was a brave, honourable, and wiſe prince, though he had been often deceived by Maximilian and Ferdinand, two of the greateſt diſſemblers (to give them no harſher name) that ever lived. His death was a misfortune to England as well as France, as it diſſolved the union between the two royal families, and rendered the late peace (ſo ſalutary to both nations) precarious. He was ſucceeded by Francis duke of Angouleme, the neareſt male heir to the crown, who had married the princeſs Claude, his eldeſt daughter. 1515. Character of Lewis XII.

Mary, now queen dowager of France, was young, beautiful, and rich, and therefore likely to be courted by the greateſt princes; and both her brother, and the king of France, for political reaſons, were anxious about her choice of a ſecond huſband. But the lady ſoon put an end to their anxiety, and conſulting only her own inclinations, about two months after ſhe had become a widow, married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, one of the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed noblemen of the age. Henry was, or pretended to be, diſpleaſed at this marriage. But his diſpleaſure, whether real or pretended, was not of long duration. The queen and her huſband returned into England, were well received by Henry, and publicly Marriage.

* See Rolls of Parliament, 5 Hen. VIII. † Ibid.

married

A. D. 1515. married at Greenwich May 13th. The queen, it is ſaid, brought with her 200,000 crowns in money and jewels *.

Parliament. A new parliament met at Weſtminſter February 5th, A. D. 1515. The commons choſe Sir Thomas Neville for their ſpeaker, who acquitted himſelf ſo much to the ſatisfaction of the king and both houſes, that he was made a knight of the garter in full parliament; "an honour (ſay the Journals) that had never been conferred "on any mortal man in any age †." On the ſixth day of the parliament, the chancellor, accompanied by ſeveral lords and prelates, went to the commons, and acquainted them, that the reaſons which had induced the king to call this parliament were theſe two: 1. That they might determine how the money that had been granted by the laſt parliament, and not yet levied, ſhould be collected. 2. That the Scots had made great depredations on the Engliſh, both by ſea and land, which had determined the king to declare war againſt them; and he intreated the commons to conſider diligently the great expences in which that war would involve him. This was a modeſt way of aſking a ſupply; but the commons did not take the hint. After making ſeveral laws, the parliament was prorogued April 5th, to the 12th of November ‡.

Treaties. The claims of the kings of France on the duchy of Milan, and other territories in Italy, involved them and their ſubjects in many and great calamities. Francis I. at his acceſſion, was too brave and ambitious to relinquiſh any of theſe deſtructive claims. On the contrary, he panted with the moſt impatient ardour to aſſert them, with all the forces of his kingdom. This made him very deſirous of a ſolid peace with England; and he ſent two ambaſſadors to London to treat with Henry and his miniſters for that purpoſe. The plenipotentiaries of the two crowns concluded and ſigned, April 5th, a treaty of peace almoſt verbatim the ſame with that which had

* Herbert, p. 22. † Journals, vol. i. p. 20. ‡ Ibid. p. 42.

been lately made with Lewis XII. This peace was to continue during the joint lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of him who died firſt. On the ſame day the French ambaſſadors ſigned another treaty, binding and obliging their maſter to pay to the king of England one million of crowns, deducting 50,000 franks which had been paid by Lewis XII. * This proves that theſe treaties were intended to confirm thoſe that had been made with the late king. The allies of both the contracting powers were comprehended in the treaty of peace; but the Scots only on this condition, that they committed no hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh after the 15th of May. A. D. 1515.

Though Wolſey, archbiſhop of York, who had the chief direction in all theſe tranſactions, had already attained to a greater degree both of wealth and power than any other Engliſh ſubject had ever reached, he was far from being ſatisfied. "When he was once "archbiſhop, (ſays a contemporary hiſtorian,) he ſtudied day and "night how to be a cardinal, and cauſed the king and the French "king to write to Rome for him †." Several cardinals were averſe to his advancement; but the pope, knowing his abſolute ſway over the mind of his royal maſter, was deſirous of gaining his friendſhip, and in full conſiſtory declared him a cardinal, September 11th. Francis I. who was then in Italy, willing to aſſume ſome merit on the occaſion, ſent him the firſt notice of his promotion. As ſoon as he received the agreeable news, he haſtened to communicate them to the king, but affected to have great ſcruples about accepting ſo high an honour, of which he thought himſelf unworthy. The king ſaluted him My Lord Cardinal, and ſoon overcame his ſcruples ‡. This was ſoon followed by another promotion. The pope a few days afterwards appointed his legate the new cardinal for England. Wolſey's promotion.

From this time, Wolſey ſet no bounds to his pride and arrogance; but made a moſt arbitrary uſe of his power, and a moſt diſguſting Wolſey's greatneſs.

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 473—491. † Hall, f. 56. ‡ Id. Ibid.

diſplay

A. D. 1515. display of his wealth. When his cardinal's hat was brought to England, he cauſed the bearer of it to be met on Blackheath, and conducted through London with as much pomp as if the pope himſelf had made his appearance; and his reception of it in Weſtminſter-abbey reſembled the coronation of a king *. Several of the king's moſt ancient and reſpectable counſellors, ſeeing themſelves ſo much eclipſed and ſo little regarded, reſolved to retire from court. The duke of Norfolk abſented himſelf as much as poſſible, but did not reſign his office of treaſurer at this time †. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, retired to his dioceſe, and reſigned his office of keeper of the privy ſeal ‡. On his taking leave of the king, he preſumed to caution him, "not to make any of his ſubjects greater than himſelf;" to which Henry ſternly replied, "that he knew how to keep all his "ſubjects in ſubjection." William Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, reſigned his office of chancellor, by delivering the great ſeal to the king December 22d, which was immediately committed to Wolſey, who may be ſaid to have reigned in England the ten ſucceeding years without a rival ‖; for Henry, during all that time, with all his ſelf-conceit and haughtineſs, was little more than the nominal, while Wolſey was the real king of England ¶.

Cauſes of his greatneſs.

The people of thoſe times were greatly perplexed how to account for the blind and obſtinate attachment of ſo haughty a prince to ſo inſolent a favourite. The vulgar of all ranks aſcribed this to necromancy, and firmly believed that the cardinal had bewitched the king. But wiſe men aſcribed this extraordinary phenomenon to its true cauſe, the extraordinary capacity and cunning of the cardinal, who contrived to render himſelf always agreeable, always uſeful, and always neceſſary to the king. The arts he employed for theſe purpoſes were innumerable, of which I ſhall mention only a few. Henry was fond of pleaſurable amuſements, in which he ſpent much

* Stowe, p. 500. † Rym. p. 555—564. ‡ Ibid. p. 553.
‖ Herbert, p. 24. Rym. p. 529. ¶ Eraſmus, lib. 26. epiſt. 55.

of

of his time. The cardinal, who was himſelf a man of pleaſure, encouraged this paſſion, contrived amuſements for him, partook of them, and provided him with companions and playfellows, who were his own creatures, and communicated to him every word the king ſpoke in his moſt unguarded moments. He recommended Longland, biſhop of Lincoln, his old and faithful friend, to be the king's confeſſor; "and when the king's grace ſhrove himſelf, (ſays a writer "then at court,) think ye not that he ſpoke ſo loud that the cardinal "heard him *." The king's chaplains were all his confidents and creatures, and watered (ſays the ſame writer) what the cardinal had ſown. He danced and frolicked with the ladies of the court, and made them preſents, to gain their favour and obtain intelligence. He was a moſt ſkilful flatterer, and frequently regaled the king with that moſt palatable diſh, nicely adapted to his taſte. Above all, knowing Henry's high eſteem of his own wiſdom, and obſtinate adherence to his own opinions, by long trains artfully laid, he got the ſchemes which he himſelf had formed to be propoſed by the king, which he then praiſed and adopted as the beſt and wiſeſt that could be invented †. By theſe and various other arts, this admirable but unprincipled politician gained, and long retained, the favour of one of the moſt capricious and paſſionate princes that ever lived. A. D. 1515.

Wolſey's abuſe of his power.

Wolſey ſhamefully abuſed the unbounded confidence repoſed in him by his royal maſter, and on ſeveral occaſions ſacrificed the honour of his prince, and the proſperity of his country, to his own paſſions and private intereſts. He had perſuaded Henry to retain Tournay, that he might retain the revenues of the biſhopric. But the French biſhop elect gave him much trouble, and made ſtrenuous efforts to obtain poſſeſſion of his ſee; and Wolſey diſcovered, by his ſpies at Rome, that Francis I. had eſpouſed the cauſe of the biſhop, and ſolicited the pope for a bull in his favour ‡. Incenſed at this, the vindictive prelate perſuaded Henry to violate the treaty

* Cavendiſh apud Strype, vol. i. p. 124. † Ibid. ‡ Strype, vol. i. chap. 1.

A. D. 1515. of peace he had made with Francis only a few months before, and to form a new confederacy againſt France with Maximilian and Ferdinand, who had ſo often deceived him. Henry heſitated at this ſtrong meaſure, and wiſhed for the advice of his old counſellors. The duke of Norfolk, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, were ſent for to court, and a council was held in the king's preſence. The ancient counſellors argued ſtrongly againſt a breach with France, as highly imprudent, diſhonourable, and unjuſt. The cardinal made a long and violent harangue againſt Francis, as a prince of inſatiable ambition, who, by his late ſucceſſes in Italy, was become formidable to all his neighbours; and that there was a neceſſity for England to interpoſe, to prevent the increaſe of his power. The biſhop of Durham, and the other counſellors under Wolſey's influence, were of the ſame opinion. At the concluſion of the council, Henry declared, that he was determined to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the French arms in Italy, but that he hoped to do that without an open war, by ſupplying the emperor Maximilian with money *. That plan was adopted; an ambaſſador was ſent to the emperor, furniſhed with a large ſum of money, and bills for a ſtill greater ſum on the Friſcobaldi, famous Italian bankers, to engage him to march an army into Italy, to recover Milan from the French, and give it up to Franciſco Sforza, brother to Maximilian Sforza, who had reſigned all his rights to the king of France. Sforza, who aſſumed the name of duke of Milan, engaged to pay Wolſey an annual penſion of 10,000 ducats; and Wolſey engaged to make the king of England his perpetual friend and protector †. In this manner did this covetous and corrupt miniſter ſell his ſovereign and his country. The ſame ambaſſador, (doctor Richard Pace,) by the ſame powerful argument, money, enliſted an army of Swiſs, to fight under the emperor in his expedition into Italy. Maximilian took the ambaſſador's bills and money, marched into Italy, and after

Treaty with the Emperor.

* Herbert, p. 25. † Rym. p. 525.

a feeble

a feeble attempt upon Milan, disbanded his army, and returned into Germany; giving this for his excuse, that the Friscobaldi had become bankrupts, and could not pay their bills *. Thus was Henry obliged to sit down, as well contented as he could, with the loss of his money, and the mortification of having discovered his animosity against Francis, without doing him any harm. A. D. 1515.

The parliament met November 12th, the day to which it had been prorogued. As peace had been so lately concluded, Wolsey dared not yet divulge his hostile designs against France, and therefore had no pretence to demand a supply. But the king's coffers being much exhausted by his expensive amusements, and his remittances into Germany, a bill was brought into the house of peers, on the fortieth day of the parliament, for a subsidy to be granted to the king, and being read once, was carried by the lord chancellor to the house of commons. There, it is probable, it met with an unfavourable reception; for the parliament was dissolved the next day, December 22d; and on the same day archbishop Warham resigned the great seal †. Henry and his favourite seem now to have taken a dislike to parliaments, for no parliament was held after this, till July 31st, A. D. 1523 ‡. Parliament.

One thing that contributed to give the favourite an aversion to parliaments was, the violent contest between the last one and the convocation, which sat at the same time, about the exemption of the clergy from the jurisdiction of the secular courts. This matter was solemnly argued before the king, lords, and commons. Doctor Standish, guardian of the minorets in London, and chief of the king's spiritual council, argued strongly against the exemption. The clergy, enraged at this, called him before the convocation. Standish, who could expect neither justice nor mercy from such interested judges, implored the king's protection. The temporal peers, Contest between the clergy and laity.

* Herbert, p. 25. Hall, f. 59. Petrus de Angleria, p. 568.
† Journals, p. 56. Rym. p. 529. ‡ Rolls of Parl. 14 Hen. VIII.

A. D. 1515. the commons, and judges, petitioned the king to ſupport the rights of his crown, and the authority of his laws, againſt the encroachments of the clergy. This involved Henry, who was at once fond of power, and a bigot to the church, in great perplexity. He conſulted doctor Veyſey, dean of his chapel, of whoſe learning and virtue he had a high opinion, and the doctor declared againſt the exemption. All the judges gave it as their opinion, that thoſe of the convocation who had awarded the citation of doctor Standiſh were in a præmunire. In an aſſembly of both houſes of parliament, the convocation, and judges, the king, at laſt, declared, that it was his reſolution to maintain the rights of his crown, and juriſdiction of his courts, in as ample a manner as any of his progenitors had done *. This affair is not mentioned in the Journals; but doctor Taylor, who was clerk of parliament, and prolocutor of the convocation, hath added this note: "In this parliament and convocation, moſt dangerous con-" teſts aroſe between the clergy and the laity about eccleſiaſtical " immunities. One Standiſh, a minoret, was the author of all " theſe evils †.

1516. Birth and death. Queen Katharine was delivered of a daughter, February 11th, A. D. 1516, who was named Mary, and will be often mentioned in the ſequel of this work ‡. In the ſame month died the queen's father, Ferdinand king of Spain, and was ſucceeded in his extenſive dominions by his grandſon Charles, already ſovereign of all the territories of the houſe of Burgundy, and heir to thoſe of the houſe of Auſtria, which, with the empire of Germany, came ſoon after into his poſſeſſion.

Treaties. The death of Ferdinand and acceſſion of Charles engaged the attention of all the great princes and ſtates in Europe, and gave occaſion to various negociations. Henry had concluded a commercial treaty with Charles, as ſovereign of the Low Countries, January

* Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. iii. p. 13—17. † Journals, p. 57.

‡ Stowe, p. 504.

24th,

24th, A. D. 1516, only a few days before his grandfather's death; and now foreſeeing his future power and greatneſs, he wiſhed to form a more intimate connexion with him *. With this view, and to gratify the reſentment of his favourite againſt Francis, he gave a commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey, the duke of Norfolk, and the biſhop of Durham, to negociate with the plenipotentiaries of the emperor Maximilian, and his grandſon Charles king of Spain, a league and confederacy in defence of the church, and to reſtrain the unbridled ambition of certain princes, meaning the king of France. This holy league, of which the pope was declared the head, was concluded at London, October 29th, A. D. 1516 †. In this league they were aſhamed to name the prince againſt whom it was formed; and they had good reaſon to be aſhamed; for all the confederates had very lately made treaties of peace with Francis, and he had not done any of them the ſmalleſt injury. This was another abſurd tranſaction into which Henry was betrayed by the covetous and vindictive ſpirit of his favourite, and it came to nothing. A. D. 1516.

In the ſpring of this year, the emperor attempted to extort money from Henry by a very curious contrivance: In a confidential converſation with Sir Robert Wyngfield, the Engliſh ambaſſador at his court, he pretended to be tired of the toils and cares attending his high office—that he had a prodigious affection for his maſter the king of England, and was diſpoſed to reſign the empire in his favour—that when he was emperor, he might aſſert his right to the crown of France, in which he would be aſſiſted by the pope, and all good chriſtians. The ambaſſador communicated this fine project to his maſter, but cautioned him not to depend too much on the emperor's ſincerity. Though this bait was admirably dreſſed to pleaſe the predominant paſſions of the king and his favourite, the deſign of it was too palpable to eſcape detection. Henry directed his ambaſſador Device of the emperor.

* Rym. p. 533—539. † Ibid. p. 556—566.

A. D. 1516. to thank the emperor for his friendly intentions, and deſire him to keep them ſecret, till the French were driven out of Italy *.

1517. Wolſey's power. The cardinal having failed in his attempts to raiſe a ſtorm againſt the king of France, was conſtrained to ſuffer his country to continue in peace. Being thus diſengaged from political intrigues, he employed himſelf in diſcharging the duties of his various offices. As chancellor he is ſaid to have diſcovered uncommon talents; and his decrees are much applauded, by one of his moſt eminent ſucceſſors, for their wiſdom, equity, and juſtice †. He called the collectors of the revenues of the crown to a ſevere account, by which he brought conſiderable ſums of money into the treaſury. As papal legate, he acted with unbounded authority; erected no fewer than four new courts, into which he brought perſons of all denominations, and pleas of all kinds, and thereby greatly diminiſhed the buſineſs of the ordinary courts of law ‡. Poſſeſſed of all this power, he had not the magnanimity to forgive the affronts he had received when in a humbler ſtation. He confined Sir Amias Pawlet ſeveral years, for having put him in the ſtocks when he was a young man, for raiſing a riot in a country fair ‖.

Courted by great princes. The influence of cardinal Wolſey in all the councils of England was now ſo well eſtabliſhed, and ſo univerſally known, that the greateſt monarchs courted his friendſhip. The pope revoked the bull he had granted in favour of Lewis Galliart, biſhop elect of Tournay; and by another, appointed Wolſey adminiſtrator of that ſee; and ſoon after made him his general collector in England §: a very lucrative office to one who had ſo much power. The young king of Spain granted him a penſion of 3000 livres a year, calling him in the grant, "his moſt dear and moſt eſpecial friend ¶." It was no ſecret that pride and avarice were his ruling paſſions; and that money and flattery were the moſt effectual means of gaining his favour.

* Herbert, p. 25. † T. More, Lucubrationes. ‡ Stowe, p. 504.
‖ Stowe, p. 504. § Rym. p. 585—588. ¶ Ibid. 591.

As

A. D. 1518.

As the king of England at this time held the balance between the two great monarchs of France and Spain, and was able to make either ſcale he pleaſed preponderate, the friendſhip of his favourite was of great importance to both theſe monarchs, and Wolſey had the ſatiſfaction to ſee them both courting him with the greateſt emulation. Francis, in order to defeat his rival, ſent the cardinal many curious and valuable preſents, accompanied with the moſt flattering letters, in which he called him, his lord, his father, and his guardian; aſſured him that he would regard his advices as oracles, and amply reward his ſervices *. When he had by theſe means gained the favourite, as much as it was poſſible to gain one ſo ſelfiſh and intereſted, he inſtructed Villeroy, his reſident at the court of England, to treat privately with him about the reſtitution of Tournay, and an alliance between the two crowns, to be cemented by the marriage of the dauphin with the princeſs Mary, Henry's only child; not forgetting to promiſe him an indemnification for the biſhopric.

Wolſey's artful conduct.

When Wolſey perceived that it would be his intereſt to promote the views of the king of France, he managed his royal maſter with great dexterity. He preſented him with ſome of the moſt curious things he had received from Francis, to put him into good humour. "With theſe things," ſaid he, "hath the king of France attempted "to corrupt me. Many ſervants would have concealed this from "their maſters, but I am reſolved to deal openly with your grace "on all occaſions. This attempt, however," added he, "to corrupt "the ſervant, is a certain proof of his ſincere deſire of the friend-"ſhip of the maſter." Henry was ſo far from being offended, that it pleaſed his vanity, to think that he had choſen ſo great a miniſter, who was ſo much admired and courted by other princes. "The "cardinal," ſaid he, "will govern both Francis and me †."

* Polydore Virgil, lib. xxvii. Herbert, p. 30. † Ibid.

The

A. D. 1518. Treaties.

The way being thus prepared, Francis appointed William Gouffier, lord of Bonivet, admiral of France; Stephen Ponchier, biſhop of Paris; ſir Francis de Rupecavarde, and ſir Nicholas de Neufville, his plenipotentiaries, July 31ſt, A. D. 1518, to treat with the king of England about a perpetual peace; the marriage of the dauphin and the princeſs Mary; the reſtoration of Tournay; and a perſonal interview between the two kings *. Theſe plenipotentiaries ſet out with a ſplendid train of the gayeſt lords and ladies of France, attended by no fewer than twelve hundred officers, guards, and ſervants. This expenſive cumberſome parade ſeems to have been deſigned to gratify the vanity of Henry and his favourite. They were introduced to the king at Greenwich September 23d, and ſoon after entered upon buſineſs with cardinal Wolſey, who had been appointed by Henry his ſole commiſſioner to treat with them †. Senſible that they could expect no ſucceſs without the cardinal's favour, they began by preſenting him with the grant of a penſion of 12,000 livres a year for life, as a compenſation for the biſhopric of Tournay ‡. It appears from the ſtrain of this grant, that every thing had been ſettled before by Wolſey and the French reſident, and that the plenipotentiaries had little or nothing to do but to ſign the treaties that had been prepared. Theſe were four: 1. A treaty of perpetual peace and amity between the two kings and their ſucceſſors. 2. A treaty of marriage between the dauphin and the princeſs Mary. 3. A treaty for the reſtitution of Tournay to France for 600,000 crowns. 4. A treaty for a perſonal interview of the two kings, in ſome neutral place between Calais and Ardres, before the laſt day of July, A. D. 1519 §. By theſe treaties a ſolid foundation ſeemed to be laid of a cordial friendſhip between the two kings, an intimate union between their families, and a permanent peace between their ſubjects.

* Rym. p. 611—619.
† Hall, f. 65. Rym. p. 608.
‡ Ibid. p. 610.
§ Ibid. p. 625—681.

but we ſhall ſoon ſee how little we can depend upon the moſt promiſing appearances, and moſt ſolemn treaties. A. D. 1518.

Every year brought Wolſey additions to his former power and riches; and Henry ſeemed to be determined to diveſt himſelf of all authority, to beſtow it on his favourite. By one warrant, he gave him authority to make as many denizens as he pleaſed; and by another, he gave him power to iſſue *congés d'elire*, royal aſſents, reſtitutions of temporalties to all archbiſhoprics, biſhoprics, abbeys, priories, and all other eccleſiaſtical benefices in the gift of the crown, without conſulting the king *. In a word, by one means or other, he got the diſpoſal of almoſt all the conſiderable benefices in England, which brought great ſums of money into his coffers. The pope gave him the biſhoprics of Bath and Wells July 28th, which had been vacated by the deprivation of cardinal Adrian for a plot againſt his holineſs †. His penſion from the king of France hath been already mentioned. Wolſey increaſes in power and riches.

The king and court of England ſpent the beginning of this year in making preparations of all kinds for the approaching interview with the king and court of France, at which Henry propoſed to outſhine his brother monarch, and make a moſt dazzling diſplay of his riches and magnificence. His ſubjects were inflamed with the ſame vain ambition, in which they were encouraged by the king and cardinal; and ſeveral of the nobility contracted debts, which greatly diſtreſſed their families. Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, the richeſt nobleman in England, dropped ſome expreſſions reflecting on the cardinal, as the cauſe of all this ruinous expence, which were not forgotten. Francis ſeems to have known the characters of Henry and his favourite, and he paid them both a very flattering compliment, by appointing Wolſey his commiſſioner, January 10th, A. D. 1519, with full powers to ſettle with the commiſſioners of the king of 1519. Wolſey regulates the interview.

* Rym. p. 605. † Ibid. p. 610.

A. D. 1519. England the time, place, and all the other circumſtances of the intended interview *. Wolſey having received a ſimilar commiſſion from his own maſter, iſſued a mandate, by which he regulated all the motions of theſe two mighty monarchs, their queens, their courts, and attendants of all kinds, in the moſt authoritative and peremptory manner †. We can hardly blame this man for being proud.

Charles of Spain elected emperor.

In the mean time an event happened which engaged the attention of all Europe, and ſuſpended all other deſigns. The emperor Maximilian died January 12th, A. D. 1519, and the two powerful kings of France and Spain immediately declared themſelves candidates for the imperial crown. Both theſe princes were rich and powerful, young, active, and ambitious, and made the moſt vigorous efforts to gain the glittering prize, by laviſhing their money and promiſes among the electors. The pope earneſtly deſired to ſee them both diſappointed, and the king of England, or ſome German prince, elected; but dared not openly to declare againſt either of them. Henry's ambition was rouſed, and he ſent ſir Richard Pace into Germany, to try what could be done among the electors in his favour. But that miniſter ſoon acquaint d him, that the ground was pre-occupied, and wiſely adviſed him to conceal his ambition and ſave his money. The conferences of the electors began in June, and on the 28th of that month Charles king of Spain was unanimouſly choſen, and immediately proclaimed emperor, by the name of Charles V.: a name renowned in the hiſtory of modern Europe ‡. Charles was chiefly indebted for his ſucceſs to the great intereſt and diſintereſted patriotiſm of Frederick, elector of Saxony, to whom the electors, it is ſaid, made an offer of the imperial crown.

Francis courts Henry and his favourite.

The election of Charles was a cruel diſappointment to his rival Francis, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of ſucceſs to the very laſt. He was greatly mortified at the loſs of his money, and ſtill

* Rym. p. 610. † Ibid. p. 705.
‡ See Doctor Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V.

more

more at the preference of a prince younger and leſs famous than himſelf, in ſo public a competition. He now ſaw more clearly than ever, the neceſſity of cultivating the friendſhip of the king of England. With this view he continued to flatter the favourite, and paid with great punctuality all the ſums of money that were due for the reſtitution of Tournay, and on other accounts *. He alſo deſired the favour of Henry to ſtand godfather to his ſecond ſon, and to give him a name. He complied, and gave him his own name. In a word, the two kings, to expreſs their regret for the delay of their interview, occaſioned by the death of Maximilian, agreed not to ſhave their beards till they had ſeen one another †. This propoſal probably came from Francis, who was at infinite pains to keep Henry and the cardinal in good humour, and ſteady to their engagements. A. D. 1519.

Though the young emperor Charles V. had triumphed in the competition for the empire, he was not without his diſquiets. He met with much oppoſition in Spain; commotions aroſe in his German dominions, and he was greatly alarmed at the intended interview of Henry and Francis, which he endeavoured to prevent by his ambaſſador at the court of England. But the engagements to this interview, he was told, were too ſtrong and too public to be violated; that nothing hoſtile to him was intended, and that the king would have no objections to an interview with him on a proper occaſion. Charles, ſtill uneaſy, reſolved to pay Henry the compliment of a viſit, in his paſſage from Spain into Germany; and he took the moſt effectual method to ſecure a favourable reception, by tranſmitting to cardinal Wolſey a ſolemn promiſe, under his privy ſeal, dated at Campoſtella, March 29th, A. D. 1520, that he would engage the pope to grant him the adminiſtration of the biſhopric of Badajox in Caſtile, worth 5000 ducats a year, and a penſion of 2000 ducats a year out of the biſhopric of Placentia ‡. This promiſe was punc- 1520. The emperor arrives in England.

* Rym. p. 699. Herbert, p. 34. † Ibid. ‡ Rym. p. 714.

A. D. 1520. tually performed *. The emperor ſailed from the Groyne May 20th and arrived off Dover May 26th. As ſoon as this news reached Henry, (who was then with his court at Canterbury, in his way to France,) he ſent the cardinal to receive him at his landing, and conduct him to the caſtle of Dover, where he went to ſee him next morning. The emperor, it is ſaid, endeavoured to diſſuade the king from proceeding to his interview with Francis, or at leaſt to prevent him from forming too intimate connections with that prince. This is probable, but cannot be certainly known. Charles, though he was ſtill young, was already too good a politician to neglect the favourite. On the contrary, he cultivated his friendſhip with great attention, and no little ſucceſs. It was on this occaſion, as is commonly believed, that the emperor promiſed him his intereſt for obtaining the papal throne, on which he had fixed his ambitious eyes, though the reigning pope was a younger man than himſelf. After conferring ſome time on buſineſs at Dover, Henry conducted the emperor to Canterbury, and introduced him to queen Katharine, his aunt, and to Mary queen dowager of France, formerly his betrothed bride, with whoſe appearance he was ſo much ſtruck that he could not conceal his emotions. Having ſpent two days in banqueting and diverſions, the emperor went to Sandwich May 29th, and ſailed from thence next morning, as did the king, queen, and court of England the day after from Dover, and arrived at Calais †. This viſit of the emperor appears to have been very pleaſing to Henry and his favourite; but it gave great uneaſineſs to the king of France.

Henry and his court proceed to Guiſnes.

Henry ſpent three days at Calais, to finiſh the preparations for the approaching interview, and ſet out on his way to Guiſnes June 4th, with his queen, the queen dowager of France, and all his court. The king, beſide all his guards and ſervants, and all the noblemen and

* Rym. p. 725. † Peter Martyr, ep. 669. Hall, f. 72, 73. Herbert, p. 35.

gentlemen

gentlemen of his houſehold, was attended by one cardinal, one archbiſhop, ſeven biſhops, two dukes, one marquis, eight earls, and eighteen lords, with all their numerous followers, and many knights and gentlemen. The queen, beſide all the ladies, officers, and ſervants of her houſehold, was attended by three biſhops, one earl, three lords, thirty-three knights, one ducheſs, ſeven counteſſes, fifteen baroneſſes, nineteen knights' wives, and many gentlewomen, with all their attendants *. The ſuit, or rather court, of the cardinal was nearly as numerous as that of the king. All the prelates, lords, and ladies vied with one another in the richneſs of their dreſſes and number of their followers. In a word, the court of England made a moſt ſplendid appearance on this occaſion, and exhibited a conſpicuous diſplay of the wealth of their country, and the vanity of their king. A. D. 1520.

Great preparations had been made at Guiſnes for the reception of this illuſtrious company. Two thouſand artificers of different kinds had been employed ſeveral months in building a magnificent palace of wood near the caſtle, for the accommodation of the king and queen, with the principal lords and ladies of the court. This palace formed a ſquare, ſurrounding a court, each ſide of which was three thouſand and twenty-eight feet in length. The walls and roof were adorned, on the out-ſide, with a great number of ſtatues of warriors, in the act of diſcharging weapons of various kinds. Over the great gateway was a colloſſal ſtatue of a ſavage, armed with a bow and arrows, with this inſcription below it, "*Cui adhæreo* "*præeſt*:—He to whom I adhere prevails." The inſide of the palace was divided into ſtate-rooms and lodging-rooms; the roofs of which were painted, the walls hung with ſilks or tapeſtry, the floors covered with Turkey carpets, and all richly furniſhed. On one ſide of the great gate was a fountain running with white and red wine: Splendor of the Engliſh court.

* Hall, f. 72. Rym. p. 710—713.

and

A. D. 1520. and hippocras, with this inſcription, "Make merry who will," and a ſtatue of Bacchus on the top. On the other ſide of the gate was an obeliſk, with a ſtatue of Cupid on the top, in the attitude of diſcharging arrows at thoſe who entered. Contiguous to this palace were built elegant convenient lodges for all the great officers of the houſehold; as the lord chamberlain, lord treaſurer, lord ſteward, the comptroller, and board of green cloth: and houſes for all the offices; as the ewery, pantry, cellar, buttery, ſpicery, larder, poultry, pitcher-houſe, &c. On the plain around the palace were pitched two thouſand eight hundred tents, many of them large and magnificent, covered with cloth of gold or ſilk. All the houſes in the town of Guiſnes were crowded, and ſeveral perſons of rank and fortune were forced to lodge in barns, and to ſleep on hay or ſtraw *. Beſide the great multitude of his own ſubjects of all ranks, who accompanied the king of England on this occaſion, and beſide the great number of foreign princes and princeſſes, and nobility of both ſexes, who frequented his court, and were nobly entertained, we are told by an hiſtorian who was preſent, "That during this triumph, "(which laſted twenty days,) much people of Picardy and Flanders "drew to Guiſnes, to ſee the king of England and his honour, to "whom victuals of the court were given in plenty, and the conduit "of the gate ran wine always. There were vagabonds, plow-"men, labourers, waggoners, and beggars, that for drunkenneſs "lay in routs and heaps; ſo great-reſort thither came, that both "knights and ladies, that were come to ſee that nobleneſs, were "faine to lye in hay and ſtraw, and held them thereof highly "pleaſed †." If to the above were added a deſcription of the dreſſes of the king, the queen, the ladies, the lords, and knights, in which nothing were ſeen but ſilks, velvets, cloth of gold, embroidery and jewels, we might form ſome idea of the immenſe ex-

* Hall, f. 73, 74. † Id. f. 74.

pence in which this vain parade involved Henry and his moſt opulent ſubjects. "Many of the nobles," ſays a writer who was a ſpectator of this glittering ſcene, "carried their caſtles, woods, and farms "on their backs *." A. D. 1520.

Wolſey treats with the French miniſters.

The king of France, with his queen and court, as numerous and at leaſt as gay and ſparkling as that of England, arrived at Ardres in the beginning of June. Cardinal Wolſey, to whom both kings had given authority to regulate all the circumſtances of their interview, went from Guiſnes to Ardres June 7th, in all the pomp his riches enabled and his pride prompted him to exhibit, which was ſuch as ſtruck the French with aſtoniſhment. Francis, who ardently deſired to gain him, received him with the moſt flattering marks of affection and reſpect †. He ſpent two days in negociating with the French miniſters: but in theſe negociations no uncommon cordiality appeared; nothing of importance was concluded, and only a few trifling articles were added to the former treaties ‡. Parade and buſtle are unfriendly to real buſineſs.

First interview.

When Wolſey publiſhed his orders for regulating this famous interview, they appeared to breathe a ſpirit of mutual diffidence; and if the two monarchs had been the bittereſt enemies, greater precautions could not have been taken to prevent the one from taking the other priſoner. Both kings were to be conſtantly attended by equal numbers of men in all their motions; equal numbers of both nations were to guard the roads, and ſearch the environs, to prevent ambuſhes §. In a word, every thing had rather a hoſtile than an amicable appearance; and, in fact, emulation and jealouſy prevailed more on both ſides, than love and friendſhip. This mutual diſtruſt appeared in a ſtrong light on the day of the firſt interview. Both kings drew up all their followers in a kind of battle array; both ſet out the ſame moment, at the firing of a cannon, from Guiſnes,

* Hall, f. 74. † Id. f. 73. ‡ Rym. p. 719. 723. § Id. p. 707.

that

A. D. 1520. that was anſwered by one from Ardres. When the French had advanced a little, an alarm aroſe of ſome danger; Francis alighted, and remained for ſome time in ſuſpence, but being encouraged by monſieur Morret, he remounted and proceeded. Soon after, a ſimilar alarm aroſe among the Engliſh: the king halted; but lord Shrewſbury ſaid, "Sir, I have ſeen the Frenchmen; they be more in fear of "you and your ſubjects than your ſubjects be of them; wherefore, "if I were worthy to give counſel, your grace ſhould march for-"ward."—"So we intend, my lord," ſaid the king. Then the officers of arms cried, "On afore *." At laſt the two kings met; embraced on horſeback, then alighted, embraced again, and went arm-in-arm into a tent of cloth of gold, prepared for their reception. There they converſed familiarly, dined together, and then ſeparated for that time †.

After this, the king of France viſited the queen of England in her palace at Guiſnes, where he dined, and ſpent the day in dancing and other amuſements, while the king of England acted the ſame part at Ardres. But all their motions were ſtill regulated by the cumberſome etiquette eſtabliſhed by the cardinal. Francis, who earneſtly deſired to gain the confidence and friendſhip of his brother monarch, firſt broke through theſe embarraſſing regulations. He mounted early in the morning, and rode towards Guiſnes, attended only by two gentlemen and a page. A body of two hundred Engliſh, who were upon guard and knew him, were greatly ſurpriſed at his appearance. "Surrender your arms," cried Francis, "and conduct "me to my brother." Henry was ſtill in bed. Francis drew open his curtains, and awaked him. Nothing could equal his ſurpriſe, when he ſaw the king of France at the ſide of his bed. "You "have gained a victory over me," ſaid he, "my dear brother; I "yield myſelf your priſoner, and plight you my faith." He then

* Hall, f. 76. † Id. ibid.

preſented

preſented a chain or collar of great value to Francis, intreating him to wear it for his ſake; and Francis taking a bracelet of ſtill greater value from his own arm, tied it about Henry's, with the ſame requeſt *. From that time the intercourſe between the two kings and their courts became more free and confidential. A. D. 1520.

Both Henry and Francis delighted and excelled in the martial and manly exerciſes of thoſe times, and took this opportunity of diſplaying their courage and ſkill in arms, as well as their magnificence. Heralds had been ſent into all parts, to proclaim the challenge of the kings of France and England, as brothers in arms, with fourteen companions, at tilts, tournaments, and barriers; and to invite all valorous knights and gentlemen to come and accept the challenge. Theſe moſt brilliant feats of arms (which will be more particularly deſcribed in another place) began June 11th, and ended June 23d. Francis ſpent the next day at Guiſnes, with the queen and court of England; and Henry at Ardres, with the queen and court of France. In their return, the two monarchs met, and ſpent ſome time in familiar converſation and expreſſions of mutual eſteem and friendſhip; after which they embraced, and took their leave of one another †. Thus ended this famous interview, commonly called, *the field of cloth of gold.* It produced no effect of importance, and contributed nothing to increaſe the amity between the two kings and the two nations, though it contributed not a little to exhauſt their wealth ‡. Tilts and tournaments, &c.

* Garnier, Hiſt. de France, tom. xxiii. p. 296. † Hall, f. 78—84.

‡ The following fact, related by the mareſchal de Fleuranges, moſt probably left an unfavourable impreſſion on the mind of Henry: "After the tournaments the "French and Engliſh wreſtlers made their appearance, and wreſtled before the kings "and the ladies; the Engliſh gained the prize. After this the kings retired to a tent "and drank together; and the king of England ſeizing the king of France by the "collar, ſaid, "My brother, I muſt wreſtle with you;" and endeavoured to trip up "his heels: but the king of France, who is a dextrous wreſtler, twiſted him round, "and threw him on the ground with great violence. The king of England attempted "to renew the combat, but was prevented." Memoires de Fleuranges, p. 329.

A. D. 1520. Interview with the emperor.

Henry, with his queen and court, returned to Calais June 25th, where the cardinal aſſembled all the Engliſh lords, knights, and gentlemen, thanked them for their honourable attendance on the king, and gave them leave to ſend home one half of their followers; and at the ſame time adviſed them to live warily. An advice which theſe haughty chieftains took very much amiſs *. Great preparations were made for viſiting the emperor at Gravelines, and receiving a viſit from him at Calais. Accordingly Henry ſet out July 10th, with a ſplendid retinue, and was met by the emperor, and conducted into Gravelines. Charles had given orders to entertain all the Engliſh in the moſt friendly and hoſpitable manner, to efface any impreſſions that might have been made upon them in favour of the French at the late interview; and they ſeem to have been much pleaſed with their entertainment. Henry returned next day to Calais, accompanied by the emperor, his aunt Margaret, and the imperial court. Henry had cauſed a ſtupendous fabric of wood to be erected for their entertainment. It was of a circular form, eight hundred feet in circumference; and the cieling was painted with a repreſentation of the heavenly bodies: but the roof of it was ſo much damaged by a ſtorm of wind, that it could not be repaired in time. Three days were ſpent in a continual round of banqueting, maſkings, balls, and other diverſions †. But Charles was not ſo much captivated by theſe vain amuſements as to neglect buſineſs. On the contrary, he laboured with ſo much art and aſſiduity to gain the favour of Wolſey, and conſequently of his maſter, that he ſucceeded; and their profeſſions of inviolable friendſhip to his rival Francis were forgotten. After the departure of the emperor, Henry returned to England, with his queen and court; having ſquandered, in a ſhort time, an incredible maſs of treaſure to no purpoſe.

1521. Buckingham beheaded.

Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham, lord high conſtable of England, the richeſt and moſt powerful nobleman of the kingdom

* Hall, f. 85. † Id. ibid.

at

at this time, was lineally deſcended from Anne, the eldeſt daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, youngeſt ſon of Edward III.; and being a weak, vain, ambitious man, had formed very abſurd and criminal projects, which he had not the prudence to conceal. He had offended cardinal Wolſey, by declaiming againſt him too freely, as the contriver of the late expenſive interview; and had made Charles Knevil, to whom he had communicated his projects, his enemy, by diſmiſſing him from the office of his ſteward. Knevil, either out of reſentment, or for fear of being involved in his ruin, diſcovered all he knew of the duke's deſigns to the cardinal. On this the duke was apprehended and committed to the Tower April 16th; as were alſo Knevil, ſir Gilbert Parke, his chancellor, John le Court, his confeſſor, and one Hopkins, a knaviſh monk, who had deluded him by pretended revelations from Heaven that he ſhould be king of England. The duke was brought to his trial in Weſtminſter-hall May 13th, before the duke of Norfolk as lord high ſteward, and eighteen other peers. It appeared from the depoſitions of the above four witneſſes, Knevil, Parke, Le Court, and Hopkins, that he had fixed his eyes upon the crown, and entertained hopes of obtaining it if the king died without a ſon: that theſe hopes were founded on his deſcent, his great eſtate, his noble connexions, his numerous retainers, and chiefly on the predictions of the impoſtor Hopkins: that, to promote his views, he had endeavoured to gain popularity, by railing at the king's miniſters; and reprobating every meaſure of government, had laboured to increaſe the number of his retainers, and even to corrupt the king's ſervants by bribes. Charles Knevil, who was a gentleman, and nearly related to the duke, declared, that on the 4th of November he had ſaid to him at Eaſt-Greenwich, "That when the king had reproved him for retaining ſir "William Bulmer in his ſervice, if he had perceived that he would "be ſent to the Tower, as he once ſuſpected, he would have re-"queſted an audience of the king; and if he had obtained it, he

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1521. "would have run him through the body with his dagger, as his "father intended to have done to Richard III. at Saliſbury, if he "had been admitted into his preſence." He was found guilty of high treaſon by the unanimous vote of his peers, and beheaded on Tower-hill May 17th *. Such was his haughtineſs, that when ſentence was pronounced upon him, he declared he would not aſk his life of the king. He appears to have been a deſperate and dangerous man, who had formed the moſt pernicious ſchemes, and was capable of the moſt criminal actions; and neither the king nor the cardinal could be blamed for bringing him to a trial, and permitting the ſentence againſt him to be executed.

War between the emperor and the king of France.

By the league of London A. D. 1518, between the kings of France and England, into which the pope, the emperor Maximilian, and his ſon Charles king of Spain, were admitted as principals, it was ſtipulated, that when one of the contracting parties was attacked, the other confederates ſhould firſt admoniſh the aggreſſor to deſiſt, which if he did not within one month, they were to declare themſelves his enemies †. A war was now become unavoidable between Charles and Francis, two of theſe confederates. They were both young, powerful, and ambitious; they had various claims upon one another, and each of them had formed ſchemes which it was the intereſt of the other to obſtruct. In a word, they were equally determined upon war, but neither of them was willing to appear the aggreſſor. Francis, however, with a view to take advantage of the civil war in Spain, encouraged Henry d'Albert, the expelled king of Navarre, to raiſe a body of troops in France for the recovery of his kingdom, which Charles was bound by treaty to reſtore, but refuſed. He alſo permitted the earl of Fleuranges to raiſe a ſmall army, and march to the aſſiſtance of his father the prince of Sedan, who had been injured by the emperor, and had ſent him a de-

* Stowe, p. 513–515. † Rym. p. 624–631. Herbert, p. 31.

fiance.

fiance. The emperor now called upon the king of England to interpoſe, and Henry ſent an ambaſſador to admoniſh Francis to deſiſt from giving aid to the emperor's enemies, contrary to the ſtipulations in the league of London. With this admonition Francis complied, by commanding Fleuranges to diſband his army, that he might not give Henry a pretence of joining with the emperor againſt him, to which he ſuſpected he was inclined. But this compliance did not prevent a war. Charles ſent a powerful army to take vengeance, as he pretended, on the prince of Sedan, which obliged Francis to arm, and the war commenced without any formal declaration, leaving it difficult to determine who had been the aggreſſor. The flames of war were kindled alſo in Italy between theſe two princes, by the duplicity, or rather treachery of the pope, who, with a view to deceive the king of France, concluded a treaty with him for the conqueſt of the kingdom of Naples from the emperor, and at the ſame time, with great ſecrecy, concluded a contrary treaty with the emperor, for the conqueſt of the dukedom of Milan from the French, and immediately commenced a war for that purpoſe *. A. D. 1521.

When the ſword was thus drawn, Henry offered his mediation to bring about a peace between theſe two powerful rivals, which was accepted with pleaſure by the emperor, and with heſitation and reluctance by Francis. Henry conſtituted his favourite, cardinal Wolſey, his plenipotentiary, with the moſt ample powers †. It is amuſing to obſerve, that though Henry, by the influence of his favourite, was in the intereſt of the emperor, yet in the cardinal's commiſſion, the extraordinary affection he had contracted for Francis at the late interview, is expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms that could be invented ‡. The negociations were appointed to be at Calais. Henry mediates a peace.

Before Wolſey ſet out for Calais to execute his important commiſſion, he received two bulls from the pope, which clearly evince Bulls in favour of Wolſey.

* Herbert, p. 41, 42. Garnier, tom. xxiii. p. 323—347.

† Rym. p. 748—752. ‡ Ibid. p. 749.

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A. D. 1521. the extent of his influence. His dignity of legate *a latere* had been continued to him by ſeveral bulls, each granting it for two years. In that which he received at this time, the following extraordinary powers were given him—of making fifty counts palatine, fifty knights, fifty chaplains, and fifty notaries—of legitimating baſtards, and conferring the degree of doctor in divinity, law, and medicine *. Theſe favours were granted, to fix him in the intereſt of the emperor, and probably at the deſire of that prince. By another bull, authority was given him to grant licence to ſuch as he thought proper, to read the works of that peſtilent heretic Martin Luther, eſpecially to thoſe who deſired to read them with a deſign to write againſt them. This was intended to pave the way for the appearance of a royal champion for the pope, againſt the devil and Luther, who had formed a confederacy (as it was ſaid) againſt his holineſs and the church †.

Henry obtains a new title.

This champion was Henry VIII. king of England, who wrote a whole book againſt Luther, with this title, *De Septem Sacramentis, contra Martinum Lutherum, Hereſiarchon, per illuſtriſſimum principem Henricum* VIII., &c. A copy of this book, beautifully written and elegantly bound, was preſented by the king's ambaſſador at Rome to the pope in full conſiſtory, and was received with the moſt flaming expreſſions of gratitude to, and admiration of, its royal author. His holineſs, to encourage this powerful champion in his cauſe, who could defend him by his ſword as well as by his pen, beſtowed upon him and his ſucceſſors the title of Defender of the Faith, by a bull ſubſcribed by himſelf and twenty-ſeven cardinals. This bull was accompanied by a letter from the pope to the king, which exhibits a curious ſpecimen of the groſſeſt flattery. After the moſt extravagant encomiums on his wiſdom, learning, and eloquence, the fervor of his zeal, and the warmth of his charity,—

* Rym. p. 741. † Ibid. p. 739—744.

his gravity, gentleneſs, and meekneſs,—the order, ſolidity, and ſtrength of his arguments, his holineſs adds, "It is evident that you "have been inſpired by the Holy Spirit; and that if thoſe againſt "whom you have written had been really men, and not the worſt "of devils, they muſt have been converted *." Henry ſwallowed all this flattery, and was exceſſively delighted with his new title, which he conſidered as an acquiſition of ineſtimable value. A. D. 1521.

Cardinal Wolſey landed at Calais Auguſt 2d, and was received with as much pomp and ceremony as if he had been king of England. The ambaſſadors of the emperor and the king of France arrived at the ſame place about the ſame time, and conferences for a treaty of peace began to be held before the cardinal as mediator. The emperor, who (ſecure of the aſſiſtance of the king of England) did not really deſire peace, directed his ambaſſadors to make demands which he knew would not be granted, and gave them no power to make any abatement of theſe demands. The French plenipotentiaries were greatly provoked at this haughtineſs, at which the cardinal alſo affected to appear diſpleaſed, and told them with much ſeeming candour, that if he had a perſonal conference with the emperor, he hoped to prevail upon him to make peace on more moderate terms; and that he was determined to take a journey to Bruges (where the emperor then reſided) for that purpoſe. The French plenipotentiaries remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt this, as inconſiſtent with that impartiality which it became a mediator to obſerve, and threatened to break off the conferences and retire. But Wolſey told them plainly, that if they departed from Calais before he returned from Bruges, he would declare them the aggreſſors in the war, and enemies to peace and to the king of England. That they might not give him a pretence for doing this, they were conſtrained to remain and await his return. Congreſs at Calais.

* Rym. p. 756—759.

The

A. D. 1521. Cardinal viſits the emperor.

The cardinal ſet out from Calais Auguſt 12th, attended by the imperial ambaſſadors, and a ſplendid train of prelates, nobles, knights, and gentlemen. The emperor met him a mile out of Bruges, into which he conducted him in a kind of triumph, and treated him with the moſt flattering marks of reſpect. He continued thirteen days at the imperial court, and had frequent conferences with the emperor and his miniſters. But the object of theſe conferences was, not a treaty of peace between the emperor and the king of France, but a treaty of confederacy between the pope, the emperor, and the king of England, for a war againſt that prince. The preliminaries of that treaty were then ſettled, which were to be reduced into form, and ratified within three months, and in the mean time to be kept a profound ſecret *. As this treacherous ſcheme had been formed before the cardinal left England, he obtained a commiſſion from the king July 29th, giving him full power and authority to make treaties and form confederacies with the pope, the emperor, the king of France, or any other king, prince, or ſtate, which the king ſolemnly bound himſelf to confirm and ratify †. At a great entertainment which the emperor gave the cardinal and his attendants a few days before their departure, one of the imperial miniſters ſtood up and made a moſt violent declamation againſt the king of France, enumerating all the injuries he had done to the emperor ‡. No formal reply was made to this harangue; but ſome Engliſh knights cried out, "Sir, you have ſaid well; and as God will, all muſt be." This ſeems to have been intended to prepare the minds of the Engliſh for the ſcene that was ſoon to be opened.

The cardinal having finiſhed his buſineſs at Bruges, (which was very different from his pretended errand,) returned to Calais Auguſt 27th, and reſumed the conferences for peace, which he well knew would be unſucceſsful. That ſomething, however, might be

* Hall, f. 87. Stowe, p. 514. Herbert, p. 43, 44.
† Rym. p. 750. ‡ Hall, f. 88.

done

done at this famous congreſs, on which the eyes of all Europe were fixed, the cardinal produced a treaty, prepared by himſelf, to which the plenipotentiaries of both the belligerent powers conſented. By this treaty it was ſtipulated, 1. That no diſturbance ſhould be given to the fiſhermen of any nation. 2. That no ſhips of any nation ſhould be taken near the coaſts, or in the bays, ports, and rivers of England. 3. That ſatisfaction ſhould be given for any Engliſh ſhips that had been taken. 4. That couriers ſhould be permitted to paſs unmoleſted between the Imperial and French courts and Calais. 5. That when the congreſs broke up, all the members of it, with their retinues, ſhould be permitted to return home in ſafety *. Wolſey, in concert with the emperor, having detained the French plenipotentiaries at Calais as long as he could, the congreſs at laſt broke up, after it had continued about three months to very little purpoſe. A. D. 1521.

The cardinal landed at Dover November 27th, after an abſence of almoſt four months. This long abſence was attended with many inconveniencies. As he had carried the great ſeal with him, all who had any buſineſs with it were obliged to repair to Calais; and there was no nomination of ſheriffs this year. The king had delegated ſo much power to his favourite, that he had left little to himſelf, and that little he would not exerciſe, without conſulting his abſent oracle by letters, and receiving his advices, or rather directions †. In his capacity of mediator, the cardinal acted a part equally diſhonourable and imprudent; by which he deſtroyed the balance of power between the emperor and the king of France, which it was the intereſt of the king of England to preſerve. He had alſo affronted his too indulgent maſter in the moſt public manner, by placing himſelf on a level with him, as joint-guarantee of the above-mentioned treaty, which was dictated by himſelf ‡. But notwithſtanding all this, Henry received him with the ſtrongeſt marks of friendſhip. So Inconvenience of the Cardinal's abſence.

* Rym. p. 753. † Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 27—33. ‡ Rym. p. 754.

A. D. 1522. great an aſcendant had this artful man gained over the ſpirit of the proudeſt prince in the world.

1522. Death of pope Leo X. The emperor Charles V. had gained cardinal Wolſey, not only by the great penſions he had ſettled upon him, but chiefly by the ſolemn promiſes he had given him, that he would promote his advancement to the papal throne, with all his power, on the firſt vacancy. That vacancy happened ſooner than either the emperor or Wolſey expected. Leo X. though only in the prime of life, was ſeized with a fever, of which he died December 2d, A. D. 1521. As ſoon as the news of this event reached England, Henry diſpatched doctor Pace, an able negociator, to Rome, to promote the election of his favourite; and the cardinal put the emperor in mind of his promiſes. But before doctor Pace arrived at Rome, cardinal Adrian, biſhop of Tortoſa, who had been preceptor to the emperor, was choſen, January 9th, A. D. 1522, by one of thoſe fineſſes which have not been uncommon in the conclave *. How far cardinal Wolſey was diſpleaſed with the conduct of the emperor on this occaſion, or how far he had reaſon to be diſpleaſed with it, cannot be diſcovered; but he exhibited no marks of diſſatisfaction with that prince in his public meaſures.

The emperor arrives in England. The civil wars in Spain having rendered the emperor's preſence there abſolutely neceſſary, he reſolved to viſit England in his way thither, ſtill further to ingratiate himſelf with Henry, and to ſooth the cardinal on his late diſappointment, with freſh promiſes and additional penſions. This viſit had been even ſtipulated in the preliminary treaty at Bruges, in which alſo a marriage had been propoſed between the emperor and the princeſs Mary, the king of England's only child, and heireſs of his dominions †. The emperor accordingly arrived at Dover May 26th, where he was received by the cardinal, and conducted by eaſy journies, and with great pomp,

* Herbert, p. 45. † Id. p. 44.

to

to Greenwich, where the court then reſided. There he was introduced to the queen his aunt, and to his young couſin and miſtreſs, the princeſs Mary. Henry ſeems to have been highly pleaſed with the honour done him by this viſit, and to have exhauſted his ſkill to diſplay his magnificence, and entertain the emperor and his courtiers, with tiltings, tournaments, maſking, pageants, dancings, and all the ſtately and very expenſive diverſions of the great in thoſe times *. A. D. 1522.

Though war had not been declared, hoſtilities had already commenced between France and England. The Engliſh merchants complained loudly that many of their ſhips had been taken by the French; and in particular, that a whole fleet loaded with wine had been ſeized at Bourdeaux, and the merchants caſt into priſon. The Engliſh had made repriſals, and Henry commanded all the French and Scots in London to be apprehended and impriſoned. He had alſo inſtructed ſir Thomas Cheeney, his ambaſſador at the court of France, to demand ſatisfaction for all the injuries that had been done to his ſubjects, and to propoſe a truce between Francis and the emperor for two years; and if he received a refuſal, to denounce war by a herald, who had been ſent for that purpoſe †. This was the ſtate of affairs when the emperor arrived in England. Hoſtilities between France and England.

On the morning of June 5th, when Henry was arming for a tournament, he received letters from ſir Thomas Cheeney, acquainting him, that he had obeyed his inſtructions, and that his propoſals had been rejected by the king of France; and that Clarenceaux, king at arms, had denounced war againſt that prince, May 21ſt, at Lyons, in the following words: "Sir, I am charged to tell you, "the king, my ſovereign lord, holdeth you for his mortal enemy "this day furth, and all your adherents." To which the French king had replied: "I looked for this a great while agone; for War declared againſt France.

* Hall, f. 94. † Id. f. 95.

A. D. 1522. "ſith the cardinal was at Bruges I looked for nothing elſe. But "you have done your meſſage *." The king immediately communicated this important intelligence to the emperor, and after a ſhort conference, they both proceeded to the tournament.

Treaties. This news did not interrupt the diverſions of the court; and on the day after it arrived, June 6th, the emperor and the king made their public entry into London with prodigious pomp, and were received by the citizens in their beſt array, and entertained with a great variety of pageants, and a profuſion of Latin verſes in their praiſe †. The two monarchs ſpent their time in feaſting, hunting, and other diverſions, at different places, while their miniſters were employed in forming the articles that had been agreed upon at Bruges, and others, into a definitive treaty, which was ſigned and ratified by the oaths of both princes June 19th, at Windſor. This treaty conſiſted of twenty-one articles. By the firſt ſix articles, all the conditions of the emperor's marriage with the princeſs Mary were ſettled; both parties binding themſelves not to prevent the celebration of it under a penalty of 400,000 crowns. By the other fifteen articles, the plan of their military operations in the war againſt France was fixed. By one of theſe laſt articles (the 13th) it was ſtipulated, "That both princes appearing before the cardinal of "York as judge, in what place he ſhall chooſe, ſhall voluntarily "ſubmit to his juriſdiction as legate; and confeſſing themſelves to "be bound to obſerve this treaty, ſhall require the legate to pro-"nounce the ſentence of excommunication againſt them, if they "violate the articles thereof ‡." A remarkable ſtipulation, which ſets the power and influence of the cardinal at this time in a very ſtrong light. At the ſame time the emperor ſigned an obligation, called *the indemnity*; by which he bound himſelf "to ſave king "Henry harmleſs for all the ſums of money and penſions which

* Hall, f. 95. † Id. f. 96, 97. ‡ Herbert, p. 48.

" were or ſhould be due to king Henry from Francis, (upon former " agreements betwixt them,) and now were or ſhould be withheld " by the ſaid Francis, upon denunciation of war againſt him *." A. D. 1522.

The emperor took care to indemnify the cardinal for any loſs he might ſuſtain by the war between France and England, of which he had been the author, by granting him an additional penſion of 9000 crowns of gold of the ſun, yearly, during his life, at London, June 8th †. Beſides this, he renewed and redoubled his aſſurances of promoting his elevation to the papal throne on the next vacancy, which, from the age and infirmities of pope Adrian, could not be very diſtant. Charles was too wiſe to neglect the other Engliſh miniſters, particularly the earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of England, whom he appointed admiral of all his fleets by a commiſſion dated at London June 8th ‡. This was a very flattering compliment, not only to the king and the earl, but even to the whole nation. On Corpus Chriſti-day the emperor was inſtalled as knight of the garter at Windſor; after which both princes took the ſacrament, and ſwore to the faithful performance of their treaties §. Charles V. courts the Cardinal, &c.

When Charles V. had ſpent about ſix weeks in England, and ingratiated himſelf with the king, his favourite, and his miniſters, he ſailed from Southampton, July 6th, with all his fleet, for Spain ‖. The earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of Spain and England, ſailed from the ſame port about ten days before, with an Engliſh fleet of thirty ſhips, to ſcour the channel, and ſecure a free paſſage to the emperor. Having performed that ſervice, he landed with ſeven thouſand men July 1ſt, took, plundered, and burned the rich commercial town of Morlaix in Brittany, and returned to his ſhips the ſame evening. After this he made ſeveral deſcents upon the coaſts, collected much booty, burned many towns and villages, brought his fleet back to England loaded with plunder, and preſented him- Maritime expedition.

* Herbert, p. 48. † Rym. p. 769. ‡ Herbert, p. 49.
§ Hall, f. 99. ‖ Id.

ſelf

A. D. 1522.

ſelf to the king July 21ſt *. He was moſt graciouſly received, as he well deſerved, and appointed to command an army which was then raiſing for the invaſion of Picardy.

Loan and benevolence.

The national animoſity of the Engliſh againſt France was now rouſed, and nothing was wanting to a vigorous attack of that kingdom but money, which is juſtly called the ſinews of war. Beſides his habitual extravagance, Henry had lately ſquandered prodigious ſums on his interview with the king of France, and his entertainment of the emperor; and his treaſury was almoſt empty. He and his favourite were ſtill unwilling to call a parliament, (the only conſtitutional method of ſupplying the wants of a king of England,) but had recourſe to other expedients, which have been always unpopular, and ſeldom effectual. The king demanded a loan of 20,000l. from the city of London; which, with ſome difficulty, he obtained, upon granting an obligation, ſigned by himſelf and the cardinal, for the repayment. Loans were alſo demanded from other cities and towns, and even from many opulent individuals, in proportion to what it was believed they could afford to lend †. About two months after this loan, the king iſſued commiſſions to take a ſurvey of the whole kingdom, ſimilar to that which had been taken by William the Conqueror, with a view to demand of the laity the tenth of their moveable goods and rents, and of the clergy (over whom the cardinal's power was abſolute) a fourth, as a voluntary aid or benevolence. But this dangerous illegal demand met with ſo much oppoſition, particularly in London, that the cardinal, with all his power and pride, found it neceſſary to depart from the rigorous exaction of it, and to content himſelf with what he could obtain by the milder arts of influence and perſuaſion ‡.

Invaſion of France.

By theſe methods conſiderable ſums were collected, and two armies were raiſed; one in the north, under the earl of Shrewſbury,

* Hall, f. 100. † Id. f. 99. ‡ Id. f. 102. Stowe, p. 515.

againſt

againſt the Scots; the other in the ſouth, under the earl of Surrey, againſt the French. The earl of Surrey, with an army of ſixteen thouſand men, landed at Calais about the middle of Auguſt; and being ſoon after joined by a body of Spaniſh and German troops, entered Picardy, deſolated the open country and defenceleſs towns, by burning the houſes of the peaſants and the caſtles of the nobleſſe, and deſtroying every thing they could not carry away. The only military operation in which they engaged was the ſiege of Heſden, which they were obliged to raiſe for want of heavy artillery. After this, the earl diſmiſſed the Spaniſh and German troops, and conducted his own army back to Calais with a very great booty *. The earl, having put ſtrong garriſons into all the towns on the marches, returned to England with the reſt of his army, and was very graciouſly received by the king and cardinal. A. D. 1522.

Thomas duke of Norfolk being far advanced in life, reſigned the office of lord high treaſurer, which he had long held in the late and preſent reign, into the king's hands; who immediately beſtowed it upon his valiant ſon, the earl of Surrey, lord high admiral of England and Spain, and general of the army; the only Engliſh ſubject who was, at the ſame time, entruſted with the cuſtody of the treaſures, and the command of the forces of the kingdom by ſea and land †. Surrey lord treaſurer.

The cardinal ſtill continued in high favour, and received frequent additions of power and riches. On the application of the king, the pope granted him the rich biſhopric of Durham *in commendam*; and Henry reſtored the temporalties April 30th, and about the ſame time gave him the wardſhip of Edward earl of Derby ‡. His revenues at this time could not be much inferior to thoſe of the king, and were certainly ſuperior to thoſe of ſeveral other kings. 1523. Favour of Wolſey.

* Viz. 14,000 ſheep, 14,000 black cattle, 13,000 hogs, 600 mares and horſes, beſides many priſoners. Hall, f. 103.

† Rym. p. 777. ‡ Id. 783. 788, 789.

The

A. D. 1523. Parliament.

The money raiſed by the late loan and benevolence was far from being ſufficient to ſupport the war againſt France and Scotland, into which the cardinal had wantonly plunged his country, to promote his own ambitious views. He was conſtrained, therefore, to adviſe the king to call a parliament, which met at the Black-friars, London, April 15th. Doctor Tunſtal, biſhop of London, inſtead of the cardinal, opened the parliament with a ſpeech; in which he praiſed the king (who was preſent) in the moſt flattering ſtrains, for his great learning, wiſdom, juſtice, and love of his ſubjects. He told the two houſes, that they were called to reform the imperfections of the common law, to correct erroneous judgments, and to make good ſtatutes; but ſaid not one word of a ſupply, which was the real and only reaſon of their being called *. Sir Thomas More was choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of commons; and in his ſpeech to the king was no leſs laviſh of his flattery than the biſhop had been †.

Subſidy.

It was not long before the demand of a ſupply was introduced, and in a very uncommon manner. The cardinal propoſed to make the demand in the houſe of commons in perſon, which occaſioned a debate in that houſe, whether he ſhould be admitted or not, and in what manner. At length, the ſpeaker perſuaded the houſe "to receive him with all "his pompe, with his maces, his piliars, his poll-axes, his croſs, his "hatt, and the great ſeal too ‡." He entered accordingly, in great ſtate, attended by a train of prelates and noblemen; and, in a long harangue, declaimed vehemently againſt the king of France, for his ambition, his breach of oaths and treaties, by making war on the king's deareſt nephew the emperor, and by ſending the duke of Albany into Scotland to excite the Scots to invade England, &c. which had compelled the king to declare war againſt him: that the expences of this war had been calculated, and amounted to 800,000l. which he deſired them to raiſe, by granting the king a fifth of all rents and

* Rolls of Parl. 14 Hen. VIII. † Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 28. ‡ Ibid. p. 29.

moveables,

moveables, to be paid in four years. When the cardinal had finiſhed the harangue, a profound ſilence enſued, which offended him not a little. The ſpeaker then falling on his knees, excuſed the ſilence of the houſe, by ſaying, that they were abaſhed at the ſight of ſo noble a perſonage, which was enough to amaze the wiſeſt and moſt learned men of the realm. As for himſelf, except all the members preſent could put their ſeveral thoughts into his head, he was unable to give his grace an anſwer in ſo weighty a matter *. The cardinal then retired very much diſpleaſed with the houſe, and particularly with the ſpeaker. After his departure a warm debate took place. Some of the members affirmed, that there was not above 800,000l. of caſh in the kingdom; and if all the money were in the king's hands, no trade could be carried on but by barter. The courtiers advanced many plauſible arguments to induce the houſe to comply with the demand, but could not carry their point at that time. The king was enraged at this oppoſition, and threatened, it is ſaid, ſome of the leading members with death, if they did not paſs his bill †. The cardinal, anxious about the iſſue of this affair, went to the houſe of commons a ſecond time, to reaſon, as he ſaid, with thoſe who oppoſed the king's demands. The ſpeaker told him, that they would hear his grace with great humility; but, by the orders of the houſe, they could reaſon only among themſelves. The cardinal then made a ſpeech, to prove that the kingdom was ſo rich and flouriſhing, that the demanded ſubſidy might be raiſed with eaſe, and then retired ‡. This ſpeech rather irritated than convinced the oppoſing members. After long and warm debates, the ſpeaker, by the moſt earneſt intreaties, prevailed on the houſe to paſs the bill, with ſome ſlight amendments. The king and his favourite were ſo much diſguſted by the oppoſition they had met with on this occaſion, that no parliament was called for ſeven years. A. D. 1523.

* Parl. Hiſt. vol. viii. p. 30. † Ibid. p. 35. ‡ Hall, f. 1.

A. D. 1523. Grant of the Clergy.

The clergy were exempted from the above ſubſidy; becauſe they had already aſſeſſed themſelves in convocation at a much higher rate. The clergy of the province of York (who were under the abſolute ſway of the cardinal) granted the king one half-year of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in that province, to be paid in five years *. The clergy of the province of Canterbury, in a convocation held in St. Paul's at the ſame time with the parliament, made a ſimilar grant. One reaſon they give for their liberality is, their gratitude to the king, for his moſt learned and never enough to be praiſed book, which had quite cruſhed the Lutheran hereſy †. In this the good men were a little miſtaken.

State of France.

France was at this time in a moſt dangerous ſituation; threatened with great calamities, if not with total ruin. The confederacy formed againſt it, by the pope, the emperor, the king of England, the Venetians, and all the other ſtates and princes of Italy, ſeemed more than ſufficient to overwhelm it, when it was without a ſingle ally, but the king of Scotland, who was a minor, and poſſeſſed little authority over his turbulent nobles. The internal ſtate of the kingdom was ſtill more threatening than all its foreign enemies. Francis, by his expenſive pleaſures, his profuſe donations to his favourites, with his wars in Italy and at home, had exhauſted all his treaſures, and involved himſelf in great debts. The troops being ill paid and under little diſcipline, infeſted the highways, plundered the unhappy peaſants, and filled the whole kingdom with diſtreſs and diſcontent. The court was, at the ſame time, a ſcene of riot, and of the moſt violent factions; while a ſecret and moſt dangerous conſpiracy was formed by a prince of the blood, to betray the king and kingdom to their foreign enemies. Of this conſpiracy Francis entertained ſome ſuſpicions, but was ignorant of its extent and maturity ‡.

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 698. † Ibid. p. 699.
‡ Garnier, Hiſt. Fran. ann. 1523. tom. xxiii. xxiv.

In

A. D. 1523.

Intrepidity of Francis.

In this ſituation of his affairs, Francis was ſo far from being intimidated, that he was eagerly engaged in preparing for an expedition into Italy, for the recovery of his dominions in that country. "All the world," ſaid he, "have conſpired againſt me, but I fear "them not. The emperor hath no money; the Engliſh cannot pe-"netrate far into my kingdom; the militia of the Low Countries "can do me little harm. I will march into Italy, ſubdue my ene-"mies there, and return ſoon enough to recover what I may have "loſt in France *." He marched accordingly, at the head of a gallant army; having appointed his mother, Louiſe of Savoy, regent of the kingdom in his abſence. But when he arrived at Lyons, the reports of the conſpiracy became ſo alarming, that he halted, and ſent forward the greateſt part of his troops, under his favourite Bonivet, admiral of France, into Italy. Soon after this, in the beginning of Auguſt, a full diſcovery of the following plot was made by two gentlemen, to whom it had been communicated under an oath of ſecrecy.

Revolt of the duke of Bourbon.

Charles duke of Bourbon, prince of the blood, great chamberlain and conſtable of France, was the richeſt and moſt powerful ſubject in that kingdom. He was brave, generous, and popular, but ſo haughty and vindictive, that he was commonly called *Charles the impatient*. Louiſe of Savoy, the king's mother, captivated with the charms of his perſon, got hints conveyed to him, that his addreſſes to her would not be diſagreeable. He rejected the propoſal with diſdain, accompanied with ſome ſevere ſarcaſms on her gallantries. Enraged at this, ſhe irritated the king againſt the conſtable. Whatever he aſked, however juſt, was refuſed. He was treated in general with ſuch neglect, or rather contempt, that he ſeldom appeared at court, and became violently diſcontented. At laſt a proceſs was commenced againſt him in the parliament of Paris, by the king and

* Garnier, Hiſt. Fran. ann. 1523. tom. xxiii. p. 482.

A. D. 1523. his mother, which threatened him with the loſs of many great eſtates and almoſt total ruin. On this his reſentment became ungovernable, and he determined to be revenged. He found means to communicate his reſolution to the emperor and the king of England, and concluded a ſecret treaty with theſe two princes, which had for its object the deſtruction of the royal family of France, and the diſmemberment of the French monarchy. By this treaty the conſtable was to marry Eleanor, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's ſiſter; the emperor and the king of England were to invade France from the ſouth and north with two powerful armies, and by an army of mercenaries in another quarter, while Bourbon raiſed a formidable rebellion in the heart of the kingdom. When the conqueſt was completed, Provence and Dauphine, with ſome contiguous territories, were to be erected into a kingdom for Bourbon, and the other provinces divided between the emperor and the king of England. A cruel conſpiracy! (for it deſerves no better name;) which reflects as little honour on the two monarchs as on Bourbon, who was hurried on by too violent a reſentment of real injuries. If this plot had not been diſcovered before Francis had paſſed the Alps with his army, (when it was to be put in execution,) the conſequences might have been very fatal to France. Bourbon made his eſcape out of the kingdom in diſguiſe, and joined the imperial army in Italy. Francis reſolved to remain at home, to guard againſt the approaching invaſion *.

Military operations. Theſe invaſions ſoon took place, as Henry and the emperor had their forces in readineſs to have co-operated with Bourbon on his rebellion. The duke of Suffolk, commander of the Engliſh army, landed at Calais Auguſt 24th, and with the troops he brought from England, and thoſe he collected from the garriſons of Calais, Hams, and Guiſnes, formed an army of about thirteen thouſand men. He

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 1, &c. Mem. de Bellay, p. 64, &c. Paſquier, p. 431. Rym. p. 794, 795.

marched

marched September 19th, and the day after joined the imperial forces, and with them invaded Picardy. Meeting with no army to oppoſe them in the field, they ravaged the open country, took and plundered ſeveral towns, paſſed the rivers Soame and Oyſe, and advanced within eleven leagues of Paris, which greatly alarmed the inhabitants of that capital *. But though the combined armies met with no enemy able to give them battle, they had ſeveral difficulties to encounter. The duke de Tremeuile, who commanded in thoſe parts, hovered continually near them with a great body of cavalry; beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and haraſſed them by frequent ſkirmiſhes. The ſeaſon was uncommonly rainy, and the roads almoſt impracticable. The troops became ſickly, diſcontented, and earneſt in their deſire to return home. With this deſire the commanders complied; the two armies ſeparated on their march, and the duke of Suffolk arrived at Calais in December, with the Engliſh forces, very much diminiſhed in their numbers, without retaining poſſeſſion of one place in the enemy's country. Henry was ſo much enraged at ſeeing all his ſanguine hopes of conqueſt blaſted, that the duke thought it prudent to remain at Calais till his anger abated. The emperor was equally unſucceſsful on his ſide; and France, which at the beginning of this campaign was threatened with total ruin, at the end of it had not loſt a ſingle town, or one foot of territory. A. D. 1523.

Henry and his favourite met with another diſappointment at this time. Pope Adrian VI. died September 14th. As this event had been expected from the age and infirmities of Adrian, proper inſtructions had been given to the king's ambaſſadors at Rome to promote the election of cardinal Wolſey. The firſt diſpatches he received from the ambaſſadors gave him great hopes of ſucceſs. In a letter he ſent to the king with theſe diſpatches September 29th, he ſays, Pope elected.

* Hall, f. 114, &c.

A. D. 1523. ſays, "In what train the matters there were, at that time, for elec-
"tion of the future pope, your highneſs ſhall perceive by the letters
"of your orators, which I ſend at this time, whereby it appeareth,
"that mine abſence from thence ſhall be the only obſtacle (if any
"be) of the election of me to that dignity *." By another letter to the king October 1ſt, he tells him, that he had prepared inſtructions for the ambaſſadors, which he deſired his highneſs to ſign; and adds, "To the intent alſo, that the emperor may the more effec-
"tually and ſpeedily concurre with your highneſs for the furtherance
"hereof, I have deviſed a familiar letter in the name of your grace, to
"be directed unto his majeſty; which if it may pleaſe your highneſs
"to take the payne for to write with your own hand, putting there-
"unto your ſecret ſign and mark, being between your grace and
"the ſaid emperor, ſhall undoubtedly do ſingular benefit and fur-
"therance to your gracious intent and virtuous purpoſe in that
"behalf †."

All this was done, and neither money nor promiſes were ſpared; but in vain. Cardinal Julio de Medici was choſen pope November 19th, and took the name of Clement VII. Thus was cardinal Wolſey again diſappointed in his hopes of aſcending the papal throne. He bore his diſappointment with great compoſure; and whatever reſentment he entertained againſt the emperor, who had not performed his promiſes, he, like a prudent politician, concealed it till he could diſcover it with effect. In his letter to the king December 6th, with the news of the election, he makes no mention of the emperor; but aſcribes his own diſappointment to his abſence from Rome, and expreſſes his ſatisfaction with the choice that had been made in very ſtrong terms. "As for my part," ſays he, "I take
"God to witneſs I am more joyous thereof, than if it had fortuned
"on my perſon ‡." It is not improbable that the cardinal diſ-

* Burnet, Hiſt. Reform. Records, No. VII. † Ibid. No. VIII.
‡ Ibid. No. X.

ſembled

ſembled a little on this occaſion, and that he was not quite ſo well pleaſed as he pretended. A. D. 1523.

The two late invaſions of Picardy had been ſo expenſive and unſucceſsful, that nothing of that kind was attempted this year, and the whole campaign in thoſe parts exhibited only a few ſkirmiſhes between the garriſons in the Engliſh pale and thoſe on the frontiers of France *. It is probable, however, that Henry had ſome other reaſons for this inaction, beſide the expence and ill-ſucceſs of the two former invaſions; but theſe reaſons cannot be diſcovered with certainty. The military operations in Italy and the ſouth of France were more important. The Spaniſh army, commanded by the conſtable of Caſtile, inveſted Fontarabia about the middle of January. This ſeemed to be a raſh, or rather deſperate undertaking. The place was ſtrong, furniſhed with a ſufficient garriſon, and abundance of ammunition and proviſions; but the garriſon was ill-choſen. Don Pedro, hereditary marſhal of Navarre, was at the head of a ſtrong body of his countrymen, who with him had followed the fortunes of their exiled ſovereign, of whoſe reſtoration there was now little or no hopes. The conſtable of Caſtile, uncle to Don Pedro, got ſuch tempting offers conveyed to him and his followers, that they had not the fortitude to reſiſt. A treaty was privately concluded, by which Don Pedro and all his troops were to be reſtored to all their honours and eſtates in Navarre, on the ſurrender of the place; and they perſuaded, or rather compelled, Frauget the governor, to capitulate about the middle of February, when the fortifications were entire, and the garriſon in want of nothing. Francis was enraged at the ſhameful ſurrender of this important place; and as Don Pedro was out of his reach, all his vengeance fell upon Frauget, who was proclaimed a coward, and declared infamous and ignoble †. 1524. Military operations

* Hall. † Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 54.

The

A. D. 1524. continued.

The duke of Bourbon having contributed greatly in the laſt campaign to the expulſion of the French under admiral Bonivet out of Italy, propoſed to invade Provence this year, in hopes of being joined by many of his own friends and thoſe of his family, as ſoon as he appeared at the head of an army. This propoſal was approved by the emperor and the king of England, who engaged to advance 109,000 crowns, for the firſt month's pay and ſubſiſtence of the duke's army, and to invade Picardy in July; and the emperor engaged to ſupport and pay the duke's army during the reſt of the campaign, and to invade Languedoc at the ſame time *. The duke of Bourbon entered Provence with his army July 2d, and met with little or no oppoſition. His ſcheme was, to march into thoſe parts where his own eſtates lay, and where he expected to be joined by his vaſſals; but the emperor commanded him to beſiege Marſeilles. He inveſted that place Auguſt 19th; but he met with a more vigorous reſiſtance than he expected. The garriſon, which conſiſted of three thouſand two hundred men, being joined by nine thouſand of the inhabitants, who took up arms, made a brave defence. Neither the emperor nor the king of England invaded France, which permitted Francis to collect all his forces for the relief of Marſeilles; and he marched from Avignon towards that place, at the head of forty thouſand men, which obliged Bourbon to raiſe the ſiege, and retire with great precipitation into Italy †. The inaction of the emperor during this campaign may be accounted for from his want of money to ſupport another army. It is more difficult to account for Henry's neglecting to invade Picardy, according to his engagement. It appears, from a proclamation preſerved by a contemporary hiſtorian, that he entertained ſome thoughts of doing this when the ſeaſon was too far advanced. That proclamation was dated September 10th, commanding thoſe noblemen and

* Rym. p. 794, 795. † Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 94. Bellay, lib. 11.

gentlemen to whom it was ſent to be in readineſs, with their followers, for an expedition into France, but not to march till they received a ſecond command *. That command they never received, owing to the advanced ſeaſon, and perhaps to ſome other reaſons, which it was not thought proper to publiſh. A. D. 1524.

If Francis could have been contented with the honour of having defended his dominions againſt all his enemies, he would have preſerved himſelf and his ſubjects from many calamities. But finding himſelf at the head of a gallant army, he could not reſiſt the inclination of marching into Italy, for the recovery of the duchy of Milan, on which he had ſet his heart. Having appointed his mother regent of the kingdom, he ſet out at the head of his army, and proceeded with ſo much diligence, that a detachment of his troops entered Milan at one gate, at the ſame time that the duke of Bourbon entered it at another. The duke, having reinforced the garriſon of the caſtle, retired with the ſhattered remains of his army to Lodi. If Francis had purſued them, (as his moſt experienced generals adviſed him,) they muſt either have ſurrendered, or evacuated the country; and he would have obtained poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe almoſt without bloodſhed. But his favourite Bonivet, who had more influence with him than all his other generals, was of a different opinion, and adviſed the ſiege of Pavia, which was formed in November, and puſhed with great vigour. But finding that all his efforts were ineffectual, he converted the ſiege into a blockade about the end of this year †.

Henry changes his diſpoſition.

It is eaſy to perceive that Henry's animoſity againſt Francis, and his attachment to the emperor, now began to abate. This is evident from his neglecting to invade Picardy according to his engagement, when he might have done it with the greateſt proſpect of ſucceſs. It is further evident, from his demanding immediate payment of

* Hall, f. 130.

† Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 109. Bellay, lib. xi. P. Martyr. ep. 805.]

A. D. 1524. the money Charles had borrowed when he was in England, and of the great ſums due by the treaty of Windſor, at a time when he knew he could not pay them *. This change in Henry's diſpoſitions was probably owing to the artful inſinuations of his favourite, cardinal Wolſey. But whatever was the cauſe of this change, the effects of it were too viſible to eſcape the notice of either Charles or Francis. The former became jealous of his great ally, and the latter began to entertain hopes of a reconciliation with his moſt formidable adverſary. To promote this, the regent ſent a private agent, one John Joachim, to London, who was well received by the cardinal, with whom he had ſeveral ſecret interviews †. This being diſcovered by the papal reſident, he ſent accounts of it to his maſter, adviſing him to make peace with Francis as ſoon as poſſible, that he might have the merit of being before the king of England. His holineſs took the hint, and concluded a ſecret treaty of peace with Francis in his camp before Pavia ‡.

1525. French army weakened. While Francis blockaded Pavia in the beginning of this year, he ſent out two large detachments, one of about ſix thouſand men, under the duke of Albany, to invade Naples; and another, of nearly the ſame number, under the marquis of Soluzes, to attempt the recovery of Genoa §. This was a very imprudent meaſure, by which he encouraged his enemies and weakened his own army. It was further weakened by the departure of 6000 Griſons into their own country, and by ſome other accidents.

Battle of Pavia. When the imperial generals had recovered from the conſternation with which they had been ſeized, and ſaw with joy that Francis, inſtead of purſuing them, had engaged in the ſiege of Pavia, they exerted themſelves with great activity in collecting troops from all quarters, and forming an army. The duke of Bourbon, by pawning his jewels, procured a ſum of money, with which he levied

* Guicciardini, lib. xv. † Hall, f. 135. ‡ Herbert, p. 62. § Ibid.

twelve thouſand Lanſquinets in Germany; and conducted them into Italy. By the beginning of February they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to take the field, and on the 7th of that month approached the French camp before Pavia. Their deſign was to throw a ſupply of men, ammunition, and proviſions into that place, and to hazard a battle, rather than ſuffer it to be taken before their faces. They ſpent almoſt three weeks in this ſituation, without being able to accompliſh their deſign. In the mean time ſeveral councils were held in the French camp, and ſome of his beſt commanders earneſtly intreated Francis to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Milan; aſſuring him that the enemy's army would be obliged to diſband in a ſhort time for want of pay. But admiral Bonivet, knowing the king's inclination, treated this cautious counſel with great contempt, as daſtardly and diſhonourable, and inſiſted on continuing the ſiege, which was reſolved. La Noy, viceroy of Naples, the duke of Bourbon, the marquis de Piſcaire, and the other imperial generals, finding that it would be impoſſible to keep the field much longer, for want of money to pay and ſubſiſt their troops, determined to hazard a battle. Very early in the morning of February 24th, (the emperor's birthday,) they aſſaulted the French camp, forced their lines, and obtained one of the moſt deciſive victories recorded in hiſtory. Admiral Bonivet, mareſchal de Chabanis, Richard de la Pole, a pretender to the crown of England, ſome other generals, with about fourteen thouſand of the French army, fell in this fatal action. The king of France, the king of Navarre, ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, and about twelve thouſand men, were made priſoners. All the artillery, arms, ammunition, military cheſt, proviſions, and baggage of the vanquiſhed army, fell into the hands of the victors. In a word, the king of France wrote to his mother the day after; "Madam, all is loſt, except my honour." And this was no great exaggeration. The imperial generals were aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs A. D. 1525.

A. D. 1525. of their victory, which far exceeded their moſt ſanguine expectations *.

Conſternation of the French.

It is eaſier to imagine than deſcribe the conſternation into which the news of this dreadful diſaſter threw the court and kingdom of France. That kingdom was really in a moſt deplorable ſituation. Her king a priſoner; her braveſt generals and nobles, with the flower of her martial youth, either killed or taken; ſurrounded with powerful triumphant enemies; without allies, without money, without troops, and almoſt without hope †. The conſternation of the princes and ſtates of Italy was almoſt equal to that of the French. They ſaw the balance of power overturned, and themſelves expoſed to the demands of a victorious army, which could command what it demanded ‡.

Compoſure of the emperor.

The emperor was at Madrid, expecting every day to hear of the defeat of his army, and the loſs of his dominions in Italy, when he received (March 10th) the news of this great victory. Charles, on this occaſion, diſcovered an amazing preſence of mind and command of paſſion. Though he muſt have felt the moſt lively tranſports of joy, on an event ſo advantageous and unexpected, nothing of that kind appeared in his words or actions. He peruſed the diſpatches with the moſt perfect compoſure, lamented the hard fate of his fallen rival, and moralized on the uncertainty of human power and greatneſs. But it ſoon became evident that all this was deep diſſimulation, and that he felt none of that compaſſion which he expreſſed §.

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 122—129. Guicciardini, lib. xv. Hall, f. 136.

† This great calamity was as unexpected as it was great; which ſhould teach the moſt powerful princes to be cautious of engaging in unneceſſary wars. The events of war are always uncertain.

‡ Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 29, &c.

§ Sandov. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 651. Ulloa, Vita del Carlo V. p. 110.

Henry

A. D. 1525. Ambaſſadors ſent to Spain.

Henry received the news of the battle of Pavia March 9th, by an expreſs from the princeſs Margaret, governeſs of the Low Countries. As he was not ſo accompliſhed a diſſembler as Charles, he did not receive them with the ſame compoſure. Public rejoicings were ordered in London and other cities; the king rode in great ſtate to Saint Paul's, where the cardinal ſaid maſs, aſſiſted by eleven biſhops; after which Te Deum was ſung *. Henry's ambition, which had received a check by the ill-ſucceſs of his two late invaſions of France, again revived, and inclined him to take advantage of the great calamity which had befallen the unfortunate Francis. This is evident from the inſtructions given to doctor Tunſtal, biſhop of London, and ſir Richard Wingfield, who were diſpatched in great haſte into Spain. Theſe ambaſſadors were inſtructed to urge the full execution of the treaty of Bruges, between the emperor, the king, and the duke of Bourbon. By one article of that treaty, the two monarchs were to invade France with two powerful armies, the one on the ſouth, and the other on the north; that they ſhould meet at Paris, where Henry ſhould be crowned king of France, and the partition of the kingdom ſettled. By another article it was ſtipulated, that if any prince were taken priſoner in the courſe of the war, he ſhould be delivered to that one of the confederates whoſe dominions he had uſurped. The ambaſſadors were inſtructed to require that Francis ſhould be delivered to their maſter; as he had uſurped from him, not only Guienne and Normandy, but even the crown of France. To induce Charles and his council to comply with this requiſition, they were empowered to engage, that the princeſs Mary, their maſter's only child, and heireſs of his dominions, ſhould be ſent into Spain, at the ſame time that Francis was ſent into England. This, it was hoped, would prevail; as the emperor's ambaſſadors were then at the court of England, earneſtly ſoliciting the delivery

* Hall, f. 136.

of

A D. 1525. of the princeſs to their maſter, to whom ſhe was betrothed. The ambaſſadors were alſo furniſhed with anſwers to all the objections it was ſuppoſed Charles and his council would make to their demands *. They ſet out before the end of March, and Henry, who was naturally ſanguine in his hopes, certainly expected that his demands, with ſome modifications, would be granted.

Illegal commiſſions. To procure money for the intended invaſion of France, Henry and his favourite had recourſe to a very expeditious, but moſt unconſtitutional method. Toward the end of March commiſſioners were appointed in every county, to levy the ſixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth of thoſe of the clergy, to be paid immediately in money or plate. Theſe commiſſioners in ſome places were ſlighted, in others inſulted, and in none obeyed; the whole kingdom ſeemed ripe for rebellion. Alarmed at this univerſal reſiſtance, the king iſſued a proclamation, recalling theſe commiſſions, and declaring that he would have nothing from his loving ſubjects but what they choſe to give him as a free gift. Commiſſioners were then appointed to collect a benevolence, as it was very improperly called. But this, though more ſpecious, was no leſs illegal than the former method, and met with as violent an oppoſition. The cardinal acted as chief commiſſioner in London, and employed every art to perſuade the wealthy citizens to contribute, but to no purpoſe; the refuſal was obſtinate and univerſal. In Suffolk, the people flew to arms, and with great difficulty were prevailed upon, by the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, to diſperſe. At length, the king and his council, perceiving that theſe commiſſions produced much diſcontent and danger, but little or no money, recalled them; and the weight of the public indignation fell upon the cardinal, who, it was well known, had the chief direction of all affairs, and had boldly undertaken to furniſh the king with money on all occaſions †.

* Hall, f. 137. Carte, vol. iii. p. 137.

† Hall, f. 137—142.

The

A. D. 1525. The cold reception of the Engliſh ambaſſadors in Spain.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors met with a very cold reception at the court of Spain, where the victory of Pavia, and the captivity of the king of France, had produced a mighty change. Charles was fully determined to appropriate all the advantages of that victory to himſelf, and to impart none of them to his ally the king of England, of whoſe ſecret negociations with the regent of France he had received information from his reſident in London. All the propoſitions of his ambaſſadors therefore were rejected, and they received nothing but reproaches, for his violation of the treaty of Bruges, by neglecting to invade Picardy the preceding year, and for his private negociations with France. The emperor was now ſo far from deſiring the princeſs Mary to be ſent into Spain, that the ambaſſadors diſcovered that he was reſolved to break his engagements with that princeſs, though they had been confirmed by a moſt ſolemn oath, and was actually negociating a marriage with the infanta Iſabella of Portugal.

Treaties with France.

This intelligence, which was received toward the end of May, occaſioned a total revolution in the politics of the court of England. Henry, whoſe paſſions were ſtrong, was greatly irritated at the emperor on many accounts, and the cardinal contributed all in his power to inflame his reſentment. He now abandoned all thoughts of mounting the throne of France, or diſmembering that monarchy; and reſolved to exert all his power to preſerve it entire, and to procure the deliverance of its captive monarch. Though he diſmiſſed the two French agents who reſided privately in London, as ſoon as he received the news of the battle of Pavia, the regent, very prudently, renewed her application, and gave a commiſſion, dated at Lyons June 9, to John Brenon, preſident of the parliament of Normandy, and John Joachim, maſter of the houſehold, to negociate a peace and alliance with the king of England *. Theſe ambaſſadors,

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 37.

the

A. D. 1525. the ſame who had been formerly diſmiſſed, were now very well received, and concluded no fewer than ſix treaties with Henry and his miniſters. 1. A treaty of perpetual peace and amity; in which the contracting parties guaranteed each other's dominions againſt all ſtates and princes in the world, ſpiritual or temporal *. This was deſigned to prevent Francis from ceding any of his provinces to procure his liberty †. 2. A treaty, binding Francis and his heirs to pay to Henry and his heirs two millions of crowns, at certain ſtipulated terms, and 100,000 crowns a year for life, after the above ſum were paid ‡. Nine of the greateſt noblemen, and nine of the richeſt cities in France gave their bonds, as an additional ſecurity for theſe payments. 3. By the third treaty, the king of France engaged to pay to Mary, queen dowager of France, Henry's ſiſter, all the arrears of her dowry §. 4. A treaty for preventing depredations at ſea, and for ſettling all diſputes on that ſubject ‖. 5. A treaty explaining on what terms the king of Scots was comprehended in the peace ¶. 6. A treaty for preventing the duke of Albany's return into Scotland during the minority of king James V. All theſe treaties were ſubſcribed by the French plenipotentiaries at the Moore (a houſe of the king in Hertfordſhire) Auguſt 30th **.

Henry writes to the emperor.

In compliance with one of the articles in the firſt of the above treaties, Henry wrote a letter to the emperor with his own hand, intreating him to grant the king of France his liberty on moderate and equitable terms. But little or no regard was paid to this application; and Charles, who had been accuſtomed to write to Henry with his own hand, and to ſubſcribe himſelf his loving ſon and couſin, returned an anſwer by his ſecretary, and ſubſcribed Charles ††.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 48.

† In this treaty Henry engaged to uſe all his influence with the emperor to procure the deliverance of Francis on reaſonable terms.

‡ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 58. § Ibid. p. 69. ‖ Ibid. p. 70.

¶ Ibid. p. 74. ** Ibid. p. 75. †† Guicciardini, lib. xvi.

In

In a word, all friendly intercourſe between the courts of England and Spain was at an end, and their ambaſſadors were mutually recalled. A. D. 1525.

The cardinal had contributed greatly to bring about this peace and alliance between France and England, and he was well rewarded for his labour. The regent of France granted him a bond November 18th, for 100,000 crowns, for his good offices in that affair, and for 29,000 crowns, as the arrears of his penſion, which had not been paid during the late war *. The cardinal rewarded.

That mighty favourite, however, was in ſome danger, at this time, of incurring the diſpleaſure of his too indulgent maſter, and falling from that towering height of greatneſs to which he had attained. The clamours againſt him for the late illegal commiſſions, and for various arbitrary and oppreſſive acts in the exerciſe of his legantine office, were ſo loud, that they reached the royal ear, and put the king into a violent paſſion. But the cardinal knew his temper, and took the moſt effectual way to appeaſe his anger. He made him a preſent of the magnificent palace he had built at Hampton-court, and wrote him a letter, containing the beſt apologies he could make for the ſeveral things he knew had diſpleaſed the king, and expreſſing the deepeſt anguiſh and diſtreſs of mind for having offended his grace. In anſwer to this, the king wrote him a long letter with his own hand, in which he ſuſtained his apologies in ſome things, recommended greater caution in others, and concluded with theſe affectionate expreſſions: "I enſure you, (and I pray you "think it ſo,) that there remaineth at this hour no ſpark of diſ-"pleaſure towards you in my heart. And thus fare-you-well, and "be no more perplext. Written with the hand of your loving "ſovereign and friend, HENRY R. †" The cardinal in danger.

The unfortunate Francis had now remained many months in priſon; firſt in the ſtrong caſtle of Pizzigthone, near Cremona, and Diſtreſs of the king of France.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 100. † Herbert, p. 67.

A. D. 1525. afterwards in the caſtle of Madrid. Though he panted for liberty with the greateſt ardour, the conditions on which it was offered were ſuch as he could not accept without diſgrace and ruin. He had offered to give up all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and all other territories in Italy; to relinquiſh the ſuperiority over Flanders and Artois; to reſtore the duke of Bourbon and his followers to all their eſtates and honours; to pay three millions of crowns for his ranſom; and being now a widower, he propoſed to marry Eleanora, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's ſiſter. Theſe were tempting offers, but they did not ſatisfy the avarice and ambition of the conqueror, who inſiſted on the ſurrender of Burgundy, which Francis firmly determined not to grant; becauſe it would have given his too powerful adverſary ſuch a footing in his kingdom, as would have rendered all he retained precarious. Almoſt deſpairing of his deliverance, and irritated beyond meaſure at the ſeverity with which he was confined; the neglect with which he was treated by the emperor, who had not deigned to pay him the compliment of a viſit; the agitation of his ſpirits impaired his health, and threw him into a fever, which threatened his death. The emperor was alarmed at this intelligence, haſtened to Madrid, viſited his royal priſoner ſeveral times, ſpoke to him in the moſt ſoothing and affectionate manner, and gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of a ſpeedy deliverance on reaſonable terms. This kind treatment revived the ſpirits and reſtored the health of the languiſhing monarch. But, to his unſpeakable mortification, when he had recovered his health, he found that the emperor was gone to Toledo, that his confinement was as ſtrict as ever, and all the pleaſing proſpects of a ſpeedy deliverance vaniſhed *.

Perplexity of the emperor.

While the vanquiſhed prince was ſuffering thus ſeverely, the victor was not without his cares, perplexities, and fears. In Germany his

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 166, &c. Bellay, p. 95. P. Mart. ep. ult. Sandov. p. 665.

affairs

affairs were in great confuſion. The Turks, after they had taken Rhodes, had made ſome conqueſts in Hungary, and threatened his hereditary dominions. The reformation had made great progreſs, and the followers of Luther were become formidable by their numbers, power, and union. The pope, and all the other princes and ſtates of Italy, he knew, dreaded his power, and waited for an opportunity to combine againſt him. The king of England, his moſt powerful ally, had deſerted him, and embraced the cauſe of the captive king with his uſual warmth. Barbaroſſa, who from a pirate had become a powerful prince, obſtructed the trade, and inſulted the coaſts of Spain. The regent of France, by her prudence and activity, ſeconded by the ſpirit and loyalty of the nobles and people, had put that kingdom in a reſpectable poſture of defence. His own coffers were almoſt empty, his troops few, ill paid, and widely diſperſed. But what filled him with the greateſt anxiety, was his fear of loſing the perſon of his royal priſoner, on the poſſeſſion of which ſo much depended. He might do this by his death, of which he had lately been in danger, or by his eſcape, for effectuating which he knew a plot had been formed; and though that plot had been diſcovered, another might be more ſucceſsful *. His fears on this head were increaſed by a late event. Henry D'Albert, king of Navarre, who was alſo taken priſoner at the battle of Pavia, and had been guarded with the moſt anxious care, had made his eſcape, by changing clothes with a ſervant †. Beſides all this, he knew that Francis executed a formal reſignation of his crown to the dauphin, and had ſent it into France with his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Alençon, who had viſited him in his ſickneſs ‡. If that reſignation ſhould be accepted, he would then have a prince, without territories to reſign, or money to pay his ranſom. All theſe conſiderations determined Charles to conclude an agreement with his priſoner without delay; A. D. 1525.

* Herbert, p. 69. † Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 130. ‡ Ibid. p. 195.

A. D. 1525. but in doing this, he ſtill reſolved (contrary to the advice of his wiſeſt counſellors) to grant him his liberty on the hardeſt conditions he could extort.

1526. The impatience of Francis to obtain his liberty ſhortened the negociation; and the famous treaty called *The Concord of Madrid*, was ſigned and confirmed by the oaths of both parties with great ſolemnity January 14th, A. D. 1526. This treaty is very voluminous, and conſiſts of many articles; but it will be ſufficient to mention a few of the moſt important, which occaſioned thoſe controverſies in which the king of England was concerned *. 1. That there ſhall be a perpetual peace and amity between the emperor and the king of France, their ſubjects and dominions. 2. That the king of France, within ſix weeks after he is ſet at liberty, ſhall give up to the emperor the duchy of Burgundy, with all its dependencies. 3. For the greater ſecurity of the performance of the above article, the king, at the moment he is ſet at liberty, ſhall deliver to the emperor his two eldeſt ſons, the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, as hoſtages; and if he do not, or cannot perform it within four months, he ſhall return and deliver himſelf up a priſoner of war, and the hoſtages ſhall be ſet at liberty. 4. To extirpate all roots of future quarrels, Francis relinquiſhes all right of ſuperiority over Flanders and Artois, and all claims to Naples, Milan, Genoa, and other territories in Italy. 5. Francis engages to marry Eleanora, queen dowager of Portugal, the emperor's eldeſt ſiſter, and all the terms of the contract are ſettled. A marriage is alſo ſtipulated between the dauphin and the princeſs Maria, daughter of queen Eleanora. 6. Francis engages to uſe all his influence with Henry D'Albert, king of Navarre, to relinquiſh all his rights to that kingdom; and with Charles duke of Guildres, to conſtitute the emperor heir to his dominions; and if he could not perſuade theſe princes, he

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 308–326.

was

was to give them no assistance. A cruel article, which obliged Francis to abandon his most meritorious allies to the insatiable rapacity of their too powerful neighbour. The two next articles were equally cruel. By the one, Francis engaged to lend the emperor his whole navy, five hundred men at arms, and six thousand foot soldiers, when he went into Italy, against those princes who they both knew were forming a confederacy against the emperor in favour of Francis. By the other, Francis engaged to pay to the king of England all those sums of money which the emperor had promised to pay him, to tempt him to embrace his party against France. It is thus expressed in the treaty, which was adding insult to cruelty. By another article, the most effectual securities are given for the restoration of all their estates and honours, with all the intermediate profits, to Bourbon and his followers, who, for certain reasons, had been absent from France for some time past. A very modest way of expressing their rebellion against their natural sovereign and their native country. Several other articles of this famous treaty are so severe and extortionary, that no reader of humanity can peruse them without execrating the grasping unprincely spirit of Charles who could demand them, and pitying the weakness and distress of Francis who could grant them *. Nothing but his extreme impatience of confinement, and a secret, though not very honourable, resolution not to perform some of its most oppressive articles, could have prevailed upon him to give his consent to such dishonourable and destructive terms. A. D. 1526.

After the conclusion of this treaty, Charles, though he still guarded his prisoner with the most anxious care, loaded him with caresses, carried him several times to visit Eleanora his future queen, gave him always the right hand, called him his dearest brother and most beloved friend, vainly hoping to disarm his resent- King of France set at liberty.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 108—126.

ment

A. D. 1526. ment and gain his friendſhip by a few fine words. Francis ſaw his deſign, concealed his indignation, and returned all his careſſes and compliments with intereſt. But no two perſons ever hated one another more heartily than the two dear brothers *. All the regulations for the exchange of Francis for his two ſons being ſettled, with ſuch precautions as diſcovered the greateſt diffidence on both ſides, that exchange took place March 16th, in a ſhip moored in the middle of the river Bedaſſao, which divides France from Spain, and was executed with ſuch rapidity, that the king had not an opportunity of embracing his children, who were going into captivity for his deliverance †.

Writes to the king of England. As ſoon as Francis landed in his own territories, he mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and rode full ſpeed, firſt to St. John de Luz, and then to Bayonne. There he wrote to the king of England, March 17th, the news of his deliverance, which he aſcribed to his generous and friendly interpoſition; and at the ſame time ſent him his bond for the two millions of crowns ſtipulated by the treaty at the Moor, Auguſt 18th, A. D. 1525 ‡.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Francis. The king of England and the princes and ſtates of Italy were anxious to know whether Francis intended to perform all the articles of the treaty of Madrid, or not. Becauſe, if he really intended to ſurrender Burgundy, and to perform all the other articles of that treaty, he could not enter into any confederacy with them againſt the emperor; and no confederacy that they could form without him, would be able to reſiſt the enormous power of that monarch. To diſcover the French king's intentions, doctor Taylor, the Engliſh ambaſſador at the court of France, was commanded to haſten to the place where that prince ſhould firſt enter his own dominions; and Sir Thomas Cheyney was ſent from England to join him there. An abſtract of the inſtructions to theſe two ambaſſadors, drawn by

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 223. † Herbert, p. 75. Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 226.
‡ Rym. tom. xiv p. 129.

cardinal

cardinal Wolſey, is ſtill preſerved, and exhibits a very curious ſpecimen of the cunning and ſubtilty of that famous miniſter. The ambaſſadors are directed to paint in the ſtrongeſt colours, the high eſteem and extraordinary love which their maſter had contracted for Francis at their interview at Ardres, which no intervening events had been able to diminiſh—to deſcribe in the moſt affecting manner, the ſorrow he had felt for his captivity, and the joy he had expreſſed at the news of his deliverance—that he had ſent them to offer him all the aid and comfort in his power. They were to do this, not in a formal oration, but in a natural way, as flowing from the heart. They are inſtructed to be very attentive to every word that dropped from Francis and his miniſters about the treaty of Madrid, in order to diſcover their real ſentiments and intentions. If they found them heſitating and undetermined, they were to expreſs the greateſt ſurpriſe and aſtoniſhment at the hardneſs of the conditions of that treaty—to repreſent that, when the treaty was executed, the emperor's power would become irreſiſtible. "That they ſhould "extend and ſpeak at large, what great honour, profit, and high re- "nown the emperor ſhould attain thereby, if in all parts it were ob- "ſerved. That this would be the ready way to bring him to the "monarchy of all Chriſtendom." If they found that Francis and his miniſters were reſolved not to execute the treaty in its full extent, but to procure a mitigation of ſome of the moſt oppreſſive articles, they ſhould then propoſe a treaty of alliance and confederacy for that purpoſe *. A. D. 1526.

There was no need for all this artifice to diſcover the intentions of the king of France, or to perſuade him to engage in a confederacy againſt the emperor, to obtain a mitigation of the treaty of Madrid. Before he ſigned that treaty, he proteſted, before two notaries, and a few confidential friends ſworn to ſecrecy, that he was Aſſembly of the Notables.

* Strype's Memorials, vol. i. ch. 5.

A D. 1526. under reſtraint, and that he did not deſign to perform any of the articles of the treaty he was about to ſign, but ſuch as were reaſonable*. A wretched ſubterfuge, to which he was driven by his unhappy circumſtances. When he arrived at Bayonne, and the two Spaniſh ambaſſadors who attended him preſſed him to ratify the treaty of Madrid, agreeable to an article of that treaty, he refuſed to do it, pretending he could contract no new engagements without the advice of his council, and the conſent of his ſubjects. He told them, that he would immediately call an aſſembly of the notables to meet at Cognac, and deſired them to attend there to receive his final anſwer. That aſſembly met at that place in June, and all the members declared with one voice, that the king had no right to diſmember the monarchy, by making a ceſſion of Burgundy, to which they never would give their conſent; and that without their conſent, it could not be done. The Spaniſh ambaſſadors were preſent in the aſſembly when that declaration was made, and inſiſted, that ſince the king would not, or could not, ſurrender Burgundy, he ſhould, as he had ſolemnly ſworn to do, return to his priſon in Spain. No direct anſwer was returned to this requiſition, but the treaty of confederacy between the pope, the king of France, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, (which had been concluded with great ſecrecy a few days before,) was publiſhed in their hearing. This amounting to a declaration of war, they demanded paſſports, and returned to Spain†.

Italian league.

In the above league of confederacy, the allies engaged to raiſe and pay an army of thirty thouſand foot, two hundred and fifty men at arms, and three thouſand light horſe, with a certain number of ſhips of war and galleys. The king of France was to have the county of Aſt and lordſhip of Genoa, with an annuity of 50,000 crowns from Francis Sforza duke of Milan. When the kingdom of Naples was conquered, the pope was to diſpoſe of that crown, and the new

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 221, 222. † Garnier, ibid. p. 232—235.

king

king was to pay the king of France an annuity of 75,000 crowns. The king of England was declared protector of this moſt holy league, and to have a principality in Naples worth 36,000 ducats a year, and cardinal Wolſey a lordſhip worth 10,000, for his good offices *. Though this league was formed directly againſt the emperor, by one of the articles it was agreed, that he ſhould be admitted into it as a party, on condition that he approved of the arrangements in Italy, deſiſted from his demand of Burgundy, and conſented to reſtore the children of France for a reaſonable ranſom. If he refuſed to comply with theſe conditions, (which they perfectly well knew he would refuſe,) the other confederates bound themſelves to aſſiſt the king of France in compelling him by force of arms to reſtore his children. The king of England was invited to become a party in this league, if he pleaſed; but this he very wiſely declined, contenting himſelf with the honour of being its protector, which coſt him nothing †. This league was notified to the emperor by the ambaſſadors of France and the other confederates. Charles was greatly irritated, and expreſſed himſelf with much aſperity againſt the pope and the king of France. He upbraided the pope with his ingratitude to him, who had raiſed him to the papal chair, though he was a baſtard. He deſired the French ambaſſador, the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, to tell his maſter, that he had behaved baſely and diſhonourably in violating the treaty of Madrid, and that if he denied it, he would maintain it againſt him by his perſon ‡. A. D. 1526.

Francis, conſcious that his conduct needed an apology, ſent a vindication of it to all the courts in Europe. This vindication was drawn by Duprat chancellor of France, with great art and eloquence, and reſted chiefly on the following grounds: That the emperor had firſt violated the treaty of Noyon, by retaining the king- Francis publiſhes a vindication.

* Guicciardini, lib. 16. Belcar. lib. 18. † Herbert, p. 76, 77. ‡ Id. ib.

A. D. 1526. dom of Navarre, to which he had no right, and which he had engaged to relinquiſh—That he had enticed Bourbon and his followers to rebel, and ſupported them in their rebellion—That he treated him, when he was his priſoner, in a moſt cruel and ignominious manner—That obligations and oaths, extorted by violence from a priſoner, were not binding—That he had always declared, that if any unreaſonable conditions were extorted from him, he would break them when he had obtained his liberty—That it was not in his power to ſurrender Burgundy; and that he had often told the emperor and his miniſters that it was not in his power—That he was willing to pay a great ſum of money in lieu of Burgundy, and for the recovery of his dear children *. To this apology the emperor publiſhed a ſevere and paſſionate anſwer, and both princes prepared for deciding this quarrel by ſharper weapons than the pen.

Treaty. Though Henry had eſpouſed the cauſe of the king of France, he was averſe to engage in a war, and wiſhed rather to recover his own debt from the emperor, and to aſſiſt Francis in recovering his ſons, by a negociation. The two monarchs, with this view, concluded a treaty of mutual obligation Auguſt 8th, in which the king of France engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for the recovery of his ſons, without comprehending the king of England, and ſecuring the payment of his debt; and the king of England engaged not to make any treaty with the emperor for obtaining the payment of his debt, without comprehending the king of France, and procuring the deliverance of his ſons for a ranſom of one million of crowns of gold †. Both princes, in conſequence of this treaty, inſtructed their ambaſſadors at the court of Spain, to negociate with Charles and his miniſters, for procuring the deliverance of the children of France, and the payment of the debt due to England ‡. In theſe negociations the laſt months of this year were ſpent.

* Herbert, p. 76, 77. † Rym. p. 189. ‡ Strype, vol. i. p. 67.

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A. D. 1526. Military operations in Italy.

It is foreign to the ſubject of this preſent work, and would be tedious to the reader, to trace all the motions of the imperial and confederate armies in Italy. It is ſufficient to ſay, that the confederate army, though numerous and well-appointed, being commanded by three generals who had equal authority and different views, performed nothing memorable. The duke of Bourbon took the command of the imperial army July 24th, and puſhed the ſiege of the caſtle of Milan (in which that army was then engaged) with ſo much ſpirit, that he compelled Sforza to ſurrender it by capitulation, which was the moſt important event in that campaign *.

1527, continued.

But though Bourbon had obtained poſſeſſion of the whole dutchy of Milan, of which the emperor had promiſed him the inveſtiture, he was in great diſtreſs and danger. His army had received little or no pay for ſeveral months; he had no money to pay them; and their diſtreſs and diſcontent were become ſo great, that he dreaded every moment ſome deſtructive mutiny. A great reinforcement of ſixteen thouſand Germans, half naked and half ſtarved, arrived in his camp, which added to his diſtreſs and danger, by doubling the demands for money, which he could not anſwer. The once rich and populous city of Milan, having been long the reſidence of an army without pay, was become a ſcene of miſery and deſolation, from which no more proviſions or money could be procured. In this extremity Bourbon acted with great prudence and ſpirit. He explained to his ſoldiers the cauſes of their ſufferings, in which he ſhared as deeply as any of them. He aſſured them, that he would lead them into the enemy's country, and would enrich them with the ſpoils of ſome of the moſt opulent cities of Italy. Animated by theſe hopes, they declared their reſolution to follow him wherever he pleaſed to lead them. He marched from Milan January 20th, A. D. 1527, at the head of twenty-five thouſand brave, or rather deſperate men, but

* Guicciardini, l. 17.

A. D. 1527. without money, without artillery, and without ammunition. They had no other means of procuring proviſions but by plundering the countries through which they marched. In their deſtructive courſe they approached Placentia, Bologna, and Florence, but found all theſe places ſo well prepared for their defence, that they dared not attempt them without artillery. Their patience was now quite exhauſted; they broke out into a furious mutiny, which Bourbon appeaſed with much difficulty, by convincing them that their preſervation depended upon their union and perſeverance, and by promiſing them, with greater confidence than ever, a ſpeedy period to all their ſufferings, and the accompliſhment of all his promiſes. Having obtained a ſmall ſum of money, a quantity of ammunition, and three field-pieces, from the duke of Ferrara, Bourbon marched his army directly to Rome, which inſpired his troops with the greateſt joy, as they there expected the leaſt reſiſtance and the greateſt booty. Beſides, the Germans in his army were in general Lutherans, who hated the pope as much as they loved his treaſures. When Bourbon with his army arrived at Rome May 5th, he rode among his troops, crying out, "Behold yonder churches and palaces, the receptacles of "the wealth of the chriſtian world; repoſe yourſelves to-night, and "to-morrow all that wealth ſhall be your own." Early in the morning May 6th, the army approached the walls under the cover of a thick fog, and attempted to ſcale them in three places. But they were every where repulſed, and were in danger of deſiſting from the attempt. Bourbon, ſenſible that every thing depended on the ſucceſs of that aſſault, alighted from his horſe, ſeized a ladder, placed it againſt the wall, and began to mount, when he received a ſhot in the groin, and fell into the ditch. In his laſt moments, this brave, accompliſhed, and unfortunate prince deſired thoſe about him to cover his body and conceal his death. It could not be concealed; and the report of it inflamed the fury of his troops to madneſs. With a dreadful ſhout of Bourbon, blood, and ſlaughter, they mounted the

the walls, and ruſhed into the city like a torrent, ſpreading death and deſtruction wherever they appeared. In a moment this devoted city became a ſcene of inexpreſſible miſery and horror, and its wretched inhabitants ſuffered every ill that the rage, avarice, and luſt of ſoldiers could inflict. Their miſery did not terminate in a day, but continued ſeveral months; the churches, palaces, and private houſes were ſtript of every thing that was valuable, and many crimes were committed too ſhocking to be recorded *. A. D. 1527.

Impriſonment of the pope.

The pope and cardinals fled to the caſtle of St. Angelo, which ſaved them from the undiſtinguiſhing fury of the ſoldiers. But that fortreſs being unprovided for enduring a ſiege which was unexpected, his holineſs was ſoon reduced to the neceſſity of capitulating, to prevent his periſhing by famine. The terms of the capitulation were dictated by his enemies. He engaged to ſurrender all the places of ſtrength in his dominions, to pay 400,000 ducats to the beſieging army, and to remain a priſoner till all this was performed, and the emperor's pleaſure was known †.

Hypocriſy of the emperor.

The news of the ſacking of Rome, and the impriſonment of the pope, excited horror and indignation in the minds of all good catholics in all parts of Europe. None expreſſed greater ſurpriſe and ſorrow on this occaſion than the emperor. He put himſelf and all his court into the deepeſt mourning, forbid the intended rejoicing for the birth of his ſon, and commanded prayers to be put up in all the churches of Spain for the deliverance of his holineſs. A piece of hypocriſy as ſhallow as it was impious ‡.

Treaties.

The concern of the kings of France and England for the captivity of the pope was more ſincere. There had been three treaties concluded between them at London April 30th. 1. A treaty of ſtricter union and alliance, in which it was agreed that Francis, or his ſecond ſon the duke of Orleans, ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary, and

* Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 269–279. Guicciard. l. 13. † Id. ibid.

‡ Sandov. vol. i. p. 22. Sleidan, p. 109.

A. D. 1527. that the two kings ſhould have a perſonal interview as ſoon as preliminaries could be ſettled. 2. A treaty of perpetual peace, the chief article of which was, that to remove all grounds of wars and quarrels, Henry renounced for himſelf and his ſucceſſors his title to the crown of France, and to all the territories poſſeſſed by Francis; and that Francis and his ſucceſſors ſhould pay to Henry and his ſucceſſors 50,000 crowns a-year in coin, and 15,000 crowns worth of the ſalt of Bruage a-year, for ever. 3. A treaty of offenſive war, in which the two kings agreed to ſend ambaſſadors to the emperor, with their ultimate propoſals, for the redemption of the children of France, and the payment of the debt due to England; and if the emperor rejected theſe propoſals, two heralds were to denounce war againſt him, each in the name of his own king. By this treaty too it was agreed, that the war ſhould be chiefly puſhed in the Low-Countries, and all things reſpecting the numbers of troops to be furniſhed by each king, and the diviſion of their conqueſts, were ſettled*. But the unfortunate turn of affairs in Italy required new counſels, and it now became neceſſary to make their firſt and greateſt efforts in that country, to prevent their confederates from deſerting the common cauſe. With this view they made another treaty May 29th, in which they agreed to make Italy the ſeat of the war, and Francis engaged to ſend an army of thirty thouſand foot and one thouſand horſe to join the confederate army there; while Henry obliged himſelf to pay 32,222 crowns a-month for ſix months, in lieu of the forces he was to have furniſhed by treaty for the war in the Low Countries †. In conſequence of an article in one of the above treaties, Sir Francis Pointz was appointed ambaſſador to make the concerted propoſitions to the emperor, and ſet out for Spain by way of France May 10th, with Clarenceaux king at arms in his company ‡.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 202—227. Herbert, p. 80, 81. † Herbert, p. 83.
‡ Herbert, p. 83.

As

A. D. 1527.

The cardinal's embaſſy to France.

As the propoſed interview between the two kings would have occaſioned too long a delay and too much expence, it was thought better to ſend the cardinal with unlimited powers to ſettle all things with Francis, who agreed to meet him at Amiens. This pompous plenipotentiary paſſed through London in a kind of proceſſion July 3d, attended by many perſons of rank, with a retinue of twelve hundred horſe. He arrived at Calais on the 11th, and ſet out from thence on the 22d. He was met on the frontiers of France by the cardinal of Lorrain, with a ſplendid train of prelates, lords, and gentlemen, and received into every town with proceſſions, pageants, and all the honours that could have been paid to the greateſt monarch *. Still further to gratify the vanity of this haughty prieſt, Francis granted him a power to ſet all priſoners at liberty in every town through which he paſſed †. Proceeding by ſlow journies, he arrived at Abbeville July 25th, and there ſpent about a week.

The emperor's offers rejected.

While the cardinal remained at Abbeville he received the emperor's anſwer to certain propoſitions that had been preſented to him by Francis. The propoſitions were theſe four: 1. That Sforza duke of Milan ſhould be reſtored to his dominions. 2. That Francis would pay the emperor two millions of crowns in lieu of Burgundy, on which he ſhould receive his ſons and his queen Eleanora. 3. That Francis would pay the debts which the emperor owed to the king of England. 4. It was propoſed, that the emperor ſhould make ſome addition to the dowry of queen Eleanora, in conſideration of the great ſums he was to receive. The emperor's anſwer conſiſted of eight declarations, chiefly explanatory of the ſenſe in which he underſtood and accepted the propoſitions, with ſome ſlight alterations ‡. The emperor ſubjoined to theſe declarations very ſtrong expreſſions of his regard for cardinal Wolſey, "who (he ſaid) had "always been, and ſtill was, one of his beſt friends." Though he

* Hall, f. 161, 162. † Rym. p. 202. ‡ Ibid. p. 200.

knew

A. D. 1527. knew him to be his moſt inveterate enemy. He expreſſed, in much ſtronger terms, the great affection and love he bore to his deareſt uncle the king of England, for whoſe ſake alone he had made the above conceſſions, and at whoſe requeſt he was ready to make other conceſſions, that all the world might know that he eſteemed and loved him, and valued his friendſhip more than that of other princes *. The deſign of all this flattery of Henry and his favourite is very obvious. As both Henry and Francis were reſolved on war, the emperor's propoſals were rejected.

Treaties. The king of France with his whole court arrived at Amiens Auguſt 3d, and the cardinal made his public entry into that city the day after, with prodigious pomp †. There he continued fourteen days, tranſacting buſineſs with Francis and his miniſters, and three treaties were concluded Auguſt 18th. By the firſt of theſe treaties it was agreed, that the duke of Orleans ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Mary—that the interview between the two kings ſhould be put off to a more convenient ſeaſon—and the ſums of money to be paid monthly by the king of England, for defraying the expences of the war in Italy, and for the deliverance of the pope, were ſettled. This treaty was intended to confirm and explain the treaties made in the months of April and May. By the ſecond treaty it was agreed, that whatever privileges the Engliſh merchants ſhould loſe in the dominions of the emperor in conſequence of the approaching war, they ſhould enjoy ſimilar privileges in the dominions of the king of France during the continuance of that war. By the third treaty, the two contracting princes endeavoured to guard againſt the inconveniencies they and their ſubjects might ſuffer by the captivity of the pope, when he was entirely in the power of the emperor. In order to this, it was agreed, that if the emperor, or the pope during his captivity, called a general council, neither of the kings ſhould obey the call

* Rym. p. 200. † Hall, f. 162.

without

without the conſent of the other. It was further ſtipulated, that if the pope, while he was a priſoner, iſſued any bulls prejudicial to them or their ſubjects, they ſhould diſregard them; and that in the mean time the church of England ſhould be governed by the cardinal legate, and the Gallican church by the prelates of that kingdom*. Theſe treaties were ratified with great ſolemnity, and delivered by the king to the cardinal at high maſs, in the great church of Amiens†. The cardinal having finiſhed his buſineſs, and ſpent ſome time in a progreſs with the court of France, returned to England and waited on the king, by whom he was moſt graciouſly received, at Richmond September 29th. A. D. 1527.

In the mean time the Engliſh plenipotentiary, ſir Francis Pointz, had reached the court of Spain, and having obtained an audience of the emperor, made the following demands in the name of the king his maſter:—That the emperor ſhould deliver to the king one half of the ſpoils and priſoners taken at the battle of Pavia, as he had contributed to the pay of the army which had taken thoſe ſpoils and priſoners:—that he ſhould give up the duke of Orleans, one of the ſons of France, to the king:—that he ſhould immediately repay all the ſums of money the king had lent him, with the addition of 400,000 crowns which he had forfeited by violating his contract of marriage with the princeſs Mary;—and that he ſhould reſtore the pope to his liberty, and indemnify him and his ſubjects for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained ‡. The emperor acted with his uſual caution and prudence on this occaſion. He ſaw plainly that theſe demands were not made from any expectation that they would be granted, but only to procure a pretence for declaring war againſt him if they were rejected. He replied therefore with great calmneſs, That theſe were matters of great importance; that he would deliberate upon them with his council, and then return an anſwer. A few

* Rym. p. 203—218. † Hall, f. 162. ‡ Ibid. f. 163. Herbert, p. 86.

A. D. 1527. days after, the Engliſh ambaſſador, with the biſhop of Worceſter and doctor Lee, the Engliſh reſidents, had a ſecond audience, when the emperor acquainted them, that he had reſolved to communicate his ſentiments on their demands to his dear uncle, by his ambaſſador at the court of England, and begged them to wait with patience till he got a return from thence, and then they ſhould receive his final anſwer *. By this means he prevented an immediate declaration of war, for which he was not prepared, and gained time to make freſh efforts to detach the king of England from an intimate union with France. But the invincible animoſity of the cardinal againſt him prevented the ſucceſs of theſe efforts.

The pope at liberty.

The emperor, perceiving that the captivity of the pope gave great offence to all good catholics, and furniſhed the kings of France and England with a plauſible pretence for declaring war againſt him, determined to ſet him at liberty. The rapid progreſs alſo of the confederate army in Italy, which was now marching towards Rome, made him haſten to execute that reſolution. As he had pretended great ſorrow for the captivity of his holineſs, ſo he now pretended (with equal diſſimulation) great diſintereſtedneſs in giving him his liberty. He demanded, he ſaid, no ranſom for his perſon; but as the army that had reduced him to captivity was turbulent and ungovernable, and had great arrears of pay due to them, it was neceſſary to procure money to diſcharge theſe arrears, to prevent their breaking out into ſome dreadful mutiny. He ſent orders to Moncado, his miniſter at Rome, to alarm the fears of his holineſs, to make him impatient for his liberty, and to extort from him as much money and as advantageous conditions as poſſible. Moncado acted his part perfectly well, and concluded a treaty with his holineſs for his liberty on the following terms:—That he ſhould never take part againſt the emperor in Italy:—that he ſhould pay immediately 100,000 crowns

* Hall, f. 163.

for

for the uſe of the army; the ſame ſum a fortnight after, and 150,000 at the end of three months:—that he ſhould grant the emperor a cruzado in all his dominions, and the tenth of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in Spain;—and that he ſhould deliver certain cardinals as hoſtages, and certain ſtrong towns as a ſecurity, for the performance of theſe conditions *. The pope paid the firſt moiety of the money, delivered the hoſtages and towns, and was to have been ſet at liberty December 10th; but dreading that he would be detained on ſome pretence or other, he made his eſcape in diſguiſe the evening before, and took ſhelter in Orvieto. From thence he immediately wrote to the king of England and to cardinal Wolſey, acknowledging that he owed his liberty to their powerful interpoſition, expreſſing the moſt lively gratitude, and imploring the continuance of their protection. A. D. 1527.

Beſide Henry's ſtrong attachment to the church of Rome, of which he had been the champion both by his ſword and pen, he had another motive which induced him to eſpouſe the cauſe of the impriſoned pope with warmth. He had formed a reſolution to procure a divorce, if poſſible, from his queen, Catherine of Spain, the emperor's aunt; and he well knew that nothing could contribute ſo much to the ſucceſs of that deſign as the favour of his holineſs. As this divorce engaged almoſt the whole attention of Henry and his miniſters for ſeveral years, and produced effects of the greateſt importance and altogether unexpected, it is neceſſary to trace the proceedings in it from year to year with the moſt anxious care and laborious inveſtigation. Divorce.

It is impoſſible to diſcover, with abſolute certainty, the preciſe time when Henry reſolved to procure a divorce from his queen, or the motives which determined him to form that reſolution. It is however highly probable, that he had formed it a conſiderable time before he made it public, and that the motives by which he was in- The time and the motives.

* Guicciard. lib. xviii. p. 467.

A. D. 1527. fluenced, were neither criminal nor diſhonourable. Great doubts concerning the legality of his marriage with his brother's widow were generally entertained as ſoon as it was propoſed. His father, Henry VII. who, prompted by his predominant paſſion, avarice, had formed the ſcheme and promoted the contract of that uncommon marriage, was afterwards convinced of its illegality, and endeavoured to prevent its accompliſhment. With this view he perſuaded his ſon to proteſt againſt the contract of his marriage on the very day he was fourteen years of age, and on his death-bed he charged him with great earneſtneſs never to celebrate that marriage *. Warham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, a man greatly eſteemed for his learning and integrity, declared loudly againſt the celebration of the marriage (when it was debated in council) as inceſtuous, and contrary to the law of God, with which, he ſaid, the pope could not diſpenſe †. Though Henry's amorous diſpoſition, the charms of the princeſs, and the perſuaſions of his counſellors, made him diſregard the dying admonitions of his father, and the ſtrong declarations of the primate, yet they could not fail to make an impreſſion upon his mind, which could not be quite forgotten, and would be eaſily revived. While the queen retained her beauty, continued to bear children, and gave him hopes of a ſon or ſons to ſucceed him on the throne, his ſcruples, it is probable, gave him little trouble; but when her beauty faded, infirmities ſucceeded, and all hopes of iſſue vaniſhed, he became uneaſy; his doubts about the legality of of his marriage revived; the dread of leaving a diſputable ſucceſſion increaſed; and he began to think of a divorce, as the only thing that could relieve him from all theſe embarraſſments. All this happened in the year 1524: for it was in that year, as we learn from a letter of his own to Simon Grinius, that he began to abſtain from all conjugal intercourſe with the queen, from ſcruples which he then

* Moriſon's Apomaxis, p. 13.

† Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. i. p. 36. and Collection of Records, p. 10.

entertained

entertained about the legality of his marriage *. It was in that year, A. D. 1527. therefore, it is highly probable, that he began to entertain thoughts of a divorce, influenced by the following motives: his ſcruples about the legality of his marriage; his dread of leaving a diſputable ſucceſſion; and his deſires and hopes of having male iſſue by a lawful marriage. The advanced age and infirmities of the queen might give additional weight to theſe motives, and make the thoughts of a ſeparation from her leſs painful; but there is no evidence, or even probability, that he had then ſet his affections on any other lady.

Though Henry began ſo early to be diſquieted with doubts about the legality of his marriage, it ſeems to have been a conſiderable time before he was fully convinced that it was unlawful. Pope Julius II. had granted a diſpenſation for it, and he had a very high opinion of the papal power, to which he was unwilling to ſet any bounds. Having a taſte for theological ſtudies, he applied with great ardour to the ſtudy of this queſtion, in which he was ſo deeply intereſted. He even compoſed a book upon the ſubject, to prove, firſt, that the marriage of a brother's widow was prohibited by the law of God; and, ſecondly, that the pope had not power to diſpenſe with the laws of God; and conſequently, that his marriage with his brother's widow was unlawful. He proved the firſt by two laws in Leviticus, and conſidered the death of his two ſons by the queen as the effect of the threatening in one of theſe laws, that ſuch marriages ſhould be childleſs †. The ſecond may ſeem to us a ſelf-evident propoſition that needed no proof; but ſuch was the infatuation and bigotry of thoſe times, that it was eſteemed by many a moſt peſtilent hereſy to ſet any bounds to the power of the pope in granting pardons and diſpenſations. Fox, biſhop of Wincheſter, threatened to accuſe archbiſhop Warham of hereſy, for denying the pope's power to diſpenſe with the laws of God. But Thomas

Henry fully convinced of the illegality of his marriage.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 38.

† Leviticus, chap. xviii. 16. xx. 21.

Aquinas

A. D. 1527. Aquinas having declared in the moſt explicit terms, ſupported by the ſtrongeſt reaſons, againſt the pope's power of diſpenſing with the divine laws, Henry embraced the opinion of his favourite author, and became fully convinced that his marriage was unlawful, and reſolutely determined to procure the diſſolution of it by a divorce *. In this opinion and determination he was confirmed by his favourite Wolſey, his confeſſor Longland biſhop of Lincoln, and other men of learning.

His intention diſcloſed. Though Henry had abſtained from all conjugal intercourſe with the queen for a conſiderable time, he ſtill continued to treat her with the greateſt attention and reſpect, and to keep his intention of ſuing for a divorce as ſecret as poſſible. But his reſolution being now taken, and his plan of proceeding formed, he began to diſcloſe his deſign with great art and caution. The biſhop of Tarbe, and other French ambaſſadors, who were at London in March this year negociating a marriage between the princeſs Mary and the duke of Orleans, ſtarted this objection, that the legitimacy of the princeſs might be called in queſtion, on account of the illegality of her father's marriage with his brother's widow, which might obſtruct her ſucceſſion to the crown †. Both the king and Wolſey affected to appear greatly alarmed at this objection; though it is highly probable, if not abſolutely certain, that it was made in conſequence of a concert between the courts of France and England, to furniſh Henry with a fair pretence for beginning his proceſs and demanding a divorce. The French, at that time, courted Henry's friendſhip with the greateſt ardour, as the only thing that could preſerve their monarchy from deſtruction, or deliver their king from captivity. In theſe circumſtances, it is not credible that the ambaſſadors would have ſtarted an objection that ſo nearly affected the honour, peace,

* Strype, b. i. ch. x. p. 93, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 38.
† Hall, f. 55. Heylin, p. 3.

and

and happineſs of the royal family, if they had not known that it was agreeable to the king, and a part of his plan. A. D. 1527.

Secretary ſent to Rome.

After ſome fruitleſs attempts had been made to perſuade the queen to conſent to a divorce, the king's ſecretary, doctor Knight, was ſent to Rome in July this year, to make application to the pope, who was believed to be the only perſon who had power to grant what was ſo much deſired. He carried with him letters from the king and the cardinal to the pope, repreſenting the many great ſervices they had done to his holineſs and the ſee of Rome; painting in the ſtrongeſt colours the king's diſtreſs, occaſioned by the ſcruples he entertained about the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, or rather by his full conviction that it was unlawful; and intreating his holineſs, in the moſt earneſt manner, to examine this important cauſe without delay, and grant that relief which juſtice required. The cardinal, in his letter, conjured the pope in ſo earneſt and pathetic a ſtrain to grant what the king deſired, that he ſeems to have foreſeen that the continuance of his own power and favour depended on the ſucceſs of that deſign *. They knew the court of Rome too well, to depend entirely on their letters, and the goodneſs of the cauſe, for ſucceſs. The ſecretary carried with him a large ſum of money, and bills on the bank of Venice for 10,000 crowns; and if the arts of corruption were not ſufficiently underſtood, they might be learned from the directions that were given by the cardinal for the diſpoſal of that money †. Doctor Knight was alſo directed to communicate all his letters and inſtructions to ſir Gregory Caſſali, the king's reſident at Rome, and to act in concert with him in all things.

Applies to the pope.

When the ſecretary arrived at Rome the pope was ſtill a priſoner; but having conſulted with Caſſali, they found means, by bribing ſome of his guards, to communicate their buſineſs and the king's requiſitions to his holineſs, and received a moſt favourable anſwer. The pope

* Strype, vol. i. p. 83. Burnet's Records, b. ii. No. iv. † Ibid. No. ix.

A. D. 1527. profeſſed the moſt lively gratitude to the king for all his former favours, and declared, that he depended upon him alone for the recovery of his liberty; and that when he recovered it, he would deny him nothing; but that he could do nothing while he was a priſoner that would be eſteemed legal.

The negociations.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors concealed themſelves with the greateſt care, for fear of being diſcovered and inſulted by the Spaniſh ſoldiers, while the pope remained in priſon: but as ſoon as he made his eſcape, they flew to Orvieto, and renewed their ſolicitations. They found his holineſs ſtill in great terror of the imperial army; and he further informed them, that when he was in priſon, the general of the obſervants had charged him, in the emperor's name, to take no ſtep in their king's divorce till he had firſt communicated it to his miniſters at Rome. The ſecretary, doctor Knight, had brought with him copies of the four following inſtruments, which he and Caſſali moſt earneſtly intreated his holineſs to grant:

1. A commiſſion to two cardinals, for hearing and determining the cauſe in England, whereof cardinal Wolſey to be one.

2. A decretal, wherein the pope ſhould pronounce the marriage void, upon proof of carnal knowledge between prince Arthur and Katharine.

3. A diſpenſation for the king to marry another.

4. A pollicitation that the pope would not revoke any of theſe acts *.

After ſeveral audiences, in which they endeavoured to convince the pope of the illegality of the marriage, and to perſuade him to grant theſe acts; and after they had gained the cardinal, with whom he conſulted, by a preſent of 4000 crowns; they obtained two of the acts, the commiſſion and diſpenſation, but conſiderably changed from the draughts they had preſented †. Secretary Knight being

* Strype, vol. i. p. 89. † Burnet, vol. i. b. ii. Records, No. iv, v.

afflicted

afflicted with the gout, ſent them to England by Gambara the papal prothonotary, and followed him by ſlow journies, leaving Caſſali to continue his ſolicitations. A. D. 1527.

As ſoon as Henry had determined to be divorced from his queen, he began to look around him for another lady to ſupply her place. Cardinal Wolſey, it is ſaid, recommended Margaret ducheſs dowager of Alençon, the French king's ſiſter, with a view to render the union of theſe two monarchs more perfect and permanent. But a young lady appeared in the court of England this year, who made a ſudden and complete conqueſt of the king's heart, by the charms of her perſon and converſation. This was the fair unfortunate Anne Boleyn, daughter of ſir Thomas Boleyn by a ſiſter of the duke of Norfolk, and nearly related to many of the greateſt families in England. She was born A. D. 1507, and was carried into France A. D. 1515, when ſhe was only in her ninth year, by the king's ſiſter, the princeſs Mary, when ſhe was married to Louis XII. on whom ſhe attended till that princeſs returned to England, after the death of her huſband. Though ſhe was ſtill very young, her perſon and manners were ſo pleaſing, that ſhe was retained by queen Claude, the firſt conſort of Francis I. and after the death of that amiable and virtuous queen July 1524, ſhe lived with Margaret ducheſs of Alençon till ſhe was brought into England by her father, when he returned from his embaſſy in France A. D. 1527, and ſoon after admitted one of the maids of honour to the queen. It was in this ſituation the king had an opportunity of ſeeing her, and ſometimes engaging her in converſation; and he was ſo much charmed by her beauty, her virtue, her vivacity, her eaſy and ſprightly manners, that he reſolved to raiſe her to the throne, and became more impatient for obtaining a divorce *. Anne Boleyn.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 43, 44.

A. D. 1528. Embaſſy to the pope.

When the commiſſion and diſpenſation above mentioned were brought into England by Gambara, they were found to be ſo defective, that it was thought dangerous to proceed upon them; and it was reſolved to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome to obtain more ample powers. Doctor Stephen Gardiner, the cardinal's ſecretary, and doctor Edward Fox, the king's almoner, two of the moſt learned men in England, were pitched upon for this embaſſy, and prodigious pains were taken to furniſh them with every thing that could contribute to render their negociations ſucceſsful. Theſe ambaſſadors ſet out from London 10th February, and carried with them the draught of a commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey and another cardinal, to try this great cauſe in England; in which every clauſe was inſerted that could render it effectual, and prevent the advocation of the cauſe to Rome; together with letters from the king and the cardinal, containing every argument and motive that could be conceived to engage his holineſs to grant the commiſſion. The cardinal's letter was written with as much earneſtneſs and importunity as if his life had been at ſtake. As Henry was vain of his learning, and fond of literary fame, he compoſed a book to prove the illegality of his marriage, which he delivered to the ambaſſadors, to be preſented to the pope; and, which was of more conſequence, he entruſted them with a great ſum of money, to be diſtributed in the court of Rome. The ambaſſadors, according to their inſtructions, went firſt to the court of France, and procured letters from that king, importuning the pope to grant the requeſt of the king of England; and after a fatiguing journey, they arrived at Orvieto March 20th, A. D. 1528 *.

Declaration of war.

Though the war was ſtill carried on in Italy, the plenipotentiaries of France and England continued their negociations at the court of Spain for obtaining a peace, and the mitigation of ſome of the

* Strype, vol. i. p. 90, &c. Burnet, vol. i. p. 51, 52. Records, ibid. No. xi.

articles

articles of the treaty of Madrid. But about the beginning of this year all hopes of peace vaniſhed; the two kings recalled their ambaſſadors, and declared war in form againſt the emperor, by their reſpective heralds, January 22d, A. D. 1528 *. Charles, in his anſwer to the Engliſh herald, ſpoke in reſpectful terms of his royal maſter, and regretted the loſs of his friendſhip, which he imputed to the reſentment of cardinal Wolſey, who was offended with him becauſe he had refuſed to make him pope by force of arms. In his ſpeech to the French herald he expreſſed himſelf with great aſperity againſt Francis; declaring that he had violated his moſt ſolemn oaths, and acted in a manner unbecoming a gentleman. This produced a challenge to ſingle combat from Francis, which was accepted by Charles, and made a mighty noiſe for ſome time, but at length came to nothing †. A. D. 1528.

When the emperor's ambaſſador received the news of this declaration of war, he prepared for his departure: but he was detained by Wolſey, who wrote him a letter, aſſuring him that the herald had exceeded his powers, and that he ſhould be puniſhed for it on his return. The herald obtained an authentic copy of this letter, which he laid before the king, together with three letters in the cardinal's own hand, commanding him to declare war. Henry was ſo much enraged at the duplicity and preſumption of his favourite, that it was with great difficulty he was appeaſed; and it is probable that the impreſſion it made upon his mind was never entirely effaced ‡. Duplicity of the cardinal.

If this war had been proſecuted with vigour, according to the plan propoſed, of invading Flanders by a French army on one ſide, and an Engliſh army on the other, it would have involved the emperor in great perplexity. But it was exeedingly unpopular in England, and almoſt the whole nation exclaimed againſt it, and Truce.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 200. Herbert, p. 85. Guicciard. p. 471.

† Memoires de Bellay, tom. i. p. 103. Garnier, tom. xxiv. p. 330, &c.

‡ Hall, f. 171. 173. Herbert, p. 90.

A. D. 1528. againſt the cardinal, the author of it, who, they ſaid, ſacrificed the peace and proſperity of his country to gratify his own reſentment. Beſide this, the king's attention was ſo entirely engroſſed by the affair of his divorce, that he liſtened with pleaſure to ſome pacific propoſals that were made to him by Margaret governeſs of the Low Countries, and a truce for eight months was concluded June 8th, to which the king of France acceded with great reluctance June 24th *.

Negociation

When the Engliſh ambaſſadors, Gardiner and Fox, were admitted to an audience of the pope at Orvieto March 23d, they found him ill accommodated, ill attended, and in great dread of the imperial army. Having delivered the king's letters and the cardinal's, he read them, and then broke out into the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of gratitude to the king, and of his earneſt deſire to oblige him. They then preſented the king's book, and entered into a long converſation on the object of their embaſſy; in which they removed ſome unfavourable impreſſions the pope had received of the lady Anne Boleyn, and of the ſincerity of the cardinal in his deſire of the divorce. At laſt they produced the copy of the commiſſion to cardinal Wolſey, and another cardinal to be named by the pope, which they moſt earneſtly intreated him to grant, and recommended cardinal Campegius, as the propereſt perſon to be joined with Wolſey; leaving the commiſſion with him for his conſideration †.

continued.

The Engliſh ambaſſadors had ſeveral other long conferences with the pope, in the preſence of the cardinals and other learned men; in which they entered upon the merits of the king's cauſe, the illegality of his marriage, the inſufficiency of the diſpenſation of Julius II. to render it lawful, and the neceſſity of granting the commiſſion in the form required. In the preamble of that commiſſion it was gently hinted, that ſome people denied that the pope had power to diſpenſe with the laws of God: but they ſoon found that this

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 258, &c.

† Strype, p. 91—94.

was

was a topic not to be inſiſted upon; for though Clement was much diſpirited by his late captivity and his preſent diſtreſs, he ſtill retained ſo much of the ſpirit of his predeceſſors, that he would hear no reaſoning on the limits of his power. But though the popes of thoſe times impiouſly claimed the power of diſpenſing with the laws of God, they had the modeſty to acknowledge that former popes might have been deceived and impoſed upon by miſinformation, and that the diſpenſations and other bulls which they had granted upon wrong ſuggeſtions were null and of no force. The ambaſſadors therefore ſet themſelves to prove, that the diſpenſation for their king's marriage was granted upon wrong ſuggeſtions, and conſequently was null and void, and the marriage unlawful. The ſuggeſtions on which it was granted were theſe two: 1. That the marriage was neceſſary to prevent the moſt cruel and bloody wars between the kingdoms of Spain and England. 2. That it was moſt earneſtly deſired by Henry prince of Wales. The firſt of theſe was unqueſtionably falſe, becauſe the two nations and the two royal families were then in the moſt perfect amity, and had no ground of quarrel. The ſecond could not be true, becauſe Henry was then only in his twelfth year, and could not ſo much as give his conſent, and he had proteſted againſt the projected marriage on the very day he had completed his fourteenth year *.

A. D. 1528. Arguments of the ambaſſadors.

Theſe arguments, the importunity of the ambaſſadors, but eſpecially the progreſs of the French and their confederates, who had invaded the kingdom of Naples, prevailed upon the cautious and timid pontiff to take ſome ſteps which ſeemed to promiſe Henry ſucceſs in this great cauſe. Soon after the confederate army, commanded by Lautric, had inveſted the city of Naples, in which the imperial army had taken ſhelter, the pope believing the war to be near at an end, and that the imperialiſts would be driven out of

Bulls obtained.

* Collier's Eccleſ. Hiſt. vol. ii. p. 25. Burnet, vol. i. p. 52.

A. D. 1528. Italy, granted the Engliſh ambaſſadors almoſt whatever they deſired. By a bull dated at Viterbo June 6th, he appointed cardinal Wolſey and cardinal Campegius his legates *a latere* in England, with the moſt ample powers to judge and determine the affair of the king's marriage *. As the affairs of the confederates ſtill continued to wear a favourable aſpect, and it was expected they would ſoon make themſelves maſters of the city and kingdom of Naples, the pope proceeded a ſtep further, and on July 13th he ſigned a ſolemn pollicitation, that he would never revoke the commiſſion he had given to the legates, nor advocate the cauſe to Rome. By the importunate ſolicitations of the ambaſſadors, he granted, about the ſame time, or ſoon after, a decretal bull, annulling Henry's marriage with queen Catherine, and permitting him to marry any other lady †. This bull was committed to Campegius to be carried into England.

Duplicity of the pope.

Henry and his miniſters now imagined that they had ſurmounted all difficulties, and entertained the ſtrongeſt hopes of obtaining the deſired divorce in a very ſhort time. But they were much miſtaken. The pope had other views, of which they were entirely ignorant. Though he publicly profeſſed the moſt inviolable attachment to the kings of France and England and their confederates, and the moſt implacable reſentment againſt the emperor, yet he privately negociated a reconciliation with that prince, and reſolved to do nothing effectual in favour of the king of England that might prevent the ſucceſs of that negociation. He was confirmed in this reſolution by the unfortunate turn the affairs of the confederates had taken before Naples, where their army was threatened with deſtruction by famine and the peſtilence. Though he had granted, therefore, the above bulls, to cheriſh the hopes of the king, and excite the fears of the emperor, and make him more deſirous of an accommodation, he took the moſt effectual meaſures to prevent their execution. With this view

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 295. † Herbert, p. 101. Burnet, vol. i. p. 54, 55.

he

he directed Campegius (who was entirely under his influence) to pretend great reluctance to undertake ſo long a journey on account of his age and infirmities; and when this difficulty was overcome by the importunity, the promiſes, and certain other more powerful arguments of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, he travelled ſo ſlowly, that he did not arrive in England till the month of October *. A. D. 1528.

Campegius arrives in England.

Though Henry had been much diſguſted with Campegius for his affected delays, he prepared to give him a moſt magnificent reception, which he, being much afflicted with the gout, declined. When he had reſted ſome days, and was a little recovered, he was carried in a chair, accompanied by cardinal Wolſey and a ſplendid train of nobles, to an audience of the king at Bridewell. At this audience his ſecretary made an elegant harangue in Latin, in which he painted the cruelties committed by the imperial army at the ſacking of Rome in the ſtrongeſt colours, and concluded with a flattering addreſs to the king as the ſaviour of the church and deliverer of the pope. To this harangue doctor Fox made a modeſt reply in the ſame language †. When the aſſembly was diſmiſſed, the two cardinals had a private conference with the king, in which Campegius, it is ſaid, exhorted him to live in love and harmony with his queen, and deſiſt from proſecuting for a divorce. This exhortation was equally unexpected and diſagreeable. But Henry's circumſtances at this time obliged him to bear many things that were very unpleaſant to his proud impatient ſpirit.

Refuſal of Campegius and the pope to part with the decretal bull.

To mitigate the king's diſpleaſure and revive his hopes, Campegius ſhewed to him and the cardinal the decretal bull which annulled his marriage with the queen, and permitted him to marry any other lady. But when he was deſired to commit this bull to Wolſey for a few days, that he might ſhew it to ſome of the king's confidential counſellors, he abſolutely refuſed, and could not be prevailed upon

* Burnet, p. 54, 55. Herbert, p. 107. Strype, Records, No. xxiii, xxiv, xxv, xxvi.
† Hall, f. 179.

by

A. D. 1528. by the moſt earneſt intreaties to part with it, or ſhew it to any other. This greatly irritated and diſconcerted both the king and the cardinal. They apprehended that ſome deception was intended, and determined, if poſſible, to get poſſeſſion of that bull, which would have effectually ſecured their ſucceſs, and put it out of the power of the pope to diſappoint them. With this view, the cardinal wrote to Sir Gregory Caſſali, commanding him to wait upon the pope, and prevail upon him to ſend an order to Campegius to ſhew the decretal bull to ſome of the king's confidential ſervants; and he deſires him to plead this cauſe with as much earneſtneſs as if he was pleading for the ſalvation of his ſoul*. But the pope proved as obſtinate as Campegius. For though John and Vincent Caſſali (in the abſence of their brother ſir Gregory, who was confined by ſickneſs at Bononia) importuned him in the moſt earneſt manner, and employed every argument that could work upon his hopes and fears, and renewed their arguments and importunities ſeveral different days, he remained inflexible. Of all this John Caſſali wrote a long account to cardinal Wolſey, dated at Rome December 15th, and ſent it by his brother Vincent †. The two Caſſalis, in the courſe of their application to the pope, diſcovered his negociation with the emperor, and that it was this that made him ſo reſolute in refuſing to comply with the king's requeſt.

Speech of the king.

Henry and his miniſters were in no little perplexity at this time. On the arrival of Campegius, the king's divorce became the ſubject of almoſt every converſation, and was in general ſo unpopular, that they dreaded inſurrections in ſeveral places. To prevent theſe the king made a ſpeech to an aſſembly of nobles, prelates, the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens of London, and many other perſons of note, in the hall of his palace of Bridewell November 8th. In this ſpeech he declared, with the moſt awful ſolemnity, that the

* Burnet, Records, No. xvi. † Ibid. No. xvii.

troubles

troubles of his conſcience about the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, and the dread of leaving a diſputed ſucceſſion, and not any diſlike to his queen, whom he highly praiſed, were the motives which had determined him to have the lawfulneſs or unlawfulneſs of his marriage fully tried and finally decided. He intreated all who heard him to quiet the minds of his ſubjects in their ſeveral countries, by informing them of what he had now ſaid; declaring, that if any of them after this preſumed to impute his conduct to unworthy motives, or attempted to raiſe diſturbances, they ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed *. This ſpeech, with ſome other precautions that were taken, preſerved the public tranquillity. A. D. 1528.

A few days after this, the two cardinals waited upon the queen, and intimated to her the commiſſion they had received from the pope to try the validity of her marriage. Campegius was the ſpeaker on this occaſion, and exhorted her, it is ſaid, to retire from the world, and enter into a religious life. The queen anſwered him with great compoſure, that ſhe was the king's lawful wife, and not at her own diſpoſal. That ſhe could take no ſtep without the advice of the emperor her nephew, from whom ſhe expected protection; and that ſhe could not look upon them as unbiaſſed judges in her cauſe. Then turning to cardinal Wolſey, ſhe ſpoke with greater aſperity, reproaching him as the firſt mover of this matter, and the great author of all her troubles, from his hatred to the emperor, becauſe he had refuſed to make him pope by force of arms; and from his reſentment againſt her, becauſe ſhe had often reproved him for his pride, lewdneſs, and other vices. The cardinal denied that he had been the firſt mover of the king's ſcruples about his marriage, and that he was reſolved to act the part of an upright impartial judge †. Campegius ſent an account of this converſation to the pope, and deſired further inſtructions; which his holineſs was in no The cardinals wait on the queen.

* Hall, f. 180. Stowe, p. 541. † Hall, f. 181.

A. D. 1528. haſte to ſend, as his great object was to gain time to finiſh his treaty with the emperor.

Ambaſſadors ſent to Rome.

Henry, impatient of theſe delays, and anxious about the ſucceſs of his application to the pope for the decretal bull, ſent ſir Francis Brian and Mr. Peter Vannes to Rome in the beginning of December, with inſtructions to diſſuade the pope from agreeing with the emperor; to offer him a guard of two thouſand men for the protection of his perſon; and if nothing elſe could prevail, to threaten, that if he did not do the king juſtice without delay, he and his ſubjects would withdraw their obedience from the ſee of Rome. They were alſo directed to conſult with the moſt learned men in the court of Rome about the practicability of ſeveral ſchemes for granting the king relief, particularly if the pope could give him a diſpenſation to have two wives, and if the iſſue of both would be legitimate *. Theſe ſchemes were ſuggeſted by Campegius, with no other view but to feed the king with vain hopes, and to keep him in good humour with thoſe who were deceiving him.

The pope deceives the king.

With the ſame inſidious view the pope ſent his prothonotary Gambara into England, with a letter of credence to cardinal Wolſey, dated at Rome December 15th. The letter contained nothing but unmeaning profeſſions of friendſhip to the king and him, and a deſire to give entire credit to what the bearer would communicate, though he knew he would not tell them one word of truth. Gambara acted his part perfectly well. He aſſured them, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that his holineſs was now determined to grant the king whatever he deſired, and to do for him not only what he could do in juſtice and equity, but whatever he could do in the plenitude of his power. That he had ſo deep a ſenſe of the king's merits, and the obligations he had laid on him, that if the reſignation of the popedom might do him any ſervice, he would readily reſign it.

* Burnet, p. 62. Records, No. xix.

The

The king and the cardinal were greatly elated by theſe aſſurances; A. D. 1528.
and in order to take advantage of the favourable diſpoſition of the pope, they reſolved to ſend doctor Stephen Gardiner, their moſt active and able negociator, immediately to Rome to finiſh the buſineſs. But all this was mere deluſion. There was no truth in Gambara's declarations, and his real errand in England was to ſee Campegius burn the decretal bull, about which the pope was under the moſt terrible apprehenſions, often ſaying to his confidents, that if by any accident it was made public, and came to the emperor's knowledge, he would be utterly ruined *.

1529. The pope falls ſick.

When doctor Gardiner was at Lyons on his way to Rome, he received intelligence that the pope had fallen ſick when he was at maſs January 6th; that it was believed he was dying, and that many of the cardinals had caſt their eyes on cardinal Wolſey to be his ſucceſſor. Of all this he informed the cardinal by an expreſs; and ſoon after it was reported that the pope was dead. This once more rouſed Wolſey's ambition, and revived his hopes. He wrote, February the 6th, to the Engliſh ambaſſadors at Rome, to exert all their activity and art to promote his election †. The king at the ſame time inſtructed them, "firſt to offer the cardinals good reaſons to "convince them of Wolſey's fitneſs for the papacy. But becauſe "human frailty is ſuch that reaſon doth not always take place, you "muſt promiſe promotions and ſums of money, with other good re-"wards; and that all the good preferments the cardinal hath, ſhall be "ſhared among thoſe who procure his election ‡." Such were the arts employed, in thoſe times, in the election of the ſucceſſors of St. Peter.

Letters ſent to Rome.

The pope's recovery ſoon put a ſtop to theſe intrigues; but his relapſe in the beginning of March revived them. When cardinal Wolſey heard of this relapſe, which was repreſented as very dangerous,

* Burnet, p. 61, 62, 63. † Ibid. Records, No. xx. ‡ Ibid. p. 64.

A. D. 1529. he wrote two very long letters to doctor Gardiner, ſir Francis Brian, ſir Gregory Caſſalis, and Mr. Peter Vannes, the king's reſidents at Rome, in which he diſcovers the moſt extreme anxiety about his own advancement and the king's divorce, and ſuggeſts the moſt artful methods for obtaining theſe ends. He directs them to take care that the biſhop of Verona, or ſome other truſty friend] of theirs, ſhould be always with his holineſs, and embrace every opportunity of ſpeaking favourably of the king's cauſe; that they ſhould endeavour to get acceſs to him in his ſickneſs, and urge him with the moſt earneſt importunity to grant a decretal bull, or at leaſt a more ample commiſſion to the legates; and even to tell him, that if he delayed to do this juſtice to a prince who had done ſo much for him and for the church, he could not expect the ſalvation of his ſoul. At the ſame time the two legates, Wolſey and Campegius, wrote a very long, eloquent, and affecting letter to the pope, in which they endeavoured, by the moſt earneſt intreaties and moſt powerful arguments, to prevail upon him to grant a decretal bull, diſſolving the king's marriage, and permitting him to marry another lady, which would put a period to this moſt dangerous diſpute. All theſe letters were ſent to Rome with the greateſt poſſible expedition *.

Letters from Rome.

When the pope had recovered, and began to do buſineſs, the Engliſh ambaſſadors were admitted to an audience, and employed the ſtrongeſt arguments and moſt earneſt intreaties to prevail upon his holineſs to grant the decretal bull. But all their arguments and intreaties were ineffectual. They received a poſitive refuſal, accompanied indeed with many ſtrong expreſſions of friendſhip for their royal maſter, which they well knew to be of no value. In a word, the ambaſſadors, who were men of ability, and had good intelligence, diſcovered that the pope was fully determined to deſert his confederates, and unite himſelf with the emperor, and that

* Burnet, Records, No. xxii, xxiii, xxiv.

whatever

whatever he might pretend, he never would do any thing effectual to promote the king's divorce, but every thing to feed him with vain hopes, as he had hitherto done. Of this they informed both the king and the cardinal by letters dated at Rome May 4th*. The cardinal's anſwer to theſe letters was dated May 21ſt, and ſent by doctor Bennet, who was directed to remain at Rome to aſſiſt ſir Gregory Caſſalis and Mr. Vannes in counteracting the emperor's agents, and endeavouring to prevent the avocation of the cauſe to Rome. Brian and Gardiner were commanded to return home, where their ſervices were wanted. A. D. 1529.

Henry was now ſenſible of the error he had committed in relying on the deluſive promiſes of the pope by Gambara, and reſolved that the two legates ſhould proceed without delay to execute their commiſſion. The great hall of the Black-friars being properly fitted up for holding their court, the two cardinals took their ſeats with great pomp May 31ſt; their commiſſion was read, the clerks were ſworn to the faithful diſcharge of their duty, and an order given to ſummon the king and queen to appear in court June 18th, to which they adjourned. On that day the king appeared by two procurators, and the queen in perſon, and proteſted againſt the legates as partial incompetent judges, affirming that the cauſe was avocated to Rome, and craving time to bring proof of the truth of that affirmation. They gave her to the 21ſt of June, to which they adjourned. As the former adjournment was far too long, this was evidently much too ſhort to anſwer the purpoſe for which it was demanded. Both the king and queen appeared perſonally in court June 21ſt; "but "ſhe perſiſting in her former willfulneſs, and in her appeal; which "alſo by the ſaid judges was likewiſe recuſed; and they minding to "proceed further in the cauſe, the queen would no longer make her "aboad to hear what the ſaid judges would fully diſcern, but incon- The legates hold their court.

* Burnet, Records, No. xxv.

"tinently

A. D. 1529. "tinently departed out of the court; wherefore ſhe was thrice pre-"conniſate, and called eftſoons to return and appear; which ſhe "refuſing to do, was denounced by the judges contumax, and a "citation decerned for her appearance on Friday next*." But the queen never appeared after this in that court. The legates held ſeveral ſeſſions in the month of July, in which they examined a great number of witneſſes, to prove that prince Arthur's marriage had been conſummated, of which as much evidence was produced as could be expected of ſuch a matter, at ſo great a diſtance of time †.

Their court adjourned.

The cauſe being now ripe for deciſion, a ſeſſion was held July 30th, in order, as all the world imagined, to pronounce a definitive ſentence. The court was crowded with noblemen and gentlemen, the king was in an adjoining apartment, impatiently expecting to hear that a ſentence of divorce was pronounced, when Campegius declared, that the courts at Rome were adjourned on that day, and therefore he and his colleague adjourned that court to October 1ſt. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the ſurpriſe and indignation of the audience. The duke of Suffolk, in a ſtorm of rage, beat with violence on the table, and ſaid, he now ſaw the truth of the old ſaying, that no legate ever did good in England. Then he and the duke of Norfolk, with the other noblemen and gentlemen, retired with precipitation, leaving the two cardinals in their chairs of ſtate, ſtaring at one another. When Henry was informed of what had happened, he could hardly reſtrain his fury; but being ignorant of what was done at Rome, and ſtill hoping to obtain a ſentence in his favour at the next meeting of the court, he became more calm, and behaved with more temper than could have been expected.

Deceit of the pope and cardinals.

Henry had not only been cruelly deceived by the pope, but alſo by Campegius, an old, profligate, unprincipled debauchee, who

* As it is impoſſible to reconcile the accounts given by hiſtorians of the queen's behaviour June 21ſt, I have related it in the words of the king, in a letter to his ambaſſadors at Rome, dated June 23d. Burnet, vol. i. Records, No. xxviii.

† Herbert, p. 113, &c.

ſpent

ſpent his days in hunting, gaming, and feaſting, and his nights in the company of courtezans. He had made him ſo many preſents, and ſo many promiſes, that he imagined he had entirely gained him to his intereſt. But he was quite miſtaken. He took his preſents, and betrayed his ſecrets. He even found means to pilfer from his cabinet ſome love-letters that had paſſed between him and Anne Boleyn, and ſent them to Rome, where they ſtill remain. His own great favourite, cardinal Wolſey, had acted in a very myſterious manner during the late trial. Though he was one of the proudeſt men alive, took place of all men, and the lead in all affairs, he permitted Campegius, who was a younger cardinal, and his inferior in all reſpects, to conduct the whole proceſs, and do what he pleaſed. Beſide this, he gave the king no hint of the intended adjournment of the court, of which he could not be ignorant, and ſuffered that blow to fall upon him without any warning. Theſe things excited ſtrong ſuſpicions in the king's mind that Wolſey deceived him; and though he concealed his ſuſpicions for ſome time, they weakened his confidence in him, and their effects ſoon appeared. A. D. 1529.

The king's cauſe avocated to Rome.

While the two legates were holding their courts in England, the Engliſh reſidents at Rome were labouring with great zeal to prevent the avocation of the cauſe, which the emperor's agents were ſoliciting with equal zeal. For ſome time the pope appeared exceedingly perplexed and undetermined, and by that artful conduct he encouraged the hopes of the king, and excited the fears of the emperor, to retard the reſentment of the former, and to procure better conditions from the latter in the treaty that was then negociating. But as ſoon as his holineſs received intelligence that the treaty with the emperor was concluded at Barcelona July 3d, he began to talk in a more determined tone, and told the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that he could not in juſtice refuſe to grant the avocation. They then redoubled their efforts to procure a delay of what they could not prevent,

A. D. 1529. vent, in hopes that the cauſe would be determined in England before the avocation was iſſued. Doctor Bennet, on his knees, and with many tears, aſſured him, that the king and kingdom of England would be loſt as ſoon as the cauſe was avocated. He conjured him at leaſt to delay till he had written to the king and received his anſwer; but in vain. The pope ſtood firm, and actually ſigned the avocation July 18th, and the day after ſent it away with a letter to cardinal Wolſey *. The ambaſſadors had taken care to inform their royal maſter from time to time of every ſtep they had taken, and of all the fears they entertained, which prepared him for receiving this moſt unwelcome news.

Henry diſcontented with Wolſey.

Henry, to divert his chagrin occaſioned by the adjournment and avocation of his cauſe, ſet out on a progreſs, accompanied by lady Ann Boleyn, in the beginning of Auguſt. The two cardinals followed him, and were admitted to an audience at Grafton, at which the king ſo far conſtrained himſelf, that he received and treated them both with civility, and diſmiſſed Campegius without any expreſſions of reſentment for the treacherous and ungrateful part he had acted. The cardinals retired that night to Towceſter, and Wolſey returned next morning to Grafton to wait upon the king; but a meſſage was ſent him to go and accompany Campegius to London; and after this repulſe he never was permitted to ſee his indulgent maſter, with whom he had been ſo long on ſuch a friendly and familiar footing †. It was now viſible to the whole court that Henry was diſcontented with his favourite, and no endeavours were wanting to increaſe his diſcontent.

The king in great perplexity.

The king was in very perplexing circumſtances at this time, and had many things to irritate and diſquiet his mind. The pope, for whom he had been a moſt zealous champion, and from whom he had received the moſt ſolemn aſſurances of favour, had firſt deluded,

* Burnet, p. 75, 76. Records, No. xxx. † Hall, f. 183.

then

then abandoned, and at laſt inſulted him, by citing him to appear at Rome to plead his cauſe, and threatening him with all the thunders of the church if he diſobeyed. Cardinal Campegius, on whom he had heaped favours, preſents, and promiſes, and in whoſe profeſſions he had placed an entire confidence, he was now convinced, had deceived him from firſt to laſt; and he ſtrongly ſuſpected that his own great favourite Wolſey, who had been raiſed by him from the duſt, honoured with his warmeſt friendſhip for many years, and loaded with dignities and riches, had joined in the deceit. His queen, by her invincible oppoſition to his will, her affectation of popularity, and her joy at the avocation of his cauſe, had increaſed his diſlike to diſguſt, if not to hatred; and yet he ſaw no way of procuring a divorce from her, or of obtaining the lady he loved. In this ſituation he formed various projects; but as none of them promiſed ſucceſs, they were all relinquiſhed. A. D. 1529.

The king of France having loſt all hopes of recovering his two ſons from the emperor by the force of his arms, which had been unfortunate, had for ſome time paſt been negociating a peace with that prince, and the negociation had been managed by two female politicians, Margaret governeſs of the Low Countries, the emperor's aunt, and Louiſe of Savoy, the king's mother. Theſe two ſingular plenipotentiaries, after many conferences, concluded a perpetual peace between the two monarchs at Cambray Auguſt 5th, A. D. 1529. By this peace four articles of the treaty of Madrid were a little mitigated. In particular, the emperor agreed to accept of two millions of crowns inſtead of Burgundy, as a ranſom for the two French princes. The allies of both parties were comprehended in this peace, and among others the king of England, who acceded to it, though no attention had been paid to his intereſt in the negociation. On this occaſion Henry behaved with great generoſity to his unfortunate ally the king of France. To enable him to pay the great ranſom for his ſons, he aſſigned to him a debt of 290,000 Peace of Cambray.

A. D. 1529. crowns due by the emperor, and made him a preſent of a jewel called the fleur de lys, which the emperor's father had pledged to Henry VII. for 50,000 crowns *.

Doctor Cranmer's advice.

As the king returned from his progreſs, the court remained one night at Waltham, and doctor Gardiner and doctor Fox, the king's ſecretary and almoner, were lodged in the houſe of one Mr. Creſſy, with whom doctor Thomas Cranmer of Cambridge, (who will be often mentioned,) then reſided. After ſupper, the converſation, as uſual, turned on the king's divorce. The two courtiers deſired to know doctor Cranmer's ſentiments on that ſubject, and what he thought ſhould be done in the preſent ſtate of that buſineſs. He at firſt declined to give his opinion on ſo high a matter. But being warmly preſſed, he ſaid, that rather than ſpend any more time in fruitleſs ſolicitations at Rome, he thought it would be better to propoſe this plain queſtion to the moſt learned men and chief univerſities in Europe,—"Do the laws of God permit a man to marry his brother's widow?" If their anſwers were in the negative, as he imagined they would be, the pope would not dare to pronounce a ſentence in oppoſition to the ſentiments of all theſe learned men and learned bodies. When the court returned to Greenwich, the ſecretary and almoner waited upon the king, and communicated the hint ſuggeſted by Cranmer, with which he was mightily pleaſed; and having ordered him to be ſent for, he was no leſs pleaſed with his appearance and converſation. He immediately retained him in his ſervice, placed him in the family of ſir Thomas Boleyn earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, father of lady Ann Boleyn, and engaged him to write a book in favour of the divorce, and afterwards employed him in the execution of his own ſcheme †.

Fall of cardinal Wolſey.

Cardinal Wolſey, who had ſo long enjoyed the unbounded confidence and favour of his ſovereign, now ſaw the clouds gathering

* Herbert, p. 131---134.

† Burnet, 79, 80. Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 4, 5.

around

around him, and began to dread a ſtorm; but it proved both more ſudden and more ſevere than he apprehended. By the whiſpers of the courtiers, and particularly of the lady Ann Boleyn, the king's diſpleaſure againſt him was daily more and more inflamed, and a deſign was formed to bring him down from the towering height to which he had aſcended. This deſign was kept very ſecret; and if the means employed to accompliſh it were not illegal, they were certainly very rigorous. The cardinal, on the firſt day of the term, October 9th, rode with his uſual pomp to Weſtminſter to open his court of chancery; and on the ſame day the king's attorney preſented an indictment againſt him in the king's-bench, on the ſtatute of proviſors 16 Richard II. for procuring a bull from Rome appointing him *legatus a latere*, contrary to the ſtatute, by which he had incurred a *præmunire*, and forfeited all his goods, and even his liberty, to the king *. A few days after this, Henry ſent the dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk to the cardinal to demand the great-ſeal, which he refuſed to deliver on a verbal meſſage; but when they afterwards produced a written order, he obeyed, and put the ſeal into their hands October 17th, which the king delivered to ſir Thomas More on the 25th of the ſame month †. The two dukes, at the ſame time that they received the great-ſeal from the cardinal, delivered to him a very unpleaſant meſſage from the king, commanding him to remove from his palace in Weſtminſter, called York-place, (afterwards Whitehall,) and go to Aſhur, a houſe near Hampton-court, belonging to his biſhopric of Wincheſter, to which he had lately been advanced ‡. A.D. 1529.

Theſe ſevere and heavy blows following one another ſo quickly, ſeem to have ſtunned the unhappy cardinal, and deprived him of that fortitude of which he ſtood ſo much in need. He was aſtoniſhed, and not without reaſon, that the king's friendſhip for him

* Herbert, p. 124. Fiddes' Life of Wolſey, p. 496. † Rym. tom. xiv. p. 349.
‡ Fiddes, p. 497.

A. D. 1529. which had been ſo warm and of ſuch long duration, had vaniſhed in a moment, and had been ſucceeded by ſo violent an animoſity as theſe proceedings indicated. He knew the king's temper too well to imagine that any oppoſition he could make would anſwer any good purpoſe, and therefore reſolved to make none. But before he left York-place, he ordered an exact inventory to be taken of all the furniture, plate, &c. in that palace, of which the following is a ſhort deſcription, given by one who had aſſiſted in taking that inventory: "In his gallery were ſet divers tables, upon which were "laid divers and great ſtores of rich ſtuffs; as whole pieces of ſilk of "all colours, velvets, ſattins, muſts, taffaties, grograms, ſcarlets, and "divers rich commodities. Alſo there were a thouſand pieces of "fine hollands, and the hangings of the gallery with cloth of gold and "cloth of ſilver, and rich cloth of bodkin of divers colours, which "were hanged in expectation of the king's coming. Alſo, on one "ſide of the gallery were hanged the rich ſuits of copes of his own "providing, which were made for the colleges of Oxford and Ipſ-"wich; they were the richeſt that ever I ſaw in all my life. Then "had he two chambers adjoining to the gallery, the one moſt com-"monly called the gilt chamber, wherein were ſet two broad and "long tables, whereupon was ſet ſuch abundance of plate of all "ſorts, as was almoſt incredible to be believed, a great part being all "of clear gold; and upon every table and cupboard where the plate "was ſet, were books importing every kind of plate, and every "piece, with the contents and weight thereof *." In a word, the goods, plate, and furniture of that palace were eſtimated at 500,000 crowns, equivalent to 500,000l. of our money. A ſtriking proof of the magnificent ſpirit, as well as of the immenſe wealth, of this extraordinary man!

When the cardinal had ſet every thing in order at York-place, he took his barge at the privy ſtairs, followed by a numerous train of

* Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 79.

attendants,

attendants, and ſailed down the river, which was almoſt covered with boats and barges, crowded with the citizens of London, expecting to ſee him carried to the Tower *. They were diſappointed. He landed at Putney, and mounting his mule, ſet out on his journey. But he had not gone far, when he was accoſted by Mr. Norris, a gentleman of the court, with a moſt gracious meſſage from the king; aſſuring him that he ſtood as high as ever in his royal favour. This unexpected meſſage threw his ſpirits into ſo violent an agitation, that, forgetting both his age and dignity, he ſprung from his mule, fell on his knees in the mire, and holding up his hands, uttered ſome extravagant expreſſions of joy and gratitude †. But he ſoon recovered from this unſeemly perturbation, and converſed calmly with Mr. Norris, who delivered him a ring which the king had been accuſtomed to ſend him, as a token to give credit to the bearer. It is impoſſible to diſcover what induced Henry to ſend this meſſage; whether it proceeded from ſome remains of affection, or was a mere artifice to prevent his making any defence in the proſecution commenced againſt him on the ſtatute of proviſors. The cardinal arrived at Aſhur the ſame evening, and found the houſe almoſt quite unfurniſhed, and very unlike the magnificent manſion he had left ‡. A. D. 1529.

The king granted the cardinal, by letters patent, a power to appoint two attornies to appear and anſwer for him in all courts of juſtice §. He accordingly conſtituted John Seuſe and Chriſtopher Genney his attornies, who appeared for him October 28th, and proteſted in his name, "That he did not know that the impetration "of the bulls from Rome was to the contempt and prejudice of the "king, or againſt any ſtatute. As to the particulars wherewith he "was charged by maſter attorney, he confeſt them all true; and ſo "ſubmitted himſelf to the king." Upon which the court pronounced The cardinal's goods forfeited.

* Cavendiſh's Life of Wolſey, p. 79. † Stowe, p. 547.
‡ Stowe, p. 548. Cavendiſh, p. 81. § Rym. tom. xiv. p. 348.

this

A. D. 1529. this ſentence: "That he was out of the protection, and his lands, "goods, and chattels forfeit, and his perſon might be ſeized *." The cardinal might have made a much better, and even effectual defence, by producing the king's letters patent, authoriſing him to accept the bulls from Rome †. But his knowledge of Henry's violent vindictive temper, and his hopes of being received again into favour, determined him to make no oppoſition.

Parliament. After a long intermiſſion of ſeven years, a parliament was now called, which met November 3d. One of the objects of calling this parliament, or at leaſt of thoſe who adviſed the calling it, ſeems to have been to complete the ruin of cardinal Wolſey, and effectually prevent his returning again into favour, which his enemies greatly dreaded. With this view, a committee of the houſe of lords preſented to that houſe, December 1ſt, a very long addreſs to the king againſt the cardinal; accuſing him, "That preſuming to take upon "him the authority of the pope's legate *a latere*, he hath committed "notable, high, and grievous offences, as contained in certain articles here following ‡." The articles were no fewer than forty-four; ſome of them trifling, ſome greatly exaggerated, if not untrue, few of them of great importance, and none of them very highly criminal. They are far too long to be here inſerted; the following one, which is the ſixth, may ſerve as a ſpecimen: "Whereas your grace is our ſovereign lord and head, in whom "ſtandeth all the ſurety and wealth of this realm, the ſame lord "cardinal, knowing himſelf to have the foul and contagious diſeaſe "of the great pox broken out upon him in divers places of his body, "came daily to your grace, rowning (whiſpering) in your ear, "and blowing upon your moſt noble grace with his perilous infective breath, to the marvelous danger of your highneſs, if God of "his infinite goodneſs had not better provided for your highneſs.

* Herbert, p. 125. † Cavendiſh, p. 83. ‡ Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 42.

"And

A. D. 1529.

"And when he was once heald of them, he made your grace to "believe that his diſeaſe was an impoſthume in his head, and none "other thing *." The laſt article concludes with this requiſition: "Pleaſe it your royal majeſty, therefore, of your excellent good- "neſs, towards the weale of this your realm, and ſubjects of the "ſame, to ſet ſuch order and direction upon the ſaid lord cardinal as "may be to the terrible example to others, to beware ſo to offend "your grace and your laws hereafter: and that he be ſo provided "for, that he never have any power, juriſdiction, or authority here- "after, to trouble, vex, and impoveriſh the commonwealth of "this your realm, as he hath done heretofore, to the great hurt and "damage of every man almoſt, high and low †." This addreſs was ſent to the houſe of commons, and their concurrence deſired. But there the cardinal found a powerful advocate in his own ſteward, the famous Thomas Cromwel, afterwards earl of Eſſex, who, from the very loweſt ſtation, roſe to the higheſt honours and offices in the ſtate, by the mere force of his extraordinary talents and virtues. Being a member of the houſe of commons, he defended his fallen maſter with ſuch ſtrength of argument and power of eloquence, that the addreſs was rejected ‡. There is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that the king was not very fond of this addreſs, and did not wiſh to be precluded from recalling his former favourite. This much at leaſt is certain, that he was ſo far from being offended with Mr. Cromwel for defending his unhappy maſter, that he immediately engaged him in his own ſervice §.

Remarkable ſtatute.

This very parliament, about the ſame time, made an act unſpeakably more unjuſt, oppreſſive, and cruel, than any thing of which they had accuſed the cardinal. The king had borrowed great ſums of money from a prodigious multitude of his ſubjects of all ranks, for the repayment of which he had given bonds and other legal ſecu-

* Parl. Hiſt. p. 44.
† Ibid. p. 55.
‡ Cavendiſh, p. 82, 83.
§ Herbert, p. 129.

rities.

A. D. 1529. rities. The parliament very generouſly made the king a preſent of all the money he had borrowed from his ſubjects, and declared his bonds and ſecurities to be of no value. The king thanked his two houſes in the politeſt terms for their generoſity, and graciouſly accepted their valuable preſent; while his creditors were left to condole with one another, and put up with their loſſes as well as they could. The preamble to this iniquitous ſtatute is one of the moſt extravagant pieces of flattery that ever was compoſed. In it they give a mournful deſcription of the confuſion, poverty, diſtreſs, and miſery of all other nations, and draw a very flattering picture of the riches, peace, and proſperity of England during his grace's reign; never reflecting that only a few days before they had accuſed cardinal Wolſey of having taken the direction of all affairs, and thereby brought the nation to the very brink of ruin *. None of Wolſey's admirers ever paid him ſo great a compliment as this parliament, which conſpired his ruin.

Diſtreſs of the cardinal.

In the mean time the cardinal was very wretched and unhappy at Aſhur. Finding himſelf unable to ſupport his attendants, he diſmiſſed a great number of them November 5th; and as he had been a very indulgent maſter, both he and they ſhed a flood of tears at parting, and ſome of the gentlemen who could ſupport themſelves refuſed to leave him †. His mind was violently agitated by alternate hopes and fears, occaſioned by a ſucceſſion of kind meſſages and cruel demands from the king. Sir John Ruſſel was ſent in great ſecrecy from the court at Greenwich November 6th, with a moſt comfortable aſſurance that the king was not really offended with him; and a few days after, judge Shelley came with a command to ſurrender to the king York-place, which belonged to his ſee of York. He was greatly ſhocked at this illegal demand; but after reaſoning long with the judge, he at laſt complied. "Thus," ſays Cavendiſh,

* Rolls of Parliament, A. D. 1529.

‡ Cavendiſh, p. 81, 82.

his

his gentleman uſher,) " my lord continued at Aſhur, receiving daily " meſſages from the court, ſome good and ſome bad, but more ill " than good *." The deſign of the cardinal's enemies at court, in procuring ſo many harſh meſſages to be ſent him, was, as we are told, either to provoke him to do ſome raſh thing that might irritate the king againſt him, or to throw him into ſome diſeaſe that might occaſion his death, which they moſt earneſtly deſired. In this laſt cruel deſign they nearly ſucceeded. At Chriſtmas he fell ſo dangerouſly ill, that his attendants believed him to be dying †. A. D. 1529.

The news of the cardinal's ſickneſs ſeems to have excited the king's compaſſion, of which he was not very ſuſceptible. He commanded his phyſician, doctor Butts, to go and viſit him; who, on his return to court, told the king that he was dangerouſly ill, and that if he did not receive ſome comfort from his majeſty, he would be a dead man in four days. " God forbid," ſaid Henry, " that " he ſhould die; for I would not loſe him for 20,000l. I pray you " go to him, and do your beſt care of him." The doctor honeſtly replied, that all his care would ſignify nothing, if his majeſty did not ſend him a gracious meſſage. The king took a ring from his finger, charged with a ruby, on which his own picture was engraved, commanding the doctor to deliver it to him, and aſſure him that he was not offended with him in his heart, with many other kind expreſſions. Lady Anne Boleyn too, at the king's deſire, took her tablet of gold that hung at her ſide, and delivered it to the doctor, with many gentle and loving words. When doctor Butts delivered theſe tokens and meſſages, " The cardinal," ſays one who was preſent, " advanced himſelf in his bed, and received the tokens very " joyfully; giving him thanks for his pains and good comfort." From that moment his hopes revived, his diſeaſe abated, and in a few days he was out of danger ‡. 1530. The cardinal's ſickneſs and recovery.

* Cavendiſh, p. 86. † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 87, 88. Grove's Life and Times of Cardinal Wolſey, vol. iv. p. 325, 326.

A. D. 1530. Cardinal's dejection.

While the cardinal reſided at Aſhur, he neglected nothing that he thought might contribute to the recovery of the king's favour. His chief reliance ſeems to have been on the good offices of doctor Stephen Gardiner, who had formerly been his ſecretary, and was now ſecretary to the king. The letters he wrote to that gentleman in this interval, it muſt be confeſſed, do him no honour. They plainly diſcover that he did not poſſeſs that firmneſs and fortitude of mind that became a great man in his circumſtances; they betray an exceſſive fondneſs for riches, power, and royal favour, and an extreme dejection and abaſement of ſpirit on the loſs of them; in a word, they prove that cardinal Wolſey, with all his great talents, was a mere man of the world, who placed his ſupreme felicity in the ſmiles of royalty and the ſunſhine of a court, and when theſe were taken from him he had nothing left *.

Favours to the cardinal.

Henry having by this time ſeized all the cardinal's goods and chattels, the income of his biſhoprics, abbies, and other benefices, his colleges at Oxford and Ipſwich, with all their furniture and revenues, his penſions, his clothes, and even his very tomb, ſeems to have propoſed to carry his proſecution of him no further. He granted him therefore a pardon February 12th A. D. 1530, of all treaſons, murders, rapes, and all other crimes and miſdemeanors, in the moſt ample manner that could be deviſed. Five days after this, February 17th, the king and the cardinal entered into indentures, by which the cardinal ſurrendered to the king the revenues and patronage of his biſhopric of Wincheſter and abbey of Saint Alban's, with all his other rents and penſions at home and abroad; and the king granted to the cardinal the revenues, patronages, lands, and houſes of his archbiſhopric of York, except York-place, with a penſion of 1000 marks a year out of the biſhopric of Wincheſter. About the ſame time the king ſent him a preſent of 3000l. in money, and in

* Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 115, 116. Records, No. xxxi, xxxii.

plate

plate and furniture, &c. to the value of 3374l. 3s. 7d. and gave him leave to reſide at Richmond *. A. D. 1530.

The cardinal goes to the north.

The cardinal's enemies at court were greatly alarmed at theſe favours, which had been granted without their knowledge. They were particularly apprehenſive of his reſiding at Richmond, ſo near the court; and therefore they exerted all their arts to procure an order for his removal to ſo great a diſtance as might prevent his having an interview with the king, which he deſired and they dreaded above all things. They at length prevailed. An order was ſent to him, by his friend Mr. Cromwel, to go and reſide in his archbiſhopric of York. This was a ſevere blow to the cardinal, who ſtill flattered himſelf, that if he could obtain an audience of the king, he would regain his favour. He therefore intreated Cromwel to procure him leave to reſide in his biſhopric of Wincheſter, which was not at ſo great a diſtance. But this could not be obtained, and the duke of Norfolk deſired Cromwel to tell him, that if he did not get away immediately into the north, he would come and tear him in pieces with his teeth. "Then," ſaid he, "Tom, it is time for "me to be gone." And that zealous and faithful friend having got him 1000 marks, and a moſt gracious meſſage from the king, he ſet out with one hundred and ſixty atendants, a long train of waggons, containing his plate, furniture, &c. and proceeding by eaſy journies, he arrived at Peterborough, where he celebrated the feaſt of Eaſter. He ſpent the ſummer and harveſt at Southwell and Scrooby-houſes, (belonging to his fee,) which he repaired; and there, by his affability and hoſpitality, he gained the eſteem and love of people of all ranks. About Michaelmas he came to his caſtle of Cawood, ſeven miles from York †.

His behaviour there.

In this ſituation the cardinal behaved with decorum and propriety. He received all who came to viſit him with condeſcenſion, and

* Rym. p. 366—376. † Cavendiſh, p. 91, 92, 93. Grove, vol. iv. p. 334.

A. D. 1530. treated them hoſpitably. Here, as he had done at Scrooby, he went to ſome neighbouring church every Sunday, where he ſaid maſs, and one of his chaplains preached. After ſervice he invited the clergy and moſt reſpectable pariſhioners to dinner, and diſtributed alms to the poor. The clergy of his cathedral he treated in the kindeſt manner; telling them he was come to live among them as their friend and brother. He could not, however, overcome his taſte for magnificence; and though he was in want of money, he employed three hundred labourers and artificers in repairing his caſtle of Cawood. His hoſpitality, popularity, and buildings, were greatly magnified and miſrepreſented to the king, to excite his jealouſy. Of this his friend Cromwel informed him, and gave him many prudent advices, which, if he could have followed, his enemies would probably have forgot to fear and perſecute him. It is ſaid by ſome hiſtorians, that the king's deſign in all he had done againſt his favourite, was to bring him to conſent to pronounce the ſentence of divorce, without regard to the court of Rome; and that when he obſtinately refuſed to do it, he reſolved to ruin him *. But of this I can find no evidence.

His inſtalment appointed.

The clergy of York, highly pleaſed with their metropolitan, waited upon him in a body, and begged "that he would come to be "inſtalled in his cathedral, according to the cuſtom of his prede-"ceſſors." To this, after taking ſome time to conſider, he conſented, on condition that it ſhould be done with as little pomp as poſſible; and the Monday after All Saints was appointed to be the day of the inſtalment. As ſoon as the news of this was made public, the noblemen, gentlemen, and clergy of the country around ſent great quantities of proviſions of all kinds to York, and preparations were made for a moſt magnificent feaſt. But this ſolemnity was prevented by a very unexpected event †.

* Grove, vol. iv. p. 334. 339. † Id. ibid.

On

On the Friday before the intended inſtalment, the earl of Northumberland, accompanied by ſir Walter Walſh, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and a number of horſemen, arrived at Cawood, took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, and going up ſtairs, was met by the cardinal, who embraced him, believing he had come to pay him a friendly viſit. The earl then ſaid, with a faultering voice, "I ar- "reſt you of high treaſon." And the cardinal, in great ſurpriſe, after ſome heſitation, ſubmitted. On Sunday the earl ſet out with his priſoner for the earl of Shrewſbury's, ſteward of the king's houſehold, at Sheffield-park, where they were directed to remain till further orders, and arrived there on the third day, November 9th. The earl, his lady, and family, received the cardinal with every mark of reſpect, and treated him with the greateſt tenderneſs. Here he remained about two weeks, waiting for orders from court; towards the end of which time he was ſeized with a flux. At length, ſir William Kingſton, conſtable of the Tower, arrived, with twenty-four of his guards, to conduct him to London. The earl of Shrewſbury was at great pains to communicate this news to the cardinal ſo as not to alarm him, and employed Cavendiſh, who told him he brought him good news, that the king had ſent ſir William Kingſton to conduct him into his royal preſence. "Kingſton!" cried the cardinal; and clapping his hand on his thigh, gave a great ſigh. The earl then entered, and told him, that he had letters from his friends at court, which aſſured him that the king had the ſincereſt friendſhip for him, and was determined to ſhew him favour. Sir William Kingſton was then introduced, fell on his knees, and refuſing to ariſe from that poſture, delivered the king's commendations to his grace, aſſured him of his royal favour; and ſaid, that his majeſty had commanded him to obey him in all things. The cardinal, who perfectly underſtood the court language, replied, "I know what "is deſigned for me; I thank you, ſir, for your good news; I am "a diſeaſed man, but I will prepare to ride with you to-morrow."

A D. 1530. His death.

A. D. 1530. On the third evening he reached Leiceſter-abbey, where he was received by the monks with lighted torches, to whom he ſaid, "I am "come, my brethren, to lay my bones amongſt you." Being lifted from his mule and carried up ſtairs, he was put to bed, where, after languiſhing two days, he expired November 29th, A. D. 1530, in the ſixtieth year of his age. In his laſt converſation with ſir William Kingſton, among other things, he ſaid, "Had I but ſerved "God as diligently as I have ſerved the king, he would not have "given me over in my gray hairs. But this is the juſt reward "that I muſt receive for my diligent pains and ſtudy, not regarding "my ſervice to God, but only to my prince. Let me adviſe you "to take heed what you put in the king's head, for you can never "put it out again. I have often kneeled before him, ſometimes "three hours together, to perſuade him from his will and appetite, "but could not prevail *."

His character. Thomas Wolſey roſe from a humble ſtation to greater wealth and power than any Britiſh ſubject ever attained. His revenues, it is ſaid, were equal to thoſe of the crown. For almoſt twenty years he not only directed all the affairs of England in church and ſtate, but had alſo very great influence in all the affairs of Europe. He was courted, preferred, and penſioned by the emperor, the king of France, and ſeveral other princes; flattered by divines, hiſtorians, and poets, in ſtrains approaching to blaſphemy; and ſerved by lords, knights, and gentlemen of the firſt rank, who bore offices in his family. His revenues he never hoarded, but expended in building noble palaces, magnificent colleges, in promoting arts and learning, and in ſupporting a princely eſtabliſhment. This power I will not ſay he never abuſed; but few miniſters have poſſeſſed ſo much power for ſo great a length of time, and abuſed it leſs. England, during his adminiſtration, was the umpire of Europe. His abilities

* Cavendiſh, chap. 19, 20.

were

were certainly great, his diligence indefatigable, and he muſt have had ſomething peculiarly agreeable and captivating in his addreſs, who ſo ſuddenly gained, and ſo long preſerved, the affection of ſo capricious, ſo impetuous, and ſo fickle a prince as Henry VIII. His morals were far from being ſuitable to his clerical character and high ſtation in the church. His ſpirits fell with his fortunes, and he never could ſubdue his paſſion for pomp and power, or relinquiſh his hopes of royal favour, which he ſolicited in ſuch an abject manner as degraded and ſunk his character. His fall was fortunate to his country in one reſpect, as it removed one of the ſtrongeſt props of the papal power, which ſoon after fell to the ground in England. A. D. 1530.

During the whole of this year, 1530, Henry was employed in proſecuting the plan ſuggeſted by doctor Cranmer, and collecting the opinions of univerſities and learned men, at home and abroad, in favour of his divorce. In this ſervice a conſiderable number of the moſt intelligent and active men in England were engaged; and they were ſo ſucceſsful, that in the courſe of this year they obtained decrees of ten of the moſt famous univerſities in Europe againſt the legality of the king's marriage; *viz.* of Oxford and Cambridge in England; of Paris, Angers, Bourges, Orleans, and Thouloufe, in France; and of Bologna, Padua, and Ferrara, in Italy *. They prevailed alſo on ſeveral men of learning to publiſh books in favour of the divorce, and procured the written opinions of many doctors of the civil and canon law to the ſame purpoſe †. Henry's agents in Switzerland and Germany were no leſs active and ſucceſsful. They applied to the proteſtants as well as papiſts, and both, in general, declared for the divorce. All theſe decrees, books, and opinions, procured with much difficulty and labour and at no ſmall expence, were tranſmitted to England. Decrees of univerſities.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 390—400. Burnet, vol. i. p. 85—96. † Ibid.

No

A. D. 1530. Application to Rome.

No prince in Europe was a greater admirer of the unlimited power of the pope than Henry VIII.: he had written in defence of it; and though he was greatly diſpleaſed with Clement VII., he could not think of contradicting his own writings, by withdrawing his obedience to the holy ſee. He reſolved therefore to make ſome further attempts at the court of Rome. By his influence, a conſiderable number of the great men, both of the clergy and laity, ſent a moſt humble and earneſt addreſs to the pope, dated July 13th. In this addreſs they beſeech and conjure his holineſs, in the moſt pathetic language, to do juſtice to their diſtreſſed and injured ſovereign, by pronouncing the ſentence of his divorce, which all the moſt famous univerſities and moſt learned men in England, France, and Italy had declared to be juſt and neceſſary; intimating, in very plain terms, that if he refuſed to do this, that they would find a remedy in another way. This addreſs was ſigned by two archbiſhops, four biſhops, two dukes, two marquiſſes, thirteen earls, two viſcounts, twenty-three barons, twenty-two abbots, and eleven knights and doctors *. The king commanded his ambaſſadors, the earl of Wiltſhire and doctor Cranmer, who were at Bononia, where both the emperor and the pope then reſided, to ſecond and enforce the addreſs. The ambaſſadors acted their part with great zeal and ability; and the pope ſeemed to be inclined to make ſome conceſſions to the king, to prevent him from ſhaking off his authority. But his holineſs durſt do nothing to diſpleaſe the emperor, and that prince continued to eſpouſe the cauſe of the queen his aunt. To the addreſs of the prelates and nobles the pope returned an artful and ſmooth anſwer, which gave no ſatisfaction †. Doctor Cranmer boldly challenged all the learned men of the papal court to a diſpute on the queſtion of the king's marriage, but none of them choſe to accept

* Parliament. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 68—73. † Ibid. 75—79.

the

the challenge *. Henry was ſo much pleaſed with this, and with the report made of him by the earl of Wiltſhire, that he appointed him his ſole ambaſſador to the emperor; and the pope, as a mark of his reſpect, and to pleaſe the king, made him his penitentiary for England †. A. D. 1530.

Henry now deſpairing of any ſucceſs at the court of Rome, brought the great affair of his divorce before his parliament, which met January 7th, A. D. 1531. On the 30th of March, the lord chancellor, attended by twelve peers, came to the houſe of commons, and made a ſpeech, explaining the king's motives for deſiring a divorce from his queen; and then produced a box, containing the decrees of univerſities, and the books and opinions of learned men, on that ſubject. Sir Bryan Tuke opened the box, and took out twelve writings ſealed, the decrees of twelve univerſities, which he read, tranſlated into Engliſh. There were, beſides, above one hundred books and writings, which there was not time to read. The chancellor then ſaid, "Now you in this houſe may report in your "countries what you have ſeen and heard; and then all men ſhall "openly perceive that the king hath not attempted this matter of "will or pleaſure, as ſome ſtrangers report, but only for the diſ-"charge of his conſcience, and ſurety of the ſucceſſion of this "realm. This is the cauſe of our report hither to you, and now we "will depart ‡." 1531. Parliament.

Still further to inform his ſubjects, and ſecure their attachment, Henry cauſed ſeveral ſmall books, on the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, to be printed, publiſhed, and diſtributed in all parts of the kingdom. The queen's party, which was not inconſiderable, imitated this example, and wrote, and circulated, ſeveral treatiſes on the other ſide of the queſtion. The divorce now appeared important and intereſting to every ſubject, and there were very few Books on the divorce.

* Strype's Memorials of Archbiſhop Cranmer, p. 9. † Ibid.

‡ Hall, f. 195, &c.

A. D. 1531. who did not engage warmly in the conteſt. The men of all ranks were in general (as we are told by a contemporary hiſtorian) on the king's ſide, and the women on the queen's *.

The queen inflexible. The king ſent ſeveral lords of his privy council to the queen at Greenwich May 31ſt, to communicate to her the decrees of the univerſities, and the opinions of learned men, on the unlawfulneſs of their marriage, and to perſuade her to quiet the king's conſcience, by conſenting to the divorce. "I pray God, (ſaid ſhe,) ſend his "grace a quiet conſcience, and this ſhall be your anſwer: that I ſay "I am his lawful wife, and to him lawfully married; and by the or-"der of the holy church I was to him eſpouſed as his trew wife, "although I was not ſo worthy; and by that point I will abide, till "the court of Rome, which was privy to the beginning, have made "thereof a determination and final ending †." The king was ſo much irritated at this anſwer, that he never ſaw the queen after.

Alliances. As Henry had been at great pains to ſatisfy his own mind, and to convince his ſubjects of the unlawfulneſs of his marriage, and the neceſſity of a divorce to prevent a diſputed ſucceſſion, he was at no leſs pains to increaſe the number and ſecure the attachment of his allies, eſpecially of thoſe who were not friendly to his two great opponents, the pope and the emperor. In particular, he cultivated the friendſhip of the king of France with the greateſt diligence, and laboured, by many good offices, to engage him warmly in his cauſe. Doctor Cranmer, the king's ambaſſador to the emperor, now in Germany, was very active in procuring the opinions of learned men for the divorce, and in conveying hints to the proteſtant princes, that they might hope for aſſiſtance from the king of England againſt the emperor ‡.

1532. The clergy humbled. As the greateſt oppoſition to the divorce in England was expected from the clergy, the king found it neceſſary to humble them, by

* Hall, f. 195. Burnet, vol. i. p. 97—105. † Hall, f. 200.
‡ Memorials of Cranmer, b. 1. ch. 3.

diminiſhing

diminiſhing both their wealth and power. The whole clergy of England were involved in a præmunire, and put out of the king's protection, for ſubmitting to the legatine power of cardinal Wolſey. Thoſe of the province of Canterbury redeemed their perſons and goods this year, by paying the king 100,000l.; and thoſe of the province of York, by paying 18,000l. * In the deed by which they granted this money to the king, they were brought to acknowledge him to be the ſupreme head of the church of England, which gave him much more authority over them than he or his predeceſſors had before poſſeſſed. The laity of all ranks, who had long been fleeced and oppreſſed by their ſpiritual guides, diſcovered great ſatisfaction with theſe tranſactions; and the clergy ſeeing themſelves no longer protected by the pope, or ſupported by the people, were obliged to ſubmit. Henry not only humbled his own clergy, but he ſhowed the pope, that he had it in his power either to deprive him of all the revenues he derived from England, or to continue theſe revenues as he pleaſed. The parliament made an act, prohibiting the payment of the firſt-fruits of archbiſhoprics and biſhoprics to the pope, but gave the king a power to ſuſpend the whole or any part of that act, or to confirm it by his letters patent. This act was communicated to the court of Rome; but as it did not produce the deſired effect, it was confirmed by letters patent the year after, July 9th †. A. D. 1532.

Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor, perceiving that things tended to a total breach with the church of Rome, to which he was much attached, reſigned his high office May 16th; and on the fourth day after, the king delivered the great ſeal to ſir Thomas Audley, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons ‡. Sir T. More reſigns.

* Burnet, p. 106—111.

† Ibid. Records, No. xli. Rolls of Parliament, 23 Hen. VIII.

‡ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 431.

A. D. 1532. Treaty and interview.

The kings of England and France concluded a treaty of more intimate alliance at London June 23d, in which they ſtipulated to aſſiſt one another with a certain number of forces, in caſe the emperor made war upon either of them *. Still further to increaſe the mutual friendſhip of the two monarchs, a perſonal interview, between Calais and Boulogn, was propoſed and agreed upon, for which great preparations were made in both kingdoms. Francis intreated Henry to bring the lady Ann Boleyn to the interview, to which he conſented; and that ſhe might appear there with the greater dignity, he created her marchioneſs of Pembroke, and made her a grant of 1000l. a-year in land September 1ſt. About the ſame time he ſent letters to many prelates, noblemen, and gentlemen, to meet him, in their beſt array, at Canterbury September 26th, to attend him to the continent; and with a numerous and ſplendid train he embarked at Dover October 11th, and landed at Calais the ſame forenoon. The two kings met in a valley near the marches October 21ſt, and proceeded to Boulogn, where Francis entertained the king and court of England in the moſt magnificent manner four days, and on the fifth the two kings, with their attendants, ſet out for Calais, where Henry entertained the king and court of France, with equal magnificence, the ſame number of days. At one of the diſguiſings, (as they were called,) the marchioneſs of Pembroke danced with the king of France without her maſque, and diſplayed the charms of her perſon to great advantage †. After the dance he entered into converſation with her, preſented her with a valuable jewel, and aſſured her that he would exert all his power and influence to accelerate the divorce, and her elevation to the throne ‡. Henry attended his royal gueſt October 30th, to the ſame place where they had met, and there they took leave of one another with the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of ſincere and inviolable

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 435. † Hall, f. 106—110.
‡ Garnier, Hiſt. de France, tom. xxiv. p. 459—471.

friendſhip.

friendſhip. Being detained by ſtorms and contrary winds at Calais, the king and his ſuite did not land at Dover till November 14th. A D. 1532.

The two kings had publiſhed, with great oſtentation, that the deſign of their interview was, to concert meaſures for raiſing a powerful army for a joint expedition againſt the Turks, who had invaded Hungary, and threatened Italy. In this, however, they were not believed, and certainly were not ſincere. Their real intention was to alarm the emperor and the pope, that the former might no longer oppoſe, and that the latter might be induced to grant Henry's divorce, and to give Francis permiſſion to tax his clergy, which he had refuſed. Henry, it is ſaid, endeavoured to perſuade Francis to aſſume the ſupremacy of the Gallican church, by which he would acquire a great acceſſion both of wealth and power; but Francis rather inclined to gain the pope than to withdraw from his obedience, and was then negociating an interview with his holineſs, who was diſcontented with the emperor, and wiſhed to prevail upon Henry to come to that interview. In a word, the views of the two monarchs did not exactly coincide, which counteracted their friendly diſpoſitions, and rendered their meeting of little or no effect *. Object of the interview.

The king of France, it is ſaid, at the interview encouraged Henry to marry the marchioneſs of Pembroke, who had been ſo long the object of his love, without delay. However that may be, it ſeems to be certain that the marriage was celebrated in great privacy ſome time in the month of November, ſoon after the return of the court from Calais. Doctor Rowland Lee officiated; the duke of Norfolk, the father, mother, and brother of the royal bride, were the only witneſſes. Though doctor Cranmer had about that time returned from Germany, and ſtood high in the king's favour, he knew nothing of this marriage till about two weeks after. If he had been conſulted, it is probable he would have adviſed to delay it The king's marriage.

* Garnier, Hiſt. de France, tom. xxiv. p. 459—471.

till

A. D. 1532. till after the divorce. The ground on which Henry now proceeded to it was this, that as the moſt famous univerſities and moſt learned men in Europe had declared that his former marriage had been unlawful, null, and void from the beginning, he was as much at liberty to marry as if he had never been married *. This might be ſufficient to ſatisfy his own mind, but was not ſufficient to ſtop the mouths of others, or to prevent a prodigious clamour, when the marriage was made public.

1533. Cranmer made archbiſhop.

William Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury having died in Auguſt 1532, the king determined to raiſe doctor Cranmer to that high ſtation, and ſent his commands to him to return immediately into England. When Henry communicated his intention to him on his arrival, he earneſtly intreated to be excuſed; and in this we have good reaſon to believe he was ſincere. He had married a lady in Germany, and had brought her privately into England. He had imbibed the principles of the reformation, and had great ſcruples about taking the oath of canonical obedience to the pope; and he knew, that though Henry had quarrelled with the pope about the divorce, he was ſtill firmly attached to the tenets of popery. In a word, he foreſaw many dangers and difficulties from the imperious ſpirit of the king, and the critical ſtate of affairs. But as Henry would admit of no excuſe, he complied, and was conſecrated March 13th, by the biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Aſaph †.

Sentence of divorce.

One of Cranmer's firſt cares after his advancement to the primacy was, to put an end to the long conteſted queſtion of the divorce. With this view, he wrote a letter to the king April 11th, humbly beſeeching him to grant a commiſſion to him, as primate of all England, to try that cauſe, and pronounce a definitive ſentence. In conſequence of this requiſition, the king gave him a commiſſion, "to proceed in the ſaid cauſe, and to the examination and final de-

* Hall, f. 209. Burnet, p. 126. † Burnet, p. 128.

"termination of the ſame *." The archbiſhop, attended by Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, the biſhops of London, Lincoln, Bath and Wells, with many divines and canoniſts, opened his court May 10th, in the monaſtery of St. Peter at Dunſtable, within ſix miles of Ampthill, where the queen reſided. To this court both the king and queen had been ſummoned. The king appeared by proxy, but the queen made no compearance; and after two other citations, ſhe was declared contumacious. All the evidences that had been taken in the former trial, the determinations of the convocations of Canterbury and York, the decrees of univerſities, and the opinions of learned men, were laid before the court. Theſe were read and conſidered at two ſubſequent meetings, and at laſt, May 23d, the archbiſhop, with the conſent of all his aſſeſſors, pronounced a ſentence of divorce, diſſolving the marriage which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the king and queen, and declaring that it had been null and void from the beginning †. In a court held at Lambeth May 28th, the primate pronounced judgment on the king's marriage with the marchioneſs of Pembroke, declaring it to be good and valid ‡. The queen was crowned at Weſtminſter June 1ſt, with extraordinary pomp §. A. D. 1533.

Henry, ſenſible of the boldneſs of the ſteps he had lately taken, directed his ambaſſadors every where, and particularly at the imperial court, to take all poſſible pains to vindicate him, by explaining the motives of his conduct. In thoſe courts that were little intereſted theſe explanations were well received; but the emperor anſwered drily, "that he would conſult with his council what was "proper to be done." The news of the late tranſactions in England excited the moſt violent commotions in the court of Rome. The cardinals of the imperial party preſſed the pope to avenge the inſults The pope reverſes the divorce.

* Collier, vol. ii. Records, No. xxiv.
† Wilkin, Concil. tom. iii. p. 757—760. Rym. p. 462.
‡ Burnet, p. 11. Records, No. xlvii. § Hall, f. 212—217.

that

A. D. 1533. that had been offered to his rights and dignity, by launching the loudeſt thunders of the church againſt the king and the primate, for preſuming to determine a cauſe that was depending before his holineſs. But the pope was reſtrained by his policy from complying with their requeſts and his own paſſions. The king of France, in order to gain the pope to his party, had propoſed a marriage between Henry duke of Orleans, his ſecond ſon, and Katharine de Medicis, niece to his holineſs. Clement, who is well known to have had the aggrandizement of his family more at heart than the honour of the holy ſee, dared not to offend Francis, by treating the king of England, his moſt powerful ally, with ſeverity, for fear of breaking off the propoſed match. The pope therefore proceeded no further at this time, than to reverſe the ſentence of divorce pronounced by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to threaten the king with excommunication if he did not reſtore things to their former ſtate before September next *.

Queen Catherine inflexible.

The king endeavoured at this time to prevail upon the former queen to ſubmit to the ſentence of divorce. With this view he ſent the lord Mountjoy to intimate the ſentence to her, and to acquaint her that ſhe was thenceforward to enjoy only the title and revenues of princeſs dowager of Wales. He was authoriſed to employ both threats and promiſes, of which he was not ſparing. In particular, he promiſed, that if ſhe complied with the king's will, her daughter would be put next in the ſucceſſion to the iſſue of the preſent queen; and if ſhe did not comply, ſhe would be excluded. But nothing could prevail. The unhappy degraded queen ſtill maintained that ſhe was the king's only lawful wife, and that ſhe would retain that character till ſhe was deprived of it by the pope, before whom the cauſe was depending. This firmneſs, which was called obſti-

* Burnet, p. 133.

nacy,

nacy, drew ſome harſh treatment upon her, which was cruel and ungenerous *. A. D. 1533.

There was nothing Henry more earneſtly deſired, than to carry the king of France along with him in his quarrel with the court of Rome. He was far from being pleaſed, therefore, with the news of an intended interview between that prince and the pope. To prevent this, if poſſible, he ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to Francis, conſiſting of the duke of Norfolk, lord Rochford, ſir William Pawlett, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Francis Bryan, who were inſtructed to diſſuade Francis from the interview, or at leaſt to prevail upon him to delay it, till the pope had done their maſter the king of England juſtice in the affair of the divorce. The ambaſſadors came up with the king and court of France on their way to Marſeilles July 1ſt, and having delivered their meſſage, Francis anſwered, That he was too far advanced to break or put off the interview, but that he would take the ſame care of their maſter's intereſts as of his own, and preſſed them to accompany him, and aſſiſt at the negociations. Lord Rochford returned to England for inſtructions, and Henry recalled his ambaſſadors; but at the earneſt intreaty of Francis he ſent the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſir John Wallop, and doctor Bonner, to Marſeilles, to be preſent at the interview †. With his ambaſſadors he recalled his natural ſon the duke of Richmond, who had been about a year at the court of France. Embaſſy.

The pope made his public entry into Marſeilles with great pomp in the beginning of October, and ſoon after had the pleaſure to marry his niece, the famous Katharine de Medicis, to Henry duke of Orleans; and ſhe became the conſort of one, and the mother of three ſucceſſive kings of France. On this favourable occaſion, Francis was far from neglecting the concerns of his ally the king of England; and he at length prevailed upon the pope to promiſe, that if

* Burnet, p. 132. † Herbert, p. 168, 169.

A. D. 1533. Henry would ſend a proxy to Rome, he would judge his cauſe in conſiſtory, from which he would exclude the cardinals of the imperial party. But the Engliſh ambaſſadors, knowing that their maſter would not ſubmit to ſend a proxy, were not ſatisfied; and they directed doctor Bonner to procure admittance to the pope, and make the appeal he had been commiſſioned to make, under their direction. Bonner was a bold and forward man, ready to do any thing to procure promotion. With ſome difficulty he got acceſs to his holineſs November 11th; and after a ſhort apology, briſkly told him, that he was appointed by his ſovereign, the king of England, to appeal from him to the next general council, produced the appeal, and required it to be read. The reading of this inſtrument, which was long, and contained many ſevere expreſſions, greatly irritated the pope, who could not help diſcovering his anger both by his words and geſtures. At the concluſion he told Bonner, he would conſult the conſiſtory, and would give him an anſwer next day. The anſwer was, That the appeal was illegal, and merited no regard *. The pope ſet out for Rome a few days after, very ill pleaſed with the great champion of the church and defender of the faith.

1534. The pope pronounces the king's firſt marriage good.

Francis was exceedingly chagrined at the unfortunate turn this affair had taken, and determined to make another effort to prevent a total and final breach between his two allies. With this view he immediately diſpatched John de Bellay, biſhop of Paris, to London, to endeavour to perſuade Henry to make ſome advances towards a reconciliation with the pope. That prelate executed his commiſſion with great zeal. After ſeveral conferences he brought Henry to conſent, that if the pope would ſuperſede paſſing ſentence againſt him, he would ſuperſede withdrawing from the obedience of the holy ſee, till impartial judges had examined his cauſe. He refuſed, however, to give this propoſal in writing, till he knew that it would

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 134. vol. iii. p. 86—99. Records, No. xxiii.

be

be accepted. Though it was now in the depth of winter, the biſhop took a journey to Rome, where he arrived before any deciſive ſtep had been taken. He laid the king's propoſal before the pope and cardinals, by whom it was accepted, on this condition, That an authentic inſtrument of it, together with full powers to ſome perſon to appear and act in the king's name, ſhould be produced on or before a certain fixed day, moſt probably the 20th of March. The courier did not arrive at the appointed day. The conſiſtory met March 23d, at which the pope and twenty-ſix cardinals were preſent. The cardinals of the imperial party complained that they had been abuſed and deceived, and inſiſted with great vehemence on proceeding immediately to pronounce a final ſentence. The biſhop of Paris pleaded earneſtly for a delay of only ſix days, in favour of a prince who had done ſo much for the church of Rome, and had waited patiently no leſs than ſix years. He repreſented, that the courier might have been retarded by contrary winds, the overflowing of rivers, or other accidents; and aſſured them, that he would certainly arrive in a few days. The pope was irreſolute, the majority were for proceeding, and neglecting ſeveral forms which would have required three conſiſtories at leaſt, they pronounced a ſentence, declaring the marriage of king Henry and queen Catherine good and valid, and the iſſue of it legitimate. All the imperialiſts in Rome were tranſported with joy, which they expreſſed by firing cannons, by lighting up bonfires, and crying in the ſtreets, 'The Emperor and Spain,' as if they had obtained a great victory; while the friends of France and England were overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment and deſpair. Two days after, the courier arrived with every thing that was deſired or expected. The pope and cardinals then ſaw the grievous error they had committed, which they would gladly have repaired. But it was irreparable. The ſentence had been pronounced with too much ſolemnity, and made too public, to be reverſed *. A. D. 1534.

* Memoires de Bellay, tom. ii. p. 390—394. Burnet, vol. i. p. 135. vol. iii. p. 86—99.

A. D. 1534. Reflection.

There are few paſſages in our hiſtory more worthy of attention than this event. Both Henry and the pope ſincerely wiſhed for a reconciliation; all who deſired it thought it certain, and all who feared it, believed it to be unavoidable; and yet the court of Rome, whoſe intereſt was ſo deeply concerned, by one falſe precipitate ſtep rendered it impracticable. Thoſe who believe in an over-ruling providence, and think the reformation of religion hath been a bleſſing to England, will gratefully acknowledge its influence on this occaſion. This great revolution was brought about by thoſe who were its greateſt enemies.

Separation of England from Rome.

Though Henry had entertained hopes of a reconciliation with the court of Rome, and was both ſurpriſed and enraged at the ſentence pronounced againſt him, he was not unprepared for this unexpected rupture. He had very wiſely carried the parliament, the convocation, and the great body of his ſubjects along with him in every ſtep he had taken in his conteſt with the court of Rome, and they were all now ripe for a total breach with that court. In a ſeſſion of parliament that commenced January 15th, A. D. 1534, ſeveral acts were made, which greatly diminiſhed, or rather quite annihilated, the power and revenues of the pope in England. The act againſt paying firſt-fruits to the pope was confirmed, with great additions, regulating how archbiſhops and biſhops were to be choſen and conſecrated, without making any application to, or receiving any bulls from Rome *. By another act, all appeals to Rome were prohibited †. By a third, the payment of Peter-pence, and all payments to the apoſtolic chamber for diſpenſations and other writings, were diſcharged ‡. By theſe laws, great ſums of money were annually loſt to Rome and ſaved to England, and the Engliſh were delivered from much vexation and trouble, as well as expence, in proſecuting their cauſes in a foreign court, and in procuring from thence diſpen-

* Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20. † Ibid. c. 19. ‡ Ibid. c. 21.

ſations,

ſations, pardons, and a prodigious variety of other writings. In the ſame ſeſſion of parliament an act was made, confirming the king's divorce from queen Catherine, and his marriage with queen Anne, and ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown on his iſſue male by his preſent, or any future queen; and failing them, on the princeſs Elizabeth, (of whom queen Anne had been delivered September 7th, A. D. 1533,) who about twenty-five years after mounted the throne of England *. In the next ſeſſion of this parliament, which commenced November 3d, the ſupremacy of the church of England, with all its rights and emoluments, were annexed to the crown, which completed the ſeparation of the kingdom of England from the church and court of Rome †. A ſeparation which hath been of unſpeakable advantage to the former, and of no inconſiderable loſs to the latter. By another act, the parliament granted the king and his ſucceſſors, as ſupreme heads of the church, not only the firſt fruits that had been formerly paid to the pope, but alſo a tenth of the annual revenue of all eccleſiaſtical benefices, both regular and ſecular ‡. A. D. 1534.

In that ſeſſion of this parliament which met in January, that famous impoſtor commonly called the Holy Maid of Kent, who had made a mighty noiſe by her pretended revelations for two years paſt, was found guilty of high treaſon, with ſix of her accomplices. This young woman, whoſe name was Elizabeth Barton, was ſubject to hyſterical fits, in which ſhe uttered many ſtrange incoherent expreſſions. Richard Maſters, parſon of the pariſh of Aldington, in which ſhe lived, taught her to counterfeit trances, and inſtructed her what to ſay in theſe trances, and to affirm that theſe things were revealed to her by the Holy Ghoſt. Her pretended propheſies were publiſhed by Maſters, doctor Bocking a canon of Canterbury, and others, who were admitted into the plot, and by ſuch as were deceived. One Deering, a monk, publiſhed a book of her revelations and propheſies, Maid of Kent.

* Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 22. † Ibid. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1. ‡ Ibid. c. 2.

which

A. D. 1534. which all tended to exalt the power of the pope and clergy, and to denounce the vengeance of Heaven on all who diſobeyed them. In particular, ſhe declared, that if the king divorced queen Catherine and married another wife, he ſhould not be king a month longer, but ſhould die a villain's death. The monks and ſome of the ſecular clergy made the pulpits ring with theſe dangerous predictions, which made the king to command Barton, Bocking, Maſters, Deering, and other ſix of her moſt active accomplices, to be ſeized. They were examined in the Star-chamber, confeſſed the whole plot, and were ordered to read their confeſſions the next Sunday at Paul's Croſs immediately after ſermon. They were then committed to the Tower, where they were tampered with to deny their former confeſſions. This induced the king to lay the affair before his parliament, and Barton, with ſix of the chief conſpirators, were attainted of high treaſon, and ſoon after executed. Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, with five others, were found guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, their perſons impriſoned, and their goods confiſcated. Sir Thomas More was in danger of the ſame fate, but was preſerved from being accuſed, by the influence of archbiſhop Cranmer and ſecretary Cromwell *. The diſcovery of this infamous attempt to impoſe upon the nation, brought a great load of odium upon the monks, by whom it had been contrived and abetted, and made them meet with leſs pity in the diſtreſs in which they were ſoon after involved.

To ſecure the ſubmiſſion of all the people to the act of ſucceſſion, all the members of both houſes took an oath, on the laſt day of the ſeſſion, March 30th, "that they ſhall truly, firmly, and conſtantly, "without fraud or guile, obſerve, fulfil, maintain, defend, and keep, "to their cunning, wit, and uttermoſt of their powers, the whole "effects and contents of this preſent act †." A ſchedule containing the ſubſcriptions of all the members was annexed to the act, and all

* Burnet, p. 149—154. † 24 Hen. VIII. c. 22.

the

the ſubjects of lawful age were appointed to take a ſimilar oath when required, and all who refuſed to take it were to be deemed guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon. Commiſſioners were immediately appointed to adminiſter this oath in all parts of the kingdom, and it was generally taken, both by the clergy and laity; though by many of the former with much reluctance *. But two perſons of great reputation for their piety, virtue, and learning, biſhop Fiſher and ſir Thomas More, refuſed to take it; and as it was apprehended that their example would influence others, great endeavours were uſed to overcome their ſcruples. They were not unwilling to take that part of the oath which related to the ſucceſſion, but refuſed to take the other part of it, which expreſſed an approbation of the king's divorce, and ſecond marriage; and perſiſting in this refuſal, they were both committed to the Tower of London in April, and very harſhly treated in their confinement †. In that ſeſſion of parliament which began on November 3d, they were not only excepted in an act of grace that then paſſed, but were attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon, and all their eſtates, rents, and goods confiſcated ‡. The humane archbiſhop Cranmer, after he had laboured earneſtly to bring theſe two eminent perſons to comply and take the oath, laboured with no leſs earneſtneſs to ſave them from theſe ſufferings, but in vain. The king determined to cruſh all oppoſition §.

A. D. 1534.

Fiſher and More impriſoned.

By one act of the ſeſſion of parliament in November, the papal power was totally aboliſhed, the king's title of ſupreme head on earth of the church of England was recognized and annexed to the crown, and it was declared, "that the king, his heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhall "have full power and authority, from time to time, to viſit, repreſs, "redreſs, reform, order, correct, reſtrain, and amend, all ſuch errors, "hereſies, abuſes, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatſoever

Laws.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 487—528.
† Burnet, vol. i. p. 155, 156.
‡ Rolls of Parliament, 26 Henry VII.
§ Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, p. 28.

"they

A. D. 1534. "they be, which by any manner ſpiritual juriſdiction or authority "ought or may lawfully be reformed," &c. * By another act it was declared to be high treaſon to deny or diſpute any of the king's dignities or titles †. This law was deſigned to ſecure the king's new title of ſupreme head of the church, and to puniſh ſuch as dared to impugn it; and it was ſoon applied to that purpoſe. By the laſt act of this ſeſſion, the parliament granted the king a tenth and fifteenth, to be paid in three years ‡.

1535. New title. Henry aſſumed the new title of ſupreme head on earth of the church of England in great ſtate, in the preſence of his whole court, January 15th, A. D. 1535, and commanded that it ſhould be added to his other titles in all courts, deeds, and writings §. This was far from being an empty title, but brought him a great acceſſion both of power and revenue, and he availed himſelf of it to its utmoſt extent, and maintained it with ſo much jealouſy, that he ſpared none who called it in queſtion.

Fiſher and More beheaded. Biſhop Fiſher and ſir Thomas More were ſtill priſoners in the Tower, in conſequence of their having been attainted of miſpriſion of treaſon. The king was irritated againſt them for their oppoſition to his divorce and ſecond marriage, and for their correſpondence with the Maid of Kent. He knew their attachment to the ſee of Rome, and that all his ſubjects who were zealous for the continuance of the papal power, had fixed their eyes upon them as patterns proper for their imitation. He determined therefore to make them acknowledge his ſupremacy, or to make them ſuffer, that none who oppoſed it might expect impunity. The two priſoners, ſenſible of their danger, declined giving any opinion of the king's ſupremacy, and avoided as much as poſſible all converſation on that ſubject. But it was often introduced by thoſe who viſited them, with a deſign to diſcover their ſentiments; and in ſpite of all their caution, they ſometimes dropped

* 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
† Ibid. c. 13.
‡ Rolls, 26 Hen. VIII.
§ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 549.

expreſſions, which ſufficiently indicated their diſapprobation of the ſupremacy. Theſe expreſſions were carefully remembered, and produced in evidence againſt them. Richard Rich, the king's ſolicitor, is ſaid to have uſed very infamous arts to betray them into a diſcovery of their ſentiments, and afterwards became the principal witneſs againſt them on their trial. Pope Paul III. who ſucceeded Clement VII. knowing that biſhop Fiſher's ſufferings were owing to his attachment to the ſee of Rome, in order to reward his zeal, and encourage him to perſeverance, created him a cardinal; imagining that Henry would not dare to proceed to extremity againſt a member of the ſacred college. But in this infallibility he was miſtaken. The biſhop was brought to his trial June 17th, and being found guilty of high treaſon for denying the king's ſupremacy, he was beheaded the 22d of June, in the eightieth year of his age. Ten days after, his friend ſir Thomas More was tried for the ſame offence, and being found guilty, was beheaded July 6th, in his fifty-third year. His pleaſant facetious humour did not forſake him in his laſt moments: "Aſſiſt me," ſaid he to a friend, when he was mounting the ſcaffold, "and let me ſhift for myſelf to get down." The executioner aſking his forgiveneſs, he granted it, and told him with a ſmile, "You "will get no credit by beheading me, my neck is ſo ſhort." After he had laid his head upon the block, he called to the executioner to ſtop a little till he put his beard aſide, "for that," ſaid he, "hath "committed no treaſon *." Theſe two illuſtrious ſufferers would have been more generally lamented, if they had not been ſuch cruel perſecutors when they were in power. Sir Thomas More, in particular, abandoned the juſt and liberal ideas of toleration he had publiſhed in his Utopia, and became ardent in the purſuit, and unrelenting in the puniſhment, of heretics, as the favourers of the reformation were then called. But ſuch, at the ſame time, was his fondneſs A. D. 1535.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 354, &c. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 200.

A. D. 1535. for wit, that on ſome occaſions it overpowered his perſecuting zeal. A heretic, named Silver, being brought before him, he ſaid, "Silver, "you muſt be tried by fire." "Yes," replied the priſoner; "but "you know, my lord, that quickſilver cannot abide the fire." He was ſo pleaſed with this repartee, (which in theſe circumſtances diſcovered great preſence of mind,) that he ſet the man at liberty *.

The pope diſpleaſed.

The news of cardinal Fiſher's execution excited a prodigious flame in Rome, and all the ill names recorded in hiſtory were beſtowed on Henry. The pope was ſo much enraged, that he ordered a great number of bulls to be prepared againſt him: by one, he and all his accomplices were to be ſummoned to appear at Rome in ninety days, to anſwer for their conduct; by another, the king and all his miniſters were excommunicated; by a third, his ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of allegiance; by another, the kingdom was laid under an interdict, &c.† But finding no catholic prince, at that time, who had leiſure, inclination, and power to render theſe bulls effectual, by dethroning the excommunicated king, and ſeizing his dominions, he prudently ſuppreſſed them.

The king's precautions.

Henry having received intelligence of the pope's reſentment and deſigns, took the moſt prudent precautions to prevent their ſucceſs. He inſtructed his ambaſſadors in the courts of France, Germany, and Scotland, how to vindicate his conduct, in withdrawing his obedience to the ſee of Rome, in aſſuming the ſupremacy of the church in his own dominions, and in puniſhing thoſe who refuſed to acknowledge his ſupremacy, particularly ſir Thomas More and biſhop Fiſher, for whoſe execution he was moſt ſeverely cenſured ‡. To encourage and ſtrengthen the enemies of the emperor, his moſt formidable adverſary, he ſent ambaſſadors, in conjunction with thoſe of France, to negociate an alliance with the proteſtant princes of Germany. But the cruel perſecution of thoſe who had embraced the principles of the

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 354, &c. Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 200.
† Herbert, p. 184. ‡ Strype's Memorials, b. i. chap. xxxii.

reform-

reformation both in France and England, retarded theſe negociations. A. D. 1535. To ſecure the internal tranquillity of his dominions, and the ſubmiſſion of his own ſubjects, he employed various means. All the biſhops were ſtrictly enjoined to preach againſt the uſurped authority of the biſhop of Rome, and in favour of the king's ſupremacy, and to command all their clergy to preach in the ſame ſtrain. The juſtices of the peace in every county were directed to keep a ſtrict eye upon the clergy, and to dilate all thoſe who neglected to obey theſe injunctions, or did it in a ſlight illuſory manner. Several treatiſes on the ſame ſubject were publiſhed with the ſame view *. That the great acceſſion of power which the king had acquired over the clergy, both ſeculars and regulars, by his being declared ſupreme head of the church, might be exerciſed in the moſt effectual manner, he delegated it to his moſt active and able miniſter Thomas Cromwell, ſecretary of ſtate, firſt with the title of vicar-general, and afterwards with the higher title of lord vicegerent in eccleſiaſtical matters †. In conſequence of this commiſſion, Cromwell in a ſhort time, and with leſs difficulty than could have been imagined, diſſolved all the numerous orders of monks and friars in England, who were the moſt zealous partiſans of the pope, the moſt determined enemies of the king's ſupremacy, and of all reformation. Of this great atchievement a more particular account will be given in the ſecond chapter of this book.

1536. Death of queen Catherine.

Catherine, the divorced queen, after languiſhing ſome time, died at Kimbolton January 8th, A. D. 1536, in the fiftieth year of her age. A few days before her death, ſhe ſent the following letter to the king, written by one of her female attendants:

" My moſt dear lord, king, and huſband,

" The hour of my death now approaching, I cannot chuſe, out of " the love I bear you, but adviſe you of your ſoul's health, which

* Strype's Memorials, b. i. chap. xxxvi. † Burnet, p. 181.

A. D. 1536. " you ought to prefer before all conſiderations of the world or fleſh " whatſoever; for which you have caſt me into many calamities, " and yourſelf into many troubles. But I forgive you all, and pray " God to do ſo likewiſe. For the reſt, I commend unto you Mary " our daughter; beſeeching you to be a good father to her, as I " have heretofore deſired. I muſt intreat you alſo to reſpect my " maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they being " but three; and to all my other ſervants a year's pay, beſide their " due; leſt otherwiſe they ſhould be unprovided for. Laſtly, I " make this vow, that mine eyes deſire you above all things. " Farewel *.

Henry, it is ſaid, felt ſome compunction when he peruſed this letter. He took no little care, however, to get poſſeſſion of her jewels and other effects, which were valued at no more than 5000 marks; and he paid little or no regard to her laſt will and teſtament †. He had treated her rather harſhly after her divorce; and his ſorrow for her death, it is probable, was neither very violent nor very laſting. If that event had happened a few years ſooner, it would have given joy both at the court of Rome and the court of England, and would have prevented the rupture between them. Pope Clement often wiſhed her in her grave.

Negociation. The emperor Charles V. earneſtly deſired to diſſolve that intimate union which now ſubſiſted between the kings of France and England: and as the oſtenſible ground of his quarrel with the laſt of theſe princes was removed, by the death of his aunt, queen Catherine, he thought this a proper opportunity to make advances towards a reconciliation. He cauſed his reſident, therefore, at the court of England, to ſuggeſt to the Engliſh miniſters, that his maſter was not averſe to a reconciliation, upon the conditions, " that the king would

* Herbert, p. 188.

† Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 240—243. Records, No. lxix, lxx, lxxi.

" be reconciled to the pope; that he would aid the emperor againſt A. D. 1536.
" the Turk; and that, agreeably to the treaty 1518, he would aſſiſt
" him againſt the French, who threatened Milan." To this it was anſwered, " That the firſt breach of amity proceeded from the em-
" peror; which if he will acknowledge and excuſe, the king is
" contented to renew it ſimply. As to the conditions propoſed:
" Firſt, The proceedings againſt the biſhop of Rome have been ſo
" juſt, and ſo ratified by the parliament of England, that they can-
" not be revoked. Secondly, As for aid againſt the Turk, when
" Chriſtian princes ſhall be at peace, the king will do therein as to
" a Chriſtian prince belongeth. Thirdly, For aid againſt France,
" he cannot reſolve on that till the amity be renewed with the em-
" peror; that ſo being an indifferent friend to both, he may freely
" travel, either to keep peace between them, or to aid the injured
" party *." This very ſenſible and ſpirited anſwer (probably ſug-geſted by ſecretary Cromwell) plainly proves that Henry had now reſolved againſt a reconciliation with the court of Rome, and deter-mined to preſerve that complete ſovereignty over all his ſubjects which he had obtained.

The laſt ſeſſion of that long parliament which was firſt aſſembled Parliament.
November 3d, A. D. 1529, met at Weſtminſter February 4th this year, and made ſeveral important acts. By one act, the parliament diſſolved all the ſmall monaſteries and nunneries in the kingdom, which had not each above 200l. a year of clear income, and gave all their churches, houſes, lands, plate, furniture, and goods of all kinds, to the king. The number of monaſteries diſſolved by this act was three hundred and ſeventy-ſix; the yearly rent of their lands was about 32,000l. which was much below their real value; and their cattle, plate, and furniture, at a very low valuation, amounted to 100,000l. † By another act, Wales was more intimately united

* Herbert, p. 188. † Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 117.

to

A. D. 1536 to England, and its inhabitants ſubjected to the Engliſh laws, or rather admitted at their own requeſt to the privilege of being governed by them *.

Negociations. The negociations with the proteſtant princes of the Smalkaldic league in Germany ſtill continued; and about this time theſe princes preſented the following propoſitions to the Engliſh negociators: 1. That the king ſhould embrace the Auguſtan confeſſion of faith, altered in ſome things by common conſent, and defend it with them in a free council, if it ſhould be called. 2. That neither party ſhould conſent to a council without the other. 3. That the king ſhould join their league, and become its head and defender. 4. That the vulgar opinion of the pope's ſupremacy ſhould be rejected for ever. 5. That if any of the contracting parties ſhould be invaded for religion, the others ſhould give no aid againſt him. 6. That the king ſhould give 100,000 crowns for the defence of the league, and 200,000 if the war continued long. To theſe propoſitions this anſwer was returned: That the king approved of them in general with ſome amendments; that he accepted of the title of head and defender of the league, and would advance the money required, as ſoon as all the conditions were ſettled. He deſired them to ſend commiſſioners to treat of theſe conditions, and ſome of their learned men to confer with his divines on the doctrines and ceremonies of the church †. But when things were in this train, a ſurpriſing and unexpected event happened, which put a ſtop to theſe negociations, and greatly diſcouraged all the promoters of reformation both at home and abroad.

The queen ſent to the Tower. Henry was a prince of ſtrong impetuous paſſions, but at the ſame time fickle and capricious; paſſing ſuddenly from one extreme to another, from the warmeſt love to the moſt violent hatred, and he ſtuck at nothing to gratify the prevailing paſſion. He had ſurmounted

* Herbert, p. 190. † Id. p. 192.

many

many difficulties to obtain the hand of his beloved Anne Boleyn, A. D. 1536. and had lived with her in great conjugal felicity from the marriage till about the beginning of this year, when he was captivated by the charms of a young beauty of his court, Jane Seymour, daughter of ſir John Seymour of Wolf-hall in Wiltſhire. This new paſſion extinguiſhed all his former love to his queen, which was ſucceeded by the moſt furious jealouſy. The courtiers ſoon diſcovered this change in the king's affections, which gave great pleaſure to the partiſans of the pope, and no leſs pain to the friends of reformation, of which queen Anne was a zealous promoter. The queen herſelf was not ignorant of the king's paſſion for Jane Seymour, who was one of her maids of honour; but ſhe was altogether ignorant of his jealouſy of her own conduct, till it broke upon her like a clap of thunder. On the firſt day of May there was a grand tournament at Greenwich, at which the king, queen, and all the court were preſent. In the midſt of the diverſion the king roſe ſuddenly from his ſeat, went out, mounted his horſe, and rode off, with only ſix perſons in his company. This abrupt departure of the king excited univerſal ſurpriſe; but whether it was premeditated, or occaſioned by any incident that then happened, is uncertain. It is indeed related, that the queen dropped her handkerchief, and that it was taken up by one of the gentlemen in the tournament, which inflamed the king's jealouſy.

"Trifles light as air,
"Are to the jealous, confirmation ſtrong,
"As proofs of holy writ."

However that may be, the lord Rochford, the queen's brother, three gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, Norris, Weſton, and Brereton, and Smeton a muſician, were arreſted early next morning and ſent to the Tower. At the ſame time the queen was confined to her chamber. When ſhe was informed of the cauſe of her confinement,

A. D. 1536. finement, ſhe made the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of her innocence, and earneſtly intreated to be permitted to ſee the king. But that was not granted. In the afternoon of the ſame day ſhe was conducted to the Tower, by her uncle the duke of Norfolk, who was one of her greateſt enemies on account of religion. When ſhe entered that priſon ſhe fell upon her knees, and prayed that God might ſo help her, as ſhe was innocent of the crime for which ſhe was impriſoned *.

Her behaviour. The unhappy queen, who on the day before had been attended by a ſplendid and obſequious court, and now found herſelf forſaken by all the world, ſhut up in the ſolitude of a priſon, accuſed of a heinous crime, and threatened with a violent death, was ſo much affected by this great reverſe of fortune, that ſhe fell into hyſterical paroxiſms, which weakened both her mind and body. When ſhe was in this deplorable ſituation, ſeized with alternate fits of weeping and laughing, very inſidious arts were uſed to betray her into a confeſſion of her guilt. She was aſſured that her brother, and the other gentlemen confined on her account, had confeſſed, and told that a free and full confeſſion was the only thing that could appeaſe the king's anger and ſave her life. Naturally frank and ingenuous, and having no friend to put her upon her guard, ſhe diſcovered all the indiſcretions ſhe could recollect, which amounted only to certain levities in her behaviour and words, which were imprudent indeed, and unbecoming the dignity to which ſhe was advanced, but very remote from the crime of which ſhe was accuſed. All theſe diſcoveries were carried to the king, and ſerved only to increaſe his ſuſpicions and inflame his wrath †. When ſhe had recovered a little from her firſt conſternation, and attained to ſome compoſure of mind, ſhe wrote a moſt moving letter to the king, which, for the force and juſtice of the expoſtulations it contains, and even for the elegance of

* Hall, f. 227. Stowe, p. 572. Herbert, p. 194. Burnet, vol. i. p. 196, &c.
† Burnet, vol. i. p. 197—199.

its

its language, is truly admirable *. But nothing could make any impreſſion in her favour, on the cruel and obdurate heart of Henry. A. D. 1536.

Great efforts were uſed to prevail upon the gentlemen who were impriſoned on the queen's account, to confeſs their guilt and her's. Henry Norris, groom of the ſtole, had been long about the king's perſon, and poſſeſſed a conſiderable degree of his eſteem and favour. Henry ſent for him, and promiſed him his life, liberty, and fortune, if he would confeſs his own guilt and that of the queen. Norris, who was a gentleman of ſpirit and honour, rejected the propoſal with diſdain, declaring his own innocence, and his full conviction that the queen was an innocent and good woman, and that he would ſuffer a thouſand deaths rather than accuſe an innocent perſon. Mark Smeton, the muſician, had not the ſame fortitude. Upon a promiſe of life, (which was not performed,) he confeſſed that he had been guilty with the queen at three different times. A confeſſion that was very improbable, and which few or none believed †. Means uſed to procure evidence.

Such was the unfeeling ſeverity of Henry to his unhappy queen, that he excluded all her relations and friends from ſeeing her in her confinement, and placed none about her but her open or ſecret enemies. This was a circumſtance which diſtreſſed her greatly, and of which ſhe complained bitterly. She often inquired for her father and mother and other near relations, but received no ſatisfactory anſwer. She earneſtly intreated that her almoner might be admitted to viſit her only for an hour, and it was denied. Though many loved and pitied her, yet ſo well was the ſtern and furious ſpirit of the king known, that none dared to open a mouth, or offer a petition, in her favour. Henry ſeems to have apprehended an application of Her hard treatment.

* The reader will find a copy of this letter in the Appendix. It muſt be confeſſed that the authenticity of this letter is not abſolutely aſcertained, as the original is not preſerved. But a copy of it, it is ſaid, was found among ſecretary Cromwell's papers. Herbert, p. 194.

† Burnet, vol. iii. p. 118.

A. D. 1536. that kind from archbiſhop Cranmer; and therefore ſent him an order to remain at Lambeth, and not approach the court till his preſence was required. The good archbiſhop, however, adventured to write the king a letter, in which he did not indeed aſſert the queen's innocence, (which would probably have coſt him his head,) but ſuggeſted ſeveral things that made it appear very wonderful that ſhe was guilty *. He would, no doubt, have written in much ſtronger terms, but he well knew it would have only inflamed the king's rage, and ruined himſelf, without ſaving the queen.

Trials and executions. The lord Rochford and the other four priſoners were firſt tried, May 12th, in Weſtminſter-hall, and were all found guilty on little or no evidence: for ſuch was the terror the irreſiſtible authority and vindictive ſpirit of the king had univerſally inſpired, that no jury dared to acquit a priſoner he deſired to ſee condemned. The only thing proved againſt lord Rochford was, that one morning he had come into the queen his ſiſter's bedchamber before ſhe was up, and in ſpeaking to her, in preſence of her maids, had laid his hand upon the bed. This was interpreted by the court to be a ſlandering of the queen, which by a late act had been declared high treaſon. A cruel ſtretch of a moſt cruel ſtatute! Rochford, Weſton, Brereton, and Norris, were beheaded. At their death they all vindicated their own and the queen's innocence. Smeton was hanged, and at his execution he had acknowledged he deſerved his death; meaning, moſt probably, for his falſe accuſation of the queen, by his confeſſing a crime of which he was not guilty †.

The queen's trial. The queen was brought to her trial May 13th, in the king's hall in the Tower. Her own unnatural uncle the duke of Norfolk, (whoſe zeal for popery had made him one of her greateſt enemies,) preſided as lord high ſteward, and was attended by twenty-five other lords; ſo that one half of the peers of England, then fifty-three,

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 200. Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 280, &c.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 201. vol. iii. p. 119.

were

were not preſent at this extraordinary trial. The queen was brought into the court, attended only by a few women who had been placed about her, having been denied an advocate. She made a curtſey to her judges, and behaved with great dignity and compoſure. Her indictment was then read; charging her "with having procured her "brother and the other four to lie with her, which they had done "often; which was to the ſlander of the iſſue begotten between the "king and her." To this it was added, but not attempted to be proved, "that ſhe had conſpired the king's death." She pleaded Not guilty. All the evidence that was produced to prove this dreadful, and very improbable indictment, was a declaration of a lady Wingfield, who was in her grave, ſaid to have been made by her a little before her death. How this declaration, or affidavit, was authenticated, we are not informed. On this evidence, if evidence it can be called, was the amiable, the lately admired and beloved queen of England, found guilty of high treaſon by the peers of the realm, and ſentenced to be either burnt or beheaded as the king ſhould direct. When ſhe heard this terrible ſentence pronounced, ſhe lifted up her eyes and hands to heaven, and ſaid, "O Father! O Creator! thou "who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knoweſt that I "have not deſerved this death!" Then turning to her judges, ſhe ſaid, "My lords, I will not ſay that your ſentence is unjuſt; nor pre-"ſume that my opinion ſhould be preferred to the judgment of you all. "I believe you have reaſons and occaſions of ſuſpicion and jealouſy; "but they muſt be other than thoſe that have been produced here in "court; for I am entirely innocent of all theſe accuſations; ſo that I "cannot aſk pardon of God for them. I have been always a faithful "and loving wife to the king." After ſhe had ſaid this, and much more, in vindication of her own innocence, ſhe expreſſed great concern for the condemnation of her brother and the other gentlemen, and wiſhed that her death might ſuffice for the whole. She then took her leave of the court, and retired. The lord mayor and alder-

A. D. 1536.

A. D. 1536. men of London, and ſome others who had been admitted to be ſpectators of this trial, went away with a full conviction of the queen's innocence *.

The queen divorced. This unhappy princeſs had ſtill another trial to undergo. Henry, not contented with her blood, determined to deprive her of the honour of having been his lawful wife, and to illegitimate her infant daughter. He knew that the earl of Northumberland had courted her, and endeavours were uſed to perſuade that nobleman to acknowledge a pre-contract and promiſe of marriage. But the earl acted an honourable part, and ſwore before the two archbiſhops, and took the ſacrament upon it, that there never had been any contract or promiſe of marriage between him and Anne Boleyn †. But the queen herſelf was prevailed upon, moſt probably to eſcape the flames, to acknowledge before archbiſhop Cranmer May 17th, that there was a lawful impediment to her marriage with the king; upon which a ſentence of divorce was pronounced, and her marriage declared to have been unlawful, null, and void, from the beginning ‡. If any regard had been paid to juſtice or law, this ſentence would have ſaved the queen's life: for if ſhe had never been the king's lawful wife, ſhe could not have been guilty of high treaſon by having intercourſe with other men; and that was the crime for which ſhe was condemned to die. But Henry on this occaſion not only ſacrificed the life of his queen, and the legitimacy of his child, but trampled upon all law and juſtice, to gratify his paſſions.

The queen beheaded. Little time was allowed the unhappy queen to prepare for the laſt ſcene of this cruel tragedy. In that awful interval ſhe retained her uſual ſerenity, and even cheerfulneſs, and ſpent ſeveral hours of the day in private devotion, or with her almoner, who was then admitted. She recollected with much concern her unkindneſs to the princeſs Mary, fell upon her knees to lady Kingſton, and refuſed to

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 201. vol. iii. p. 119. † Herbert, p. 195.
‡ Collier, vol. ii. p. 117. Burnet, vol. i. p. 285.

riſe

riſe till ſhe had promiſed to wait on that princeſs, and aſk her par- A. D. 1536.
don *. On the morning of her execution, May 19th, ſhe converſed compoſedly with ſir William Kingſton lieutenant of the Tower, and expreſſed ſome impatience for the fatal moment. "I ſuppoſe (ſays "ſir William, in a letter to Cromwell) ſhe will declare herſelf to be a "good woman, for all men but for the king, at the hour of her "death. For this morning ſhe ſent for me, that I might be with her "at ſuch time as ſhe received the good Lord, to the intent I ſhould "hear her ſpeak as touching her innocency alway to be clear. I "have ſeen many men, alſo women, executed, and they have been "in great ſorrow, and to my knowledge this lady hath much joy "and pleaſure in death †." About eleven o'clock ſhe was brought to a ſcaffold erected on the green in the Tower. By order, all ſtrangers had been turned out of the Tower, and there were none preſent but the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, (the king's natural ſon,) chancellor Audley, ſecretary Cromwell, and the mayor, aldermen, and ſheriffs of London. When ſhe mounted the ſcaffold, her looks were cheerful, and ſhe never appeared more beautiful. Obſerving ſome about her weeping, ſhe ſaid, "Be not ſorry to ſee me die thus, but "pardon me from your hearts, ſo that I have not expreſſed to all about "me that mildneſs that became me, and that I have not done all the "good that it was in my power to do ‡." Then turning to the ſpectators, ſhe ſaid, "I am come here to die, and not to accuſe any "man, nor to ſpeak any thing of that whereof I am accuſed. I "pray God ſave the king, and ſend him long to reign over you, for "a gentler and more merciful prince was there never; and to me he "was ever a good, a gentle, and ſovereign lord. If any perſon will "meddle in my cauſe, I require them to judge the beſt ‖." Her maternal tenderneſs for her daughter, it is probable, induced her to ſpeak in this ſtrain; and as this is the ſpeech that was publiſhed by

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 204. † Herbert, p. 195.
‡ Burnet, vol. iii. p. 120. ‖ Hall, f. 228.

govern-

A. D. 1536. government, we have reaſon to ſuſpect that ſome things were omitted, and that the encomium upon the king was heightened. However that may be, it is agreed on all hands, that after a very ſhort ſpeech, and ſome pious ejaculations, her head was cut off at one blow with a ſword, by the executioner of Calais, who had been brought over for that purpoſe. Little regard was paid to her remains, and not ſo much as a coffin provided. Her body was put into a cheſt made for holding arrows, and inſtantly buried in the chapel in the Tower *.

Her character. Thus periſhed Anne Boleyn, whoſe beauty raiſed her to a throne, from which the charms of another lady threw her down, and brought her prematurely to her grave. She was naturally gay and ſprightly, and her education in the court of France confirmed that natural diſpoſition. While Henry viewed her with a lover's eyes, her frankneſs and gaiety were agreeable; but when he had ſet his affections on another object, they appeared in a very different light. Her elevation had excited envy, her zeal for the reformation had created her many powerful enemies, ſome of them her own near relations. When theſe enemies perceived that the king's affections were alienated from her, they induſtriouſly informed him of every imprudent action and unguarded expreſſion into which her natural gaiety had betrayed her, which inflamed his jealouſy into rage, and made him determine her deſtruction. In a word, if Henry had never contracted a criminal paſſion for Jane Seymour, we never ſhould have heard of the indiſcretions, much leſs of the crimes, of queen Anne Boleyn. Nothing but her beauties and virtues, her piety, humility, and charity, would have been recorded †.

The king's marriage. It might have been imagined, that Henry would have been greatly affected by the cruel fate of one who had long been the object of his

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 205.

† In the laſt nine months of her life ſhe diſtributed 14,000l. to the poor. Burnet, vol. i. p. 194.

fondeſt affections; or that a regard to decency would have made him appear, at leaſt, to lament her ſufferings. But that was not the caſe. He wore white as mourning for her one day, and on the next he married her rival Jane Seymour, and in a few days after, at Whitſuntide, preſented her to his whole court as his royal conſort *. The cleareſt indication that could be given of the cauſe of his late queen's calamities, and of the power of his own ungovernable paſſions. A. D. 1536.

The princeſs Mary and her friends, thinking this a proper time to attempt a reconciliation with her father, ſhe wrote him a very humble and ſubmiſſive letter, earneſtly praying to be admitted into his preſence, and received into his favour, which ſhe at length obtained, but on very hard conditions. She was obliged to write and ſubſcribe a paper, which, among others, contained the two following articles: "*Item*, I acknowledge the king's highneſs to be ſupreme head "in earth under Chriſt of the church of England, and do utterly re- "fuſe the biſhop of Rome's pretended authority, power, and juriſ- "diction, within this realm, heretofore uſurped. I do alſo utterly "renounce and forſake all manner of remedy, intereſt, and advan- "tage, which I may by any means claim by the biſhop of Rome's "laws, proceſs, juriſdiction, or ſentence. *Item*, I do freely, frankly, "and for the diſcharge of my duty towards God, the king's high- "neſs and his laws, without other reſpect, recognize and acknow- "ledge, that the marriage heretofore had between his majeſty and "my mother, the late princeſs dowager, was by God's law and "man's law, inceſtuous and unlawful †." It was with much reluctance, and after a long ſtruggle, that ſhe was brought to make theſe acknowledgments in this authentic manner. But as nothing leſs would ſatisfy, ſhe at laſt complied. Princeſs Mary reconciled.

A new parliament met at Weſtminſter June 8th, and was opened with a ſpeech by the lord chancellor Audley, full of the groſſeſt flat- Parliament.

* Hall, f. 228. † Burnet, vol. i. p. 208.

tery.

A. D. 1536. tery. After repreſenting in ſtrong terms how unhappy the king (who was preſent) had been in his two former marriages, which (ſaid he) would have deterred any other man from engaging again in matrimony; "yet this our moſt excellent prince, on the humble petition "of the nobility, and not out of any carnal luſt or affection, had again "condeſcended to contract matrimony*." This was certainly a very bold ſtroke, when all the world knew that he had been only one day a widower. It is ſurpriſing how the illuſtrious company who heard it kept their countenances. If Henry had been poſſeſſed of any delicacy, he muſt have taken it as a cruel reproach and inſult. But it was ſo well taken, that Richard Rich, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, repeated it; and ſtriving to outſtrip the chancellor in flattery, he compared the king to Solomon for wiſdom, to Sampſon for ſtrength, and to Abſalom for beauty †.

Act of ſucceſſion. Many laws were made in this parliament; but it is only neceſſary to mention here, the act for regulating the ſucceſſion, for which this parliament had been chiefly called. By that act the divorces of the king from his two former queens are confirmed, and their iſſue illegitimated, and declared incapable of inheriting the crown; which is entailed on the king's iſſue by his preſent queen, and failing of them, on his iſſue by any future queen; and failing of heirs of his own body, he is empowered to appoint and declare his ſucceſſor, by letters patent, or by his laſt will ‡. Such an aſcendant had Henry gained over the minds of his ſubjects, that his will was a law, or very ſoon was made a law by his obſequious parliaments. The article in this act relating to the two divorces is remarkable. After enumerating at great length the grounds of the king's divorce from queen Catherine, it proceeds thus: "That whereas a marriage heretofore was ſolem-"nized betwixt the king's highneſs and the lady Anne Boleyn, that "ſithence that time certain juſt, true, and lawful impediments of

* Journals of the Houſe of Lords, vol. i. p. 84. † Ibid. ‡ Herbert, p. 199.

"marriage,

" marriage, unknown at the making of the ſaid acts, (ſettling the " crown on her iſſue,) were confeſſed by the ſaid lady Anne before " Thomas lord archbiſhop of Canterbury, by which it plainly ap- " peareth, that the ſaid marriage betwixt his highneſs and the ſaid " lady Anne was never good nor conſonent to the laws: and there- " fore his highneſs was lawfully divorced from the ſaid lady " Anne *." Whether the parliament knew theſe impediments of marriage, which they pronounced to be juſt, true, and lawful, or not, we are not informed; but if they did know them, they did not think it prudent to let the world and poſterity know them. There is ſomething myſterious in this manner of proceeding. A. D. 1536.

Thomas Cromwell had been received into the king's ſervice on the fall of his former patron cardinal Wolſey, and had been ſucceſſively appointed maſter of the jewel houſe, ſecretary of ſtate, keeper of the privy ſeal, and at laſt the king's vicegerent in ſpirituals, a new office of great dignity and power. In all theſe offices he had acquitted himſelf with great activity, prudence, fidelity, and ſucceſs, by which he had acquired ſo much of the king's confidence and favour, that he was in reality his prime miniſter. Though he was a man of low birth, Henry thought proper to raiſe him to the peerage by the ſtile and title of lord Cromwell, and he was introduced into the houſe of peers July 19th, the laſt day of the parliament †. This promotion was diſagreeable to ſome of the ancient nobility, and to all the lords, biſhops, clergy, and others, who were averſe to any reformation in the church.

Immediately after the parliament was diſſolved, lord Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in ſpirituals, engaged in a very unpopular buſineſs, the diſſolution of all the ſmaller monaſteries, to the number of three hundred and ſeventy-ſix, which had been granted to the king by parliament. The demolition of ſo many churches and religious Inſurrection in Lincolnſhire.

* Herbert, p. 199. † Journals, vol. i. p. 101.

A. D. 1536. houſes, and the diſperſion of about 10,000 monks and nuns, raiſed a mighty ferment. The popiſh clergy, and particularly the monks and friars, inflamed the paſſions of the people, by aſſuring them, that this was only a prelude to the demolition of all other monaſteries and churches, and the abolition of all religion. The firſt gatherings of the malcontents were in Lincolnſhire in September. They were headed by doctor Mackerel, prior of Barlings, who took the name of captain Cobler. They did not immediately proceed to hoſtilities, but ſent a humble remonſtrance to the king, containing ſtrong expreſſions of their loyalty, and praying for a redreſs of their grievances, which were theſe: 1. The demolition of the monaſteries: 2. The employing perſons of mean birth to be his miniſters: 3. Levying ſubſidies that were not neceſſary: 4. Taking away four of the ſeven ſacraments: 5. That ſeveral biſhops ſubverted the ancient faith, &c. To this petition the king returned a ſpirited anſwer, vindicating his own conduct in all the particulars of which they complained, commanding them to deliver up their leaders, and to retire to their own homes, to preſerve themſelves, their wives and children, from ruin *. The duke of Suffolk, who had been diſpatched againſt them at the head of ſome troops, ſent them this anſwer; and finding them more numerous and determined than he expected, he entered into a negociation with them. Being aſſured by ſome gentlemen who were among the inſurgents, and pretended to have joined them to retard their progreſs and diſtract their counſels, that if a general pardon was offered, they would diſperſe; he prevailed upon the king to publiſh ſuch a pardon, which had the deſired effect. They made their ſubmiſſion October 19th, and then ſeparated †.

Pilgrimage of Grace.

A ſtill more formidable inſurrection broke out in Yorkſhire and the northern counties about the ſame time, and on the ſame account. This was at firſt excited and directed by Robert Aſke, a man of cou-

* Hall, f. 228. † Hollingſhed, p. 941.

rage

rage and prudence, who gave his undertaking the ſpecious inviting name of The Pilgrimage of Grace. The influence and perſuaſions of the clergy, eſpecially of the monks, friars, and nuns, who had been turned out of their houſes, wrought ſo much on the ignorance, ſuperſtition, and compaſſion of the people, and ſuch prodigious numbers flew to arms and joined this martial pilgrimage, that they amounted at laſt to forty thouſand. To unite them more firmly, they took an oath and made a declaration: "That they entered into this "pilgrimage of grace for the love of God, the preſervation of the "king's perſon and iſſue, the purifying the nobility, and driving "away all baſe-born and evil counſellors; and for no particular "profit of their own, nor to do diſpleaſure to any, nor to kill any for "envy, but to take before them the croſs of Chriſt, his faith, the reſti-"tution of the church, and the ſuppreſſion of heretics and their opi-"nions *." They painted on their banners the five wounds of Chriſt, wore on their ſleeves a device of the ſame kind, and prieſts marched before them carrying crucifixes, by which arts their zeal was much inflamed. As they advanced, they reſtored the monks to their monaſteries, and perſuaded or compelled all the gentlemen who did not fly, to join them. The archbiſhop of York and lord d'Arcy ſurrendered the caſtle of Pomfret, into which they had retired, and took the above oath. They failed in their attempts on Skipton caſtle, defended by the earl of Cumberland; and on the caſtle of Scarborough, defended by ſir Ralph Evers; but they took the town of Hull, and the city of York †. A. D. 1536.

The king and his miniſters had been ſo much engaged with the inſurgents in Lincolnſhire, that thoſe in the north met with little oppoſition for a conſiderable time. The earl of Shrewſbury ventured to raiſe his followers without waiting for orders, for which he craved the king's pardon, who was ſo far from being offended, that he ap- Truce.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 229. † Ibid. Herbert, p. 206.

A. D. 1536. pointed him commander in chief in the four northern counties, and directed the earl of Derby to join him, with his friends and vaſſals. The marquis of Exeter, and the earls of Huntington and Rutland, with their followers, took the field alſo againſt the rebels; and the king ſent the duke of Norfolk, October 20th, to take the command of his army, which was ſtill far inferior in number to that of the inſurgents. The two armies approached each other at Doncaſter October 26th, with only the river Don between them, which was ſo ſwelled by rains, that neither of them dared to paſs it in the face of the other. The duke, to gain time till certain reinforcements, which he expected, joined him, propoſed a treaty; in which it was agreed, that the inſurgents ſhould ſend a petition to the king by ſir Ralph Elcker and maſter Bowes, (who had been taken priſoners at Hull,) and that the duke alſo ſhould go to court to ſecond their petition, and that there ſhould be a ceſſation of hoſtilities till he and their meſſengers returned *.

Negociation. This agreement was very advantageous to the royaliſts, who wanted only time; but very fatal to the rebels, who, having expended all their money, wanted every thing. Accordingly many of them, ready to periſh with cold and hunger, deſerted, and returned to their own homes. When the duke arrived at court, he found the king preparing to ſet out, to join an army he had commanded to rendezvous at Northampton November 7th. But he convinced him that this was not neceſſary; that the inſurgents were diſtreſſed and diſcontented, and daily deſerting; and that a little patience and policy would put an end to the inſurrection without danger or bloodſhed. The truth ſeems to have been, that the duke, who was the head of the popiſh party at court, though he acted with great honour and fidelity to the king, had a tenderneſs for the inſurgents, and that he would have been very well pleaſed if they had obtained ſome of their petitions, par-

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 229. Herbert, p. 206.

ticularly

ticularly the diſgrace of his great rival lord Cromwell. However that may be, the king took his advice, and was in no haſte to diſpatch him and the two meſſengers. A long and diſtinct anſwer was prepared to the petition preſented by Elcker and Bowes, ſhewing the unreaſonableneſs of their aſking, and the impropriety of the king's granting, what they required. A general pardon, with the exception of ſix named and four unnamed, and a commiſſion to the duke and ſeveral others, to meet with three hundred of the inſurgents at Doncaſter, to ſettle the conditions of peace, paſſed the ſeals, and were ſent down with the duke in the beginning of December. We can only gueſs at the king's reaſons for admitting ſo many of the inſurgents to this negociation. It was probably to give his own commiſſioners an opportunity of gaining or dividing them. While the duke remained at court, great numbers of the inſurgents had deſerted; others had obtained permiſſion to retire, on their promiſe to return when called; and their army was now much diminiſhed, and in great diſtreſs *. A. D. 1536.

Lord Scroop, lord Latimer, lord Lumley, lord d'Arcy, ſir Thomas Percy, Robert Aſke, and about three hundred perſons in all, met with the duke of Norfolk and the other king's commiſſioners December 6th at Doncaſter. When the duke produced the general pardon, they expreſſed great diſſatisfaction with the exceptions it contained; and when they produced their demands, they were found to be the ſame with thoſe in their petition, which, it appeared from the king's anſwer, could not be granted. The duke, who earneſtly deſired a pacification, wrote a preſſing letter to the king, to ſend him a general pardon without any exceptions, and a promiſe that the next parliament ſhould be held in the north. The king complied with his requeſt, and the inſurgents accepted of theſe conditions and diſbanded, in hopes of having every thing ſettled to their own mind in Pacification.

* Herbert, p. 206, &c.

A. D. 1536. a parliament held in their own country *. There are few examples in hiſtory of two ſuch formidable inſurrections in the ſame country at the ſame time, ſuppreſſed without any action, or a ſingle drop of blood ſpilt in the field. It was alſo a moſt fortunate circumſtance for Henry at this dangerous criſis, that the king of Scots was then in France, and that the emperor and the king of France were engaged in ſuch violent wars, that his rebellious ſubjects could receive no aſſiſtance from Scotland or the Continent.

1537. Inſurrection and executions. Though peace was thus outwardly reſtored, the king and his miniſters knew, that the fire was rather ſmothered than extinguiſhed, and that internal diſcontents ſtill prevailed. The duke of Norfolk was commanded to remain in the north with his troops, to preſerve the peace of the country. The wiſdom of this meaſure ſoon appeared. Another inſurrection broke out in Cumberland in the beginning of this year. Nicholas Muſgrave and Thomas Tilby, at the head of eight thouſand men, beſieged Carliſle, but were repulſed by the citizens, and ſoon after defeated by the duke of Norfolk, who, departing from his former moderation, hanged no fewer than ſeventy of his priſoners by martial law. Sir Francis Bigot attempted to ſurpriſe the town of Hull, but was taken and executed. The lord d'Arcy, ſir Robert Conſtable, ſir John Bulmer and his lady, ſir Thomas Percy, ſir Stephen Hamilton, Robert Aſke, Nicholas Tempeſt, and William Lumley, who had been very active in the great inſurrection, and had taken the benefit of the general pardon, being ſuſpected of forming new plots, were apprehended and ſent priſoners to London. The lord d'Arcy and lord Huſſey (who had been concerned in the Lincolnſhire inſurrection) were tried by their peers in Weſtminſter Hall, found guilty, and beheaded. The above-named gentlemen and lady, with three abbots and a prior, were all condemned and executed. Lady Bulmer was burnt in Smithfield, and

* Hebert, p. 207.

Robert

Robert Aſke was hung in chains on one of the towers of York. A. D. 1537.
Sixty perſons, who had been concerned in an inſurrection, or rather a riotous tumult, in Somerſetſhire, were tried and put to death *. Theſe numerous executions excited great terror, and ſuppreſſed that general ſpirit of revolt which at this time prevailed in England. Whether it could have been ſuppreſſed or not at a leſs expence of blood, we have not the means of judging.

Prince Edward born.

Queen Jane Seymour's natural diſpoſition was more agreeable to the humour of her royal huſband, than that of his two former queens, being not ſo grave as queen Catherine, nor ſo gay as queen Anne. Not long after her marriage ſhe afforded him the proſpect of legitimate iſſue, which of all things in the world he moſt earneſtly deſired; and on October 12th ſhe was ſafely delivered of a prince at Hampton Court. The king was tranſported with joy at this event, and all his loyal ſubjects ſhared in his joy; as by the birth of a prince they were delivered from the danger of a diſputed ſucceſſion, one of the greateſt calamities that can befal a nation, with which they had long been threatened. The prince was baptiſed with extraordinary pomp October 15th, and named Edward. Archbiſhop Cranmer and the duke of Norfolk were the godfathers, and the princeſs Mary godmother; and the king, to ſhew his affection, created him prince of Wales a few days after his baptiſm †.

The queen dies.

But the joy occaſioned by the birth of the prince was ſoon checked, and converted into mourning, by the death of the queen, who expired October 24th, twelve days after her delivery. Happy in this, that ſhe did not ſurvive the love of her too inconſtant conſort, who appeared to be greatly affected by her death ‡.

1538. Negociation.

The negociations for an alliance and confederacy between the king and the proteſtant princes of Germany, ſtill continued, but advanced very ſlowly. The objects which the contracting parties had in view

* Stowe, p. 576. Hall, f. 232. Burnet, p. 234.
† Strype's Mem. vol. ii. ‡ Ibid.

were

A. D. 1538. were not the ſame. The proteſtant princes, it is true, wiſhed to ſtrengthen their confederacy by the acceſſion of ſo great a prince; but their chief object ſeems to have been, to promote the reformation of religion, and to bring the church of England to a conformity in doctrine and worſhip with their own churches. But this was far from being Henry's intention. He was an enemy to the political power, but not to the religious rites and tenets of the church of Rome; and his only object in deſiring an alliance with the German prince was, to raiſe up enemies to the emperor, to prevent his making any attempt on England, of which the pope had made him a preſent. Knowing that the confederates were to have a meeting in March this year at Brunſwick, he ſent an ambaſſador to that meeting to inquire who had joined the confederacy; whether their league was for general oppoſition to the emperor, or limited to religion only; and whether they deſigned to ſend him a great legation, with ſome of their divines, and particularly Melancthon, as they had once promiſed. The ambaſſador was informed, that twenty-ſix cities, and twenty-four princes, of which the king of Denmark was one, had joined the confederacy; that their league was limited to the cauſe of religion; that they could not ſend their great legation and their divines till they were better informed of the ſentiments of the king of England, and knew what points of their confeſſion he diſapproved; but that they would ſend an ambaſſador and two or three learned men to converſe with the Engliſh divines, and procure more perfect information of the king's ſentiments, and the ſtate of religion in England. Accordingly, Francis Bargart and two men of learning were ſent. They were received with civility, and certain biſhops were appointed to confer with them. Theſe conferences continued ſeveral months, and they came to an agreement in ſome things, but in others they could not agree, particularly concerning the communion in one kind, private maſſes, and the celibacy of the clergy, from which the biſhops would not depart. The German deputies returned home with

with no very favourable account of the ſtate of religion in England, which had put a ſtop to the negociation *. A. D. 1538.

Pope's bulls.

The ſuppreſſion of the late inſurrections, and the birth of a ſon and heir to his dominions, were two very fortunate events for Henry, and they happened at the moſt convenient ſeaſon. Things now began to wear a threatening aſpect on the continent. The pope, after many fruitleſs efforts to extinguiſh the flames of war between the emperor and the king of France, had at laſt ſucceeded, and a ten years truce was concluded between them, June 28th, by his mediation; and theſe two monarchs had a perſonal interview July 15th, in which they appeared to be perfectly reconciled. This encouraged the pope to publiſh the bulls which he had prepared three years before, excommunicating and depoſing Henry, in hopes that theſe two princes would put them in execution. But theſe two great rivals had not ſuch confidence in one another as to embark in a joint enterprize of that kind, and the one would not permit the other to make ſo great a conqueſt. Beſide, Henry's authority was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by the ſuppreſſion of the late inſurrections, and the birth of an heir, that the ſucceſs of any attempt againſt him was very doubtful †.

Cardinal Pole.

Another formidable enemy to Henry appeared upon the ſtage about this time. This was Reginald Pole, fourth ſon of Margaret counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of George duke of Clarence, ſecond brother to Edward IV., and conſequently the king's near relation. He early diſcovered a taſte for letters, and was educated at Henry's expence at Paris and at Padua, and deſigned for the higheſt preferments in the church. But in Italy he imbibed opinions, and formed connexions, which determined him to take a decided part againſt his king, his relation, and benefactor, in his controverſies with the court of Rome. He wrote a treatiſe "of the unity of the "church," and ſent it to Henry; and afterwards publiſhed it to the

* Herbert, p. 212. Strype, vol. i. b. i. c. 43. † Herbert, p. 216.

A. D. 1538. world, in which he condemned his divorce and ſecond marriage in the ſtrongeſt terms, and even exhorted the emperor to avenge the injury that had been thereby done to his aunt, and to the authority of the pope. Henry, concealing his reſentment, invited him into England, to explain ſome parts of his book, which he pretended he did not underſtand. But Pole very prudently declined putting himſelf in the power of a prince he had ſo highly offended. The pope, to inflame his zeal and increaſe his influence, made him a cardinal, and appointed him his legate *a latere* in Flanders, that he might foment diviſions, and excite inſurrections in England, by correſponding with his numerous and powerful friends. In this he was very active and too ſucceſsful. Two of his own brothers, and ſeveral other perſons of rank, were drawn into a conſpiracy, which was diſcovered, and proved their ruin. Henry Courtney, firſt-couſin to the king; the marquis of Exeter, and earl of Devonſhire; Henry Pole lord Montacute, and ſir Jeffery Pole, the cardinal's two brothers; ſir Edward Nevil, brother to the lord Abergavenny, and ſir Nicholas Carew, maſter of the horſe, and knight of the garter; with ſeveral perſons of inferior rank, were made priſoners November 3d, and ſoon after tried and found guilty of high treaſon. They were all executed, except ſir Jeffery Pole, who, it is ſaid, betrayed and accuſed his confederates *. This was a great diſcouragement to the popiſh party. They knew not whom to truſt, and ſaw how dangerous it was to plot againſt a government ſo vigilant and ſo vindictive. Two prieſts and a mariner were condemned and executed on the ſame occaſion, for managing, as it is probable, the correſpondence between the cardinal and the conſpirators †. It is impoſſible to diſcover with certainty the object of this conſpiracy, or the crimes for which theſe noblemen and gentlemen ſuffered. The accuſations againſt them, we are told, were great; and that they had a deſign to

* Hall, f. 233. Stowe, p. 576. Herbert, p. 216. † Hall, Stowe, ibid.

promote

promote and maintain one Reginald Pole, the king's enemy beyond sea, and to deprive the king of his crown *. This makes it probable that they were suspected at least of a design to raise the cardinal to the throne, by a marriage with the princess Mary, for which they would have easily obtained a dispensation from the pope. A. D. 1538.

A new parliament met at Westminster April 25th, A. D. 1539, and was opened with extraordinary pomp. The king and all the members of the two houses rode in state, two and two, from the palace to Westminster Abbey, heard the mass of the Holy Ghost, and returned in the same state and order to the parliament chamber †. This parliament, which commenced with so much pomp, proceeded with the most abject servility, and enacted, both in spirituals and temporals, whatever the king and his ministers pleased to dictate. By the act of the six articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute, they established the most absurd and pernicious tenets of popery, and authorised a persecution of those who denied them, more cruel in some respects than the Spanish inquisition ‡. By another, they granted the king all the lands, rents, buildings, jewels, money, gold and silver plate, furniture, goods and chattels of all kinds, of all monasteries, abbies, nunneries, priories, houses of friars, colleges, free chapels, hospitals, chantries, and houses of religion, dissolved or to be dissolved. By this prodigious grant the king obtained possession of the lands which had belonged to six hundred and forty-five monasteries, ninety colleges of priests, one hundred and ten hospitals, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels. The yearly rents of these lands amounted to 161,100l. § But this was not one half, probably not one third, of their annual value, as their former owners had been accustomed to let their lands at very low rents, and to levy large fines on the renewal of their leases. The value 1539. Parliament.

* Herbert, p. 216. Parliament. Hist. vol. iii. p. 141.

† Dugdale's Summons to Parliament, p. 502. ‡ Herbert, p. 219.

§ Herbert, p. 218. Statutes, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

A. D. 1539. of the jewels, money, plate, cattle, furniture, &c. belonging to theſe religious houſes was immenſe; and the whole, if it had been properly managed, was ſufficient to have rendered the crown independent of the country. But Henry was as profuſe as he was rapacious, and the very next year was reduced to the neceſſity of aſking a ſubſidy from his ſubjects. By another ſtatute, they gave the ſame force and authority to royal proclamations as to acts of parliament, thereby rendering all future parliaments, for the purpoſe of making laws, unneceſſary *.

Attainders and executions.

This parliament diſcovered as great forwardneſs in gratifying the reſentment, as the avarice and ambition of the king. A bill was brought into the houſe of peers by Thomas lord Cromwell, (who had now the higheſt ſeat in the houſe aſſigned him by a ſpecial act,) May 10th, for attainting the late marquis of Exeter, lord Montacute, ſir Edward Nevil, and others, which paſſed both houſes with great rapidity †. Next day lord Cromwell produced in the houſe a tunic of white ſilk, with the arms of England on the fore-part, and the device of the late inſurgents in the north on the back-part, which had been found among the clothes of the counteſs of Saliſbury by the lord admiral ‡. Upon this, Margaret counteſs of Saliſbury; Gertrude, marchioneſs of Exeter; ſir Adrian Forteſcue, and ſir Thomas Dingly; and cardinal Pole, ſon to the counteſs; were attainted of high treaſon, though no particulars of their guilt, or of the proceedings againſt them, are recorded in the Journals. The two knights were executed, the marchioneſs was pardoned, and the counteſs reſpited §.

Preparations for war.

The report of ſo many executions, and of the diſſolution of ſo many monaſteries in England, made a mighty noiſe on the continent. Not only the pope, but both the emperor and the king of France were ſhocked at the violence of theſe proceedings; and as theſe two princes

* Journals, 31 Hen. VIII. † Ibid. ‡ Herbert, p. 219. Hall, f. 234.
§ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 652.

ſeemed

ſeemed to be perfectly reconciled, Henry began to be apprehenſive of an invaſion. To be prepared for ſuch an event, he went to Dover, and ordered the fortifications of it to be repaired; viſited the ſea-coaſt, and directed bulwarks to be erected in various places; commanded his fleet to be made ready for ſea, and ſent commiſſions into every county to array all the men capable of bearing arms. He reviewed the militia of London May 8th, which made a moſt ſplendid appearance *. The parliament was adjourned, that the members might be preſent at this fine ſhow. But this was a falſe alarm. Theſe princes had other objects in view, and were not prepared for ſuch an undertaking. A. D. 1539.

Henry had now been more than a year a widower, and in that time had been engaged in ſeveral treaties of marriage, particularly in one with the ducheſs dowager of Milan, and in another with Mary of Guiſe, who married his nephew James V. of Scotland. Lord Cromwell wiſhed to ſee him united with a proteſtant princeſs, and recommended Anne, ſiſter to the duke of Cleves, who was reported to be a beauty, of which he knew Henry to be a great admirer. Cromwell was then a mighty favourite, having been lately admitted a knight of the garter, and created earl of Eſſex, and his recommendation was too ſucceſsful. The preliminaries were ſoon adjuſted, though one difficulty occurred. There had been a treaty of marriage begun between the lady Anne and the prince of Lorrain; and it became a queſtion how far that treaty had proceeded. But the duke of Cleves and his miniſters affirmed, that there had been no contract or eſpouſals; and of this they promiſed to produce ſufficient proof; on which the terms of the king's marriage with her were ſettled. She was brought over from Calais by the earl of Southampton with a fleet of fifty ſail, and landed at Deal December 27th, and by ſlow journies, and with a degree of expence and pomp unknown in mo- The king's marriage.

* Hall, f. 235.

dern

A. D. 1539. dern times, conducted to Greenwich, where the royal nuptials were ſolemnized January 6th, with extraordinary feſtivity and ſplendor *.

1540. Henry diſcontented. But in the midſt of all theſe outward appearances of joy and triumph the king was devoured by inward chagrin and diſcontent. Impatient to ſee his future queen, he had gone incognito to Rocheſter January 2d, and had a ſight of her without his being known. But ſhe appeared to him very different from what ſhe had been repreſented by her picture, and the deſcriptions he had received of her perſon; and he expreſſed his averſion and diſguſt to thoſe about him in very ſtrong but indelicate terms. He made himſelf known to her however, and received her with civility and even ſeeming kindneſs. But her converſation did not compenſate for the deficiency of her perſonal charms. She underſtood no language but her native German, had no knowledge of muſic, in which he delighted, and he perceived that ſhe would prove a very inſipid companion. He entertained ſome thoughts therefore of ſending her back unmarried. But upon further conſideration, this appeared to be a very dangerous meaſure in his preſent circumſtances. The emperor had lately paſſed through France, had ſpent ſome time with the king at Paris, and he ſtrongly ſuſpected that theſe two monarchs had formed ſome deſigns againſt him at the inſtigation of the pope. He knew that many of his own ſubjects were diſaffected, and he entertained ſtrong ſuſpicions of the deſigns of his nephew the king of Scotland, who had lately aſſumed the title of Defender of the Chriſtian Faith. To have ſent back the ſiſter of the duke of Cleves, and the ſiſter-in-law of the elector of Saxony, the moſt powerful prince in the Smalcaldic league, would have deprived him of all hopes of an alliance with that league, and left him expoſed to the aſſaults of his moſt formidable neighbours, without a ſingle ally. He reſolved therefore to proceed to the marriage, though with extreme reluctance. But his averſion and diſlike

* Hall, f. 238—242. Herbert, p. 223.

became

became greater after marriage than it had been before. Being aſked by Cromwell next morning, if he now liked the queen better than he did before; he anſwered: "Nay, much worſe; for that having found "by ſome ſigns that ſhe was no maid, he had no diſpoſition to meddle "with her *." He carefully concealed this ſecret for ſome time, and continued to treat her, in public, with every proper mark of attention and regard. A. D. 1540.

The parliament, after two prorogations, met at Weſtminſter April 12th. This was the firſt ſeſſion of the Engliſh parliament to which no abbots or priors were ſummoned, as all their monaſteries were now diſſolved, and their baronies annexed to the crown, which very much diminiſhed the number and the influence of the ſpiritual lords in that aſſembly. The ſeſſion was opened with a ſpeech by the lord chancellor Audley, in which he acquainted them that this parliament had been at firſt called, and was now again aſſembled, to promote the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the happineſs of the kingdom. Parliament.

It ſoon appeared, that the parliament was aſſembled at this time for a very unexpected purpoſe, of which the chancellor took no notice. That purpoſe was, to obtain a ſubſidy; though that ſame parliament had been told only about a year before, that if they granted the king all the poſſeſſions of all the monaſteries, (which they did,) neither he nor any of his ſucceſſors would have occaſion to demand any ſubſidies from their ſubjects †. A bill however for granting the king one tenth and one fifteenth was brought into the houſe of commons early in the ſeſſion. This muſt have excited great ſurpriſe. What was become of all that wealth ſo lately granted to the crown, which was to enrich it for ever, and put an end to all ſubſidies? This moſt ſhameful demand was not rejected; we are not even certain that it met with any oppoſition. This we know, that the bill was brought into the A ſubſidy.

* Herbert, p. 222.

† Coke's 4 Inſtitute, f. 44.

houſe

A. D. 1540. houſe of lords May 10th, read only once, and paſſed with the aſſent and conſent of all who were preſent, and ſo was expedited and concluded *. Party rage hath often clogged the wheels of government, and created oppoſition to the moſt ſalutary meaſures. But in this reign it had a contrary effect, and procured the moſt unanimous conſent to the moſt exorbitant demands. This ſeems to have been owing to the great power and awful character of the king, and to the earneſt deſire of each of the two parties, the proteſtants and papiſts, to gain him to their ſide, which they knew could only be done by a blind compliance with his will. The clergy were no leſs complaiſant and generous to the king than the laity. The convocation of Canterbury made him a free gift of four ſhillings in the pound of all their eccleſiaſtical revenues, and the convocation of York followed their example †. But though theſe grants paſſed in the parliament and convocation with great ſeeming unanimity, they were very far from being agreeable either to the clergy or laity; and they brought a great load of popular odium upon Cromwell, to whom they were imputed.

Knights of St. John diſſolved.

Henry's avarice was not yet ſatiated, nor the parliament weary of granting: for at the ſame time they diſſolved the order of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem in England, and granted all their houſes, lands, and goods, to the king ‡. The reaſons aſſigned for this, we are told, were theſe: "Becauſe they drew yearly great ſums out of "the kingdom, ſupported the uſurped power of the pope, had loſt "the iſland of Rhodes to the Turks, and becauſe their revenues "might be better employed §."

Cromwell impriſoned.

Theſe meaſures, though they were approved by parliament, were exceedingly unpopular, and excited univerſal murmurs againſt the king and his favourite Cromwell. But Cromwell was no longer a favourite. He had been the propoſer and promoter of the late joy-

* Journals, vol. i. p. 135.
† Wilkin. Con. vol. iii. p. 850.
‡ Journals, p. 136.
§ Herbert, p. 224.

leſs marriage with Anne of Cleves; and Henry, who was naturally fickle and impetuous in all his paſſions, began, about this time, to caſt an amorous eye on Catherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, which gave that duke, and the other heads of the popiſh party, great influence at court. By their whiſpers and miſrepreſentations of Cromwell's words and actions, the king's friendſhip for him was quite extinguiſhed, and he abandoned him to the malice of his enemies. He was accuſed of high treaſon at the council-board June 10th by the duke of Norfolk, and immediately committed to the Tower *. A. D. 1540.

Thomas lord Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, knight of the garter, lord chamberlain, and the king's vicegerent in ſpirituals, who a few weeks before had a place aſſigned him by act of parliament above all the ſpiritual and temporal peers of England, was carried from his ſeat in the council chamber Weſtminſter, through the ſtreets of London, to the Tower, at three o'clock in the afternoon June 10th, forſaken by all his friends, and followed by a prodigious crowd of people, hiſſing and curſing the fallen miniſter. The violence of Henry's paſſions was ſo well known, that none dared to plead the cauſe of one who had become the object of his anger, except the archbiſhop of Canterbury. That humane and generous prelate, though he knew his danger, wrote a long letter to the king, in which he enumerated the many great and good qualities of the degraded miniſter, and repreſented in very ſtrong terms the great improbability, or rather impoſſibility, that one who loved his king as he loved his God, who had ſerved him ſo long with ſo much fidelity, zeal, and ſucceſs, who depended ſo entirely upon him, and had received ſo many benefits from him, could be guilty of high treaſon. He even went ſo far as to ſay, "He was ſuch a ſervant, in my judgment, in wiſdom, diligence, "faithfulneſs, and experience, as no prince in this realm ever had †." But this letter had no effect. Cromwell's deſtruction was determined. Cromwell attainted.

* Journals, p. 143. † Herbert, p. 223.

A. D. 1540. A bill of attainder againſt him for high treaſon was brought into the houſe of lord June 17th, which is thus ſlightly mentioned in the Journals: "To-day was read the bill of attainder of Thomas earl of "Eſſex *." On the 19th of June this bill was read a ſecond and a third time, and paſſed, with the common conſent of all who were preſent, not one contradicting, and ſent to the commons †. We have not the leaſt hint in the Journals of any witneſſes having been examined, or of there having been any debate on this bill, in the houſe of lords. It ſeems to have met with oppoſition in the houſe of commons, though we know not the particulars; for we hear no more of it till June 29th, when, among other bills returned from the commons, is mentioned, "A bill of attainder of Thomas Cromwell, earl "of Eſſex, for the crimes of hereſy and high treaſon, formed anew "by the commons, and paſſed, with a proviſion annexed; which "bill was read a ſecond and third time, and the proviſion concerning "the deanry of Wells was read three times, and paſſed. At the ſame "time was returned with it the bill of attainder that had formerly "been ſent to the houſe of commons ‡." It appears therefore to have been the bill of the commons that finally paſſed both houſes. The preamble to that bill begins thus: "That the king having raiſed "Thomas Cromwell from a baſe degree to great dignities and high "truſts, yet he had now, by a great number of witneſſes, perſons "of honour, found him to be the moſt corrupt traitor and deceiver "of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole "reign §." It was the king then, or rather the prevailing party in his council, that found Cromwell to be ſo great a traitor, and that on the teſtimony of witneſſes that are not named. Then a long enumeration of his hereſies and treaſons follow in the act, and they are ſuch as theſe: That he had permitted people to go out of the kingdom without being ſearched; that he had given ſome commiſſions

* Journals, p. 145. † Ibid. p. 146. ‡ Ibid. p. 149. § Burnet, p. 278.

without

without the king's knowledge; that he had diſperſed heretical books, licenſed heretical preachers, checked informers againſt heretics, and infected many of the king's ſubjects with hereſy; that being a man of low birth he had amaſſed a great eſtate, and treated the nobility with contempt. For theſe and ſome vain paſſionate ſpeeches he was attainted to ſuffer the pains of death for hereſy and treaſon, as ſhould pleaſe the king *. A. D. 1540.

After this act of attainder had paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent, Cromwell wrote ſeveral letters to the king imploring mercy. With one of theſe, it is ſaid, he was much affected, commanded it to be read to him three times, and ſeemed to be on the point of relenting. But the charms of Catherine Howard, and the importunities of Norfolk and Gardiner, at length prevailed; all thoughts of mercy were ſtifled, and an order given for beheading him on Tower-hill July 28th, which was executed †. Thus fell Thomas Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, a ſacrifice to the paſſions of a capricious tyrant, to whom he had been too obſequious. He was certainly one of the greateſt and moſt extraordinary men of the age in which he flouriſhed, and (if we may believe that excellent prelate archbiſhop Cranmer, who was a very capable judge, and knew him well) one of the wiſeſt and moſt upright miniſters that had ever ſerved a king of England. His aſtoniſhing riſe, from one of the loweſt ranks in ſociety to a very uncommon degree of honour, power, and riches, without the advantage of education, ſeems to be a ſufficient indication of his abilities; and the very accuſations brought againſt him by the ingenuity and malice of his enemies, are ſuch, that they afford a ſtrong preſumptive proof of his prudence and integrity. Cromwell beheaded.

As ſoon as Henry had got his miniſter attainted, he proceeded to get his queen divorced; and he found his parliament as obſequious in the one as they had been in the other. A motion was made in the Commiſſion to try the king's marriage.

* Burnet, p. 278. † Ibid. p. 284.

A. D. 1540. houſe of lords July 6th, by the chancellor, lord Audley, "That "an humble addreſs be preſented to the king, that he would be gra- "ciouſly pleaſed to grant a commiſſion to the convocation of both "provinces, to try the validity of his preſent marriage, and that "application be made to the commons for their concurrence." This motion was unanimouſly approved. A deputation was ſent to the commons, who readily agreed to join in the addreſs. The whole houſe of lords, with about twenty of the commons, immediately went to court, and being admitted into the royal preſence, the lord chancellor ſaid, "That the two houſes of parliament wiſhed to men- "tion a matter of great moment to his majeſty, and humbly prayed, "that his moſt excellent ſerenity, out of his ineſtimable goodneſs, "would grant them his permiſſion." To which the king replied, "That he had ſo good an opinion of his two houſes of parliament, "that he was convinced they would not propoſe any thing that was "iniquitous, diſhoneſt, or unreaſonable; and therefore he permitted "them to ſpeak with impunity, and promiſed to hear them benignly "and favourably." The lord chancellor then preſented the above addreſs. To which the king made anſwer, "That though the matter "was of very great moment, yet he could not deny them, nor "refuſe to commit the affair of his marriage to the convocation of "both provinces; in which he believed there were as many grave, "learned, honeſt, and pious men as in any part of the world, and "did not doubt but their deciſion would be juſt, equitable, and "holy; and commanded letters patent to be made out for that pur- "poſe. He further called God to witneſs, that he would conceal "nothing that could contribute to diſcover the truth; and that he "had nothing at heart but the glory of God, the good of the "kingdom, and the freedom and majeſty of juſtice." Then the nobles, after a more than a moſt humble ſalutation, retired *. This

* Journals, vol. i. p. 153.

was

was a very ſplendid piece of political mummery, and was, no doubt, conducted with all becoming gravity. A. D. 1540.

On the ſame day, July 6th, the promiſed commiſſion paſſed the ſeals, and was next morning preſented to the convocation at Saint Paul's. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, made a long harangue to both houſes; in which he enumerated the various doubts that were entertained concerning the validity of the king's marriage. The convocation then appointed a committee of ſix biſhops and twelve members of the lower houſe, to examine witneſſes, and to procure all the information they could, and to lay it before the next meeting, between ſix and eight o'clock next morning, to which they adjourned. The committee ſpent that afternoon in taking the evidence of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the other great officers of the crown, and two of the king's phyſicians. Next morning the biſhop of Wincheſter laid all the evidences, with certain inſtruments relating to the marriage, before both houſes. The convocation, after ſpending a conſiderable time in reading theſe inſtruments and evidences, and deliberating on the merits of the cauſe, adjourned to three o'clock in the afternoon. At that meeting the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the aſſent of all the members of both houſes, pronounced the ſentence of divorce; declaring the marriage of the king and Anne of Cleves unlawful, and that both parties were at liberty to marry elſewhere. The convocation then appointed the former committee to prepare an inſtrument of the divorce in due form, to be preſented to the king, and adjourned to the next day. The committee, on that day, July 9th, laid before the convocation the inſtrument of the divorce; containing the grounds on which the ſentence was founded, which were theſe: 1. Becauſe there had been a treaty of marriage between the lady Anne and the prince of Lorrain, which perhaps proceeded to a contract, and renders your majeſty's marriage with that lady doubtful and perplexed. 2. Becauſe your majeſty was betrayed into that marriage by flattering deſcriptions

The king's divorce.

A. D. 1540. ſcriptions of the lady's beauty, which were falſe. 3. Becauſe your majeſty never gave your entire hearty conſent to that marriage, but entered into it with great inward reluctance. 4. Becauſe your majeſty had not conſummated, and neither will nor can conſummate that marriage by the *carnalis copula*. 5. Becauſe it will be a great advantage to the kingdom, that your majeſty be ſet at liberty to contract a marriage with ſome other lady. For all theſe cauſes together, and for each of them ſeparately, the convocation declared the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves unlawful, null, and void; and that he was at liberty to contract another marriage *. How trivial, or rather how ridiculous, are the cauſes aſſigned for their ſentence by this venerable aſſembly! How ſurpriſing the unlimited aſcendant that this prince poſſeſſed over the minds of his ſubjects in parliament and convocation! He could deſire nothing of theſe great aſſemblies, however unreaſonable, that they did not grant with perfect unanimity and ſeeming alacrity.

Confirmed by parliament.

This ſentence of the convocation was reported July 10th to the houſe of lords firſt, by archbiſhop Cranmer and the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the lords ſent theſe two prelates to communicate it to the houſe of commons. It was very agreeable to both houſes; for on Monday July 12th, a bill for annulling the king's marriage was brought into the houſe of lords, and the next day paſſed that houſe, and was ſent to the commons, who paſſed it with equal expedition †. This bill, with many others, received the royal aſſent July 24th, the laſt day of this parliament, in which (as we learn from the laſt article in the Journals) there had not been any difference of opinion on any ſubject in the houſe of lords during the whole ſeſſion ‡. A thing that could not have happened if there had been any freedom of debate.

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 851—855. Strype, vol. i. Records, p. 306—315.
† Journals, vol. i. p. 155. 157. ‡ Ibid.

When theſe tranſactions (which had been carefully concealed from her) were communicated to the divorced queen, by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Southamptõn, ſhe was not ſo much affected as might have been expected; and when they told her that the king deſigned to declare her his adopted ſiſter, to grant her 3000l. a year for her honourable ſupport, and to give her precedency of all the ladies of the court, except his queen and daughters, ſhe ſeemed to be perfectly ſatisfied. At Henry's deſire, ſhe even wrote to her brother and her family, aſſuring them that ſhe had been well uſed in England, where ſhe reſolved to remain; that ſhe was perfectly pleaſed with her ſituation, and intreated them not to be offended at any thing that had happened *.

A. D. 1540. Communicated to the queen.

If Henry was impatient to be divorced from one lady, he was no leſs impatient to be united to another. His marriage with Catherine Howard, daughter of lord Edmond Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfolk, was celebrated privately, and the exact date of it is not known; but ſhe was preſented Auguſt 8th to the whole court as queen †. The king was ſo much charmed with his new conſort, that he commanded his almoner to compoſe a form of thankſgiving to God, for the felicity he enjoyed in her ſociety; and on All-ſaints-day, when he received the ſacrament, he publicly gave thanks to God for the happy life he now led, and hoped to lead, with his beloved queen ‡. But this extraordinary felicity, of which he was ſo oſtentatious, was not of long duration.

King's marriage.

Much blood was ſhed on the ſcaffold, and many perſons of different ranks were executed in England this year; ſome on a civil, and others on a religious account. The moſt illuſtrious of theſe ſufferers was the aged counteſs of Saliſbury, Margaret, daughter of George duke of Clarence, ſecond brother of Edward IV. mother of Cardinal Pole, and the laſt of the royal race of the Plantagenets.

1541. Counteſs of Sarum beheaded.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 282. † Hall, f. 2. 43. Stowe, p. 581. ‡ Burnet, p. 311.

This

A. D. 1541. This venerable matron, deſcended from ſo long a line of kings, had been attainted by parliament A. D. 1539, and had been kept in priſon ever ſince. Diſregarding her ſex, her age, and her royal deſcent, ſhe was brought to a ſcaffold in the Tower May 27th, to be beheaded, where, though now in her ſeventieth year, ſhe behaved with great ſpirit and magnanimity. When ſhe was deſired to lay her head upon the block, ſhe obſtinately refuſed, ſaying, "I am no "traitor; I have done nothing to deſerve death; if you will have "my head," ſhaking her gray locks, "you muſt get it as well as "you can." In conſequence of this, ſhe was butchered rather than beheaded *. What provoked Henry to this act of cruelty it is impoſſible to diſcover. She was perhaps ſuſpected of exciting a trifling inſurrection in the north, which was inſtantly ſuppreſſed; or of correſponding with her ſon the cardinal. But the truth is, we are much better informed of the puniſhments than of the crimes of many eminent perſons in this reign.

Treaty. That warmth of friendſhip which had long ſubſiſted between the kings of France and England was now much abated; owing to various cauſes, but chiefly to the artifices of the emperor, who had long laboured to create a miſunderſtanding between them. Henry apprehended an attack upon his territories in France, and was at no little expence in repairing the fortifications, and ſtrengthening the garriſons of Calais and Guiſnes. But as both theſe princes wiſhed to avoid an open rupture at this time, they appointed commiſſioners to meet and ſettle the diſputes that had ariſen upon the marches, which were but trifling †.

Progreſs. There was nothing Henry more earneſtly deſired than to gain the friendſhip and confidence of his nephew, James V. of Scotland. With this view he had ſolicited an interview with him at York, to which, it is ſaid, James conſented. Henry therefore, with his queen

* Herbert, p. 227. † Hall, f. 243.

and

and court, ſet out on a progreſs into the north in the beginning of Auguſt, and in his way viſited thoſe parts of the country where the late inſurrections had chiefly prevailed. He was every where received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, and the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of loyalty; and the more effectually to conciliate his favour, and efface the remembrance of their former conduct, the towns, the nobility, and the clergy, preſented him with conſiderable ſums of money, according to their abilities. On the borders of Yorkſhire he was met by two hundred gentlemen, who fell upon their knees, and by the mouth of ſir Robert Bowes, made their ſubmiſſion, and preſented him with 900l. The archbiſhop, at the head of three hundred prieſts, met him three miles from York, and made him a preſent of 600l. Theſe were valuable preſents in thoſe times; but this mighty monarch did not diſdain to accept of 20l. from the town of Stamford *. The king and court of England remained twelve days at York, expecting the arrival of the king of Scotland. But that prince was perſuaded, or rather bribed, by his clergy to ſtay at home. Henry was greatly irritated at this diſappointment, and returned into the ſouth, fully determined on a war with Scotland. A. D. 1541.

The death of Cromwell, the king's matrimonial connection with the family of Norfolk, and his exceſſive fondneſs for his queen, had filled the popiſh party with the moſt ſanguine hopes, and the friends of the reformation with the moſt alarming fears. But an unexpected diſcovery was now made, which blaſted the hopes of the one, and diſpelled the fears of the other. When the king was in the north, one John Loſſels came to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and made a diſcovery of the queen's lewdneſs before her marriage, which he ſaid had been communicated to him by his ſiſter, who had been a ſervant in the family of the old ducheſs of Norfolk, in which the queen reſided. According to his account ſhe had conducted her Information againſt the queen.

* Hall, f. 244.

A. D. 1541. criminal intercourſe with two gentlemen, Mannoc and Derham, (who held offices in the family,) with ſo little ſecrecy, that her guilt was notorious, and could be clearly proved. Particularly, that three different female ſervants had at different times and frequently ſlept all night in the ſame bed with her and Derham, and had told this to his ſiſter and the other ſervants; and that Mannoc diſcovered ſuch an intimate knowledge of her perſon to ſome of his fellow-ſervants, as he could not have obtained without the moſt indecent and criminal familiarity. The archbiſhop wrote the particulars of this information, and communicated them to the lord chancellor and the earl of Hertford, who had been left at London. They all agreed that it was neceſſary to communicate this diſagreeable information to the king; and that unpleaſant taſk was laid upon the archbiſhop *.

The queen detected;

The king returned from his progreſs in the end of October, and it was on November 1ſt, when he took the ſacrament, that he thanked God publicly for the happineſs he enjoyed with his queen. The very next day the archbiſhop came to court, and had an audience of the king, in which he ſaid nothing of the queen; but as he was taking his leave, he put the paper containing Loſſels' declaration into his hand. Henry was then in the height of his dotage upon the queen; and it is impoſſible to conceive the ſurpriſe and horror with which he was ſeized on peruſing that paper. At firſt he exclaimed in rage that it was falſe; it was impoſſible. But when he became more cool, and obſerved how very pointed and particular the information was, he reſolved to make an inquiry. He ſent with great ſecrecy for the lord privy ſeal, the lord admiral, ſir Anthony Brown, and ſir Thomas Wriotheſly, and communicated to them, in confidence, the information he had received, and his reſolution to make an inquiry into the truth of it, but in ſuch a manner as to

* Herbert, p. 228.

give

give no alarm to the queen, and to raiſe no ſcandal. The earl of Southampton, lord privy ſeal, examined Loſſels, who adhered to the information he had given the archbiſhop, and had received from his ſiſter. The earl then went into Suſſex, where the ſiſter lived, on a pretence of hunting; called at her houſe as if by accident, and aſking ſome indifferent queſtions, inſenſibly led her to ſpeak of the queen, and what ſhe had ſaid to her brother. She confirmed every thing ſhe had ſaid, and added other circumſtances and evidences. On this, Mannoc and Derham were ſeized on different pretences; and being privately examined, and finding that their ſecrets were diſcovered, they confeſſed their own guilt and the queen's, and gave ſtill further information. When all this was reported to the king, he burſt into tears, and bitterly bewailed his unhappineſs *. A. D. 1541.

The queen was now removed to Sion, but without any indication of unkindneſs or diſgrace. There ſhe was examined by the primate, the chancellor, her uncle the duke of Norfolk, and ſome other lords. At firſt ſhe denied every thing: but when ſhe found that all was diſcovered, and would be proved, ſhe made and ſubſcribed a confeſſion of her guilt with Derham before her marriage, but denied any pre-contract, or any violation of her marriage vows †. In this, however, ſhe was not believed; for in the courſe of their inquiries it had been diſcovered that one Culpeper, a relation of her's by her mother, had carried on a criminal correſpondence with her before her marriage, and that when the court was at Lincoln on the late progreſs, he was introduced by lady Rochford into the queen's bed-chamber at eleven o'clock in the evening, and had remained there till four o'clock the next morning. Beſides, ſhe had procured a place at court for Derham, and taken one of the women who had been accuſtomed to ſleep with her and him into her ſervice. In a word, it was now fully proved, that ſhe had been a diſſolute

ſent to the Tower.

* Herbert, p. 228, 229. † Burnet, vol. iii. Records, p. 171.

A. D. 1541. wanton before her marriage, and made highly probable that ſhe intended to continue the ſame courſe of life after. On theſe diſcoveries Culpeper was impriſoned, and the queen and lady Rochford were ſent to the Tower. Derham and Culpeper were tried and found guilty November 30th, and were executed December 10th, at Tyburn *. The old ducheſs of Norfolk, the queen's grandmother, lord William Howard her uncle, and ſeveral other relations and ſervants of the family, were found guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, for concealing her vicious conduct, (which ſeems to have been no great ſecret,) and condemned to perpetual impriſonment †.

1542. Parliament. A new parliament met January 16th A. D. 1542, and was opened by the chancellor with a very long ſpeech, which (ſay the Journals) it would have required three hours to write, and one hour to read; and the clerks were ſo much engaged with other buſineſs, that they could only take down a ſmall part of it. An aukward apology for omitting every thing that related to the queen. What they have preſerved of this famous ſpeech is a ſpecimen of the moſt extravagant flattery. Among other things, the chancellor ſaid, "That when "his moſt ſacred majeſty came to the throne, he prayed to God to "grant him wiſdom and underſtanding; and the Almighty had "anointed him with the oil of wiſdom above his fellows, above all "the other kings of the earth, and above all his predeceſſors." Every time the king was named in this long ſpeech, which was very often, all the lords and commons bowed almoſt to the ground, to ſignify their approbation of the praiſes beſtowed upon him ‡. On the third day of the parliament the king received more incenſe of the ſame kind, and equally ſtrong, from Thomas Moile, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons.

The queen attainted and beheaded. The great end for which this parliament was called, was to diſpoſe of the queen, and make the king once more a widower; and they

* Stowe, p. 583. † Herbert, p. 229. ‡ Journals, p. 164, 165.

ſet

ſet about that buſineſs without delay; for the very next day, January 21ſt, a bill of attainder of Catherine Howard, late queen of England, and of Jane lady Rochford, for high treaſon; of Agnes ducheſs of Norfolk, lord William Howard, and others, for miſpriſion of treaſon; was brought into the houſe of peers, and read a firſt time *. On Saturday January 28th the lord chancellor repreſented to the houſe the great delicacy and caution that were to be uſed in trying a queen; and propoſed to appoint a committee to examine her, and report her anſwers to the king. This motion was univerſally approved; and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Southampton, and the biſhop of Weſtminſter, were appointed a committee for that purpoſe. But they were directed not to do any thing till they had conſulted the king and obtained his permiſſion. This mode of proceeding, it ſeems on further conſideration, did not pleaſe the king; for on Monday January 30th, the lord chancellor acquainted the houſe that a better method had occurred to the king's council, *viz.* to petition the king to grant his permiſſion to them to proceed and finiſh the queen's cauſe; and that when it was finiſhed he would give his royal aſſent, not in perſon, leſt that ſhould revive his ſorrow, which now began to abate, but by commiſſion; and that he would graciouſly pardon the members of his parliament, if in the courſe of this buſineſs any of them ſpoke diſreſpectfully of the queen. None of this tenderneſs was ſhewn by the king and parliament to the amiable and unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Next day the lord chancellor reported to the houſe, that their petitions had been preſented to the king, and that he had been graciouſly pleaſed to grant them all. The chancellor, February 11th, produced before both houſes an act of attainder of Catherine Howard, late queen of England, and of lady Jane Rochford, for high treaſon; of the ducheſs of Norfolk, the counteſs of A. D. 1542.

* Journals, p. 168.

Bridgwater

A. D. 1542. Bridgwater her daughter, the lord William Howard and his lady, other four men and five women, for miſpriſion of treaſon; ſigned by the king, as an evidence of his aſſent *. The day after, February 12th, the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on a ſcaffold in the Tower †. The execution of lady Rochford (who had been the chief inſtrument of the death of her own huſband lord Rochford, and of his ſiſter queen Anne Boleyn) revived the memory of theſe lamented ſufferers, and contributed ſtill further to convince the world of their innocence.

The act of attainder of the queen contained ſeveral curious clauſes, dictated, it is probable, by the preſent peeviſh diſcontented humour of the king. By one of theſe clauſes it was made high treaſon to conceal the incontinence of the queen for the time being. By another it was declared, that if the king, or any of his ſucceſſors, ſhould intend to marry any woman, believing her to be a clean and pure maid, and ſhe not being ſo, did not reveal the ſame to the king, it ſhould be high treaſon; and if any other perſon knew her not to be a maid and did not reveal it, it ſhould be miſpriſion of treaſon. By another, it was made high treaſon in the queen or prince's wife to ſolicit, by words or meſſages, any perſon to intrigue with them; and in any perſon, in like manner, to ſolicit them, and in all their confidents and abettors ‡. Theſe indelicate diſhonourable laws were repealed in the firſt year of the ſucceeding reign.

Negociations. Henry, as hath been already obſerved, had been greatly irritated at his nephew, James V. for not meeting him at York, and had reſolved upon a war with Scotland. But before he entered upon that war, he thought it prudent to ſecure a peace with France, that Scotland might receive no aſſiſtance from that quarter. With this view he ſent ſir William Paget to the court of France, to propoſe a renewal of the treaty of perpetual peace and amity. But the French

* Journals, p. 171, 172. 176. † Burnet, p. 313.

‡ Statutes, 33 Hen. VIII. c. 21.

miniſtry, knowing or ſuſpecting the deſign of this propoſal, replied, that the treaty was conditional, and that the king of England had violated theſe conditions. The ambaſſador recriminated, the negociation degenerated into angry altercations, and Paget, at his return, reported that there could be no reliance on the friendſhip of France *. Though king James had been prevailed upon by his clergy not to keep the appointment at York, he earneſtly deſired to avoid a war, and ſent the biſhop of Orkney and John Leirmont, maſter of his houſehold, to the court of England, to pacify his uncle, and regain his friendſhip. But theſe ambaſſadors met with a very cold reception; and the army deſigned for an invaſion of Scotland being now ready, Henry publiſhed a very long declaration of war, in which he inſiſted at great length on the antiquated claim of the kings of England to the ſuperiority of Scotland. He did not forget James's breach of his engagement to meet him at York, which was in reality the only thing of which he had any reaſon to complain. But he took care not to mention his real inducement to this war, which was to compel his nephew, ſince he could not perſuade him, to relinquiſh his alliance with France, and enter into an intimate union with England †. A. D. 1542.

War with Scotland.

The Engliſh army, conſiſting of twenty thouſand men well appointed, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, attended by ſix earls, and many lords, knights, and gentlemen, entered Scotland October 21ſt, burnt ſeveral villages, with the town and abbey of Kelſo, and returned to Berwick on the 29th of the ſame month. It is difficult to account for the ſudden retreat of this formidable army. An Engliſh hiſtorian ſays, they could ſtay no longer for cold and hunger ‡. But if warmth and plenty prevailed in England, they were never at a greater diſtance from it than ten miles. However that may be, as ſoon as the Engliſh retreated, the Scots prepared to invade England by the Weſt marches with an army of fifteen thouſand men. The king

* Herbert, p. 231. † Hall, f. 248—254. ‡ Id. ibid.

conducted

A. D. 1542. conducted his troops to Caerlaverock, where he remained: but when the army arrived at Solway-moſs, and were ready to enter England, Oliver Sinclair, the king's hated minion, was proclaimed general, which threw the whole army into confuſion, and a diſpoſition to diſband. Sir Thomas Wharton, warden of the Weſt marches, ſir William Muſgrave, and the baſtard of Dacres, at the head of a body of horſe, obſerving this diſorder, advanced, and to their great ſurpriſe met with no reſiſtance. Many lords, gentlemen, and others, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners to the firſt who approached them, while the reſt fled on every ſide *. When king James (who had of late diſcovered ſome ſymptoms of a diſordered imagination) received the news of this diſaſter, he became quite frantic, and ſoon after ſunk into a ſettled melancholy, from which he never recovered, but died December 14th, leaving an infant princeſs, only ſeven days old, heireſs of his dominions †: a princeſs who became the object of much ambitious competition and of many political intrigues during her life, and of much literary altercation after her death.

1543. Projected marriage. The earls of Caſſells and Glencarne, the lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Gray, with about twenty of the principal gentlemen who had been taken at Solway-moſs, were carried to London, and after two days impriſonment, they were committed to the cuſtody of certain prelates and noblemen, by whom they were hoſpitably entertained. When Henry heard of the death of king James and the birth of his daughter, he began to entertain thoughts of a marriage between his ſon the prince of Wales and the infant queen of Scotland, and invited his priſoners to Hampton Court to a royal feaſt. In the midſt of the feſtivity the project of the marriage was introduced, and the king, obſerving that it was approved by the Scotch lords and gentlemen, propoſed to give them their liberty, on condition that they promiſed to promote the marriage with all their

* Hall, f. 255. Stowe, p. 583. † Herbert, p. 233.

power

power in their own country, and that they gave hoſtages for their return into confinement if they proved unſucceſsful. They joyfully accepted theſe conditions, ſet out on their journey homeward January 1ſt A. D. 1543, and viſited the prince of Wales at Enfield the ſame day. At Newcaſtle they delivered their hoſtages to the duke of Suffolk, and arrived at Edinburgh about the middle of January *. A D. 1543.

There had been a kind of piratical war carried on between the French and Engliſh merchants all the preceding year, and now a national war appeared to be unavoidable. Henry had for a conſiderable time paſt been diſſatisfied with his former friend king Francis on various accounts, and had been ſecretly negociating an alliance with his great adverſary the emperor, with whom he had been long at variance. This negociation was brought to maturity in the beginning of this year, and on February 11th a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and friendſhip, between the emperor and Henry king of England, and their heirs and ſucceſſors for ever, was concluded, and ſigned by their plenipotentiaries †. This treaty is very long, and contains all the general articles inſerted in thoſe fragile ſhort-lived treaties of perpetual peace. By one article the two confederates agree to demand of the king of France, by their ambaſſadors at his court, That he break off all intercourſe with the Turk, and recal his reſidents; that he repay all the loſſes ſuſtained by Chriſtendom from the Turk by his procurement; that he ceaſe from war with the emperor, that he may be at liberty to defend Chriſtendom from the Turk; that he immediately pay the king of England all the arrears of his perpetual penſion, and give him lands as a ſecurity for the regular payment of it in future. If the king of France did not comply with theſe requiſitions, (which they perfectly well knew he would not,) they then agree to declare war againſt him, the emperor claiming Bur- Treaty.

* Hall, f. 255. † Rym. tom. xiv. p. 768—780.

A. D. 1543. gundy, and the king of England claiming the crown of France; and that they ſhould not make peace but by mutual conſent. By the ſubſequent articles the *quotas* of money and troops to be furniſhed by each of the contracting parties were ſettled *. After the concluſion of this treaty both princes prepared for war.

Subſidy. To be provided with money, the ſinews of war, the king held a ſeſſion of parliament, which began January 22d. A bill for granting the king a ſubſidy was brought up from the commons to the houſe of peers March 6th, and read next day for the firſt time, and ſent back to the commons: it was brought up again to the peers March 9th, with a proviſo annexed, which was read the day after: on the 14th it was ſent back to the commons with a proviſo for the town of Stamford, and on the 15th brought up again to the lords. No farther notice is taken of this bill (which had been thus toſſed between the two houſes) in the Journals. It appears, however, from the liſt of the acts made in this ſeſſion, that this bill did paſs both houſes, and received the royal aſſent †. The ſubſidy granted was as follows: "They who were in goods worth twenty ſhillings and upwards to "five pounds, paid four pence of every pound; from five pounds to "ten pounds, eight pence; from ten to twenty pounds, ſixteen "pence; from twenty and upwards, two ſhillings. All ſtrangers, as "well denizens as others, inhabiting here, double the ſum. As for "lands, fees, and annuities, every native paid eight pence in the "pound, from one pound to five pounds; from five to ten pounds, "ſixteen pence; from ten to twenty pounds, two ſhillings; from "twenty and upwards, three ſhillings. Strangers double theſe "rates ‡." The clergy of both provinces in convocation granted a ſubſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound of all their eccleſiaſtical revenues, to be paid in three years; and this grant was confirmed by an act of parliament §.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 768—780. Herbert, p. 236, 237.
† Journals, p. 213—235. ‡ Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 190. § Journals, p. 235.

A. D. 1543. Treaties.

When the Scotch lords and gentlemen above mentioned, accompanied by the earl of Angus and his brother ſir George Douglas, who had been fifteen years exiles in England, arrived at Edinburgh, they found their country in great confuſion: they immediately applied to James Hamilton earl of Arran, governor of the kingdom, and communicated to him the king of England's propoſal of a peace between the two nations, and of a marriage between the infant queen and his only ſon the prince of Wales. The governor approved of this propoſal, and promiſed to promote its ſucceſs with all his power. With this view he aſſembled a great council of the nobility January 27th, and laid the propoſal before them, which met with their approbation; and it was reſolved to ſummons a parliament to meet March 13th at Edinburgh. When the parliament met, few of the noblemen of the French party attended, and cardinal Beaton, the head of that party, was put in confinement. The majority therefore declared in favour of the peace and marriage; and William earl of Glencarne; ſir George Douglas, brother to the earl of Angus; William Hamilton, of Sanquhar; John Liermont, of Balcomy; and Henry Balnavis, ſecretary, were appointed commiſſioners May 4th to negociate theſe two important affairs *. Henry appointed the lord chancellor Audley, the duke of Norfolk, the biſhops of Wincheſter and Weſtminſter, the lord St. John, and ſir John Gage, his plenipotentiaries. The treaty of peace was eaſily concluded, and contained nothing uncommon: but the treaty of marriage was attended with more difficulty, and it took up a conſiderable time before all the conditions could be ſettled. At length, however, both treaties were ſigned July 1ſt at Greenwich. Henry had at firſt propoſed, that the infant queen ſhould be immediately ſent into England, and that the government of the kingdom, with the chief places of ſtrength, ſhould be committed to him as guardian to his ſon and future daughter-in-law; and

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 781—785.

A. D. 1543. theſe were the conditions which his priſoners had promiſed their endeavours to procure. But the Scots were too jealous of their independency, and had too little confidence in their powerful ambitious neighbour, to liſten to theſe propoſals. All he could obtain was, that he might ſend a nobleman, with his lady and family, to reſide with the queen, and aſſiſt in taking care of her health and education; and that, when ſhe was ten years of age, ſhe ſhould be conducted to Berwick, and there delivered to ſuch honourable perſons as were appointed to receive her: but that the marriage ſhould be ſolemnized by proxies, according to the rites of the church, before the queen left Scotland; and that if ſhe became a widow without iſſue by that marriage, ſhe ſhould be permitted to return to her own kingdom, free from all matrimonial engagements. By other articles, the freedom and independency of the kingdom, and the continuance of the earl of Arran in the government of it, were anxiouſly ſecured *. But all this was only the work of one party of the nobles and people of Scotland, and was ſoon overturned.

The king's marriage.

While Henry was thus employed in negociating a marriage for his ſon, he was not unmindful of one for himſelf. The late act of parliament rendered him a dangerous gallant to maiden ladies; he therefore made his addreſſes to a widow, and married the lady Catherine Parr, relict of the lord Latimer, and ſhe was preſented July 12th to the whole court as queen †.

War with France.

At the ſame time that Henry announced his marriage, he publiſhed his league with the emperor, and prepared for a war with France in conſequence of that league. The emperor began the war by an attack on the duke of Cleves, who, unable to reſiſt ſo powerful an enemy, ſubmitted, and renounced his alliance with France. Henry, agreeably to a ſtipulation in his treaty with the emperor, ſent ſix thouſand men, under the command of ſir John Wallop, to the

* Rym. p. 792—796. † Herbert, p. 239.

aſſiſtance

assistance of that prince. These troops landed at Calais, marched along the confines of France, and joined the imperial army at the siege of Landrecy. But this town was so bravely defended, that the emperor was obliged to raise the siege, and put his army into winter-quarters *. Thus ended this campaign, without any considerable advantage on either side. A. D. 1543.

In the mean time affairs had taken a very unfavourable turn in Scotland. Cardinal Beaton, by corrupting his keeper the lord Seaton, had obtained his liberty, and had called a meeting of the clergy at St. Andrews, to whom he represented, that if the marriage of the queen with the prince of Wales was not prevented, they would be ruined, and deprived of all their possessions: by which means he obtained a great sum of money from them, with which he confirmed and encouraged his own partisans, and gained some of the other party. The queen-mother, a lady of uncommon abilities and address, though she made the fairest professions to sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, secretly and cordially co-operated with the cardinal against the governor and the match with England. But the weakness and irresolution of the governor himself gave the greatest advantage to his enemies against him and his party. To keep him steady, Henry directed his ambassador to promise the lady Elizabeth in marriage to his son lord Hamilton: but nothing could give him that firmness and fortitude which nature had denied him. The queen and cardinal knew his timidity, and employed various arts to rouse his fears. For this purpose they employed his natural brother the abbot of Paisley, who resided constantly with him, and had a great ascendant over him. The governor's father had been divorced from his first lady, and the abbot assured him, that if he did not abandon the party that favoured England and the reformation, the cardinal was determined to prevail upon the pope to reverse the sentence of his father's di- Affairs of Scotland.

* Stowe, p. 585.

vorce,

A. D. 1543. vorce, and declare him illegitimate, by which he would not only loſe all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown, but that he would alſo be deprived of the eſtate and honours of his family, which would all devolve on his mortal enemy the earl of Lennox. To confirm his apprehenſions, they recalled the earl of Lennox from France, received him with the moſt oſtentatious marks of favour, and gave out that he was to marry the queen dowager, and to ſucceed to the crown, if the young queen died without iſſue. Greatly alarmed at this, the governor, after wavering ſome time between the two parties, he at laſt reſolved to abandon the party which had raiſed him to the government, and would have ſupported him, and to throw himſelf into the hands of the other party, who made him many ſpecious but fallacious promiſes. He had a private meeting with the cardinal at Callendar September 4th, in which all the terms of their agreement were ſettled, and rode with him the ſame evening to Stirling, where the two queens reſided: there, it is ſaid, he publicly abjured the doctrines of the reformers, to which he had before profeſſed an attachment; and put his ſon, lord Hamilton, into the cardinal's hands, to be educated by him, but in reality as a hoſtage for his own fidelity to his new engagements. The cardinal's party, being thus ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the governor and ſuch of his friends as followed him, proceeded to the coronation of the infant queen September 9th, when ſhe was only about ten months old *.

Breach with Scotland.

Henry was punctually informed of all theſe and many other events by his faithful reſident ſir Ralph Sadler, and plainly perceived that the predominant party were in the intereſt of France and Rome, and would not fulfil the treaty of marriage unleſs they were compelled. He reſolved therefore to renew the war, and began by encouraging the borderers to make incurſions into Scotland, and by ſeizing all the Scotch ſhips in the ports of England. This laſt meaſure (which was

* Sadler's Letters.

certainly

certainly very cruel) inflamed the rage of the Scots exceedingly, and rendered the whole nation almoſt unanimous againſt the marriage and peace with England. This diſpoſition of the people encouraged the governor, at the inſtigation of the cardinal, to call a parliament, which, on December 11th, declared, that Henry, king of England, had violated the late treaty of peace, on conſideration of which the treaty of marriage between their queen and the prince of Wales had proceeded, by ſeizing the Scotch ſhips: "Therefore my lord governor "and the three eſtates in parliament have declared, and do declare, "the ſaid treaties to be expired, and not to be kept in time coming, "on the part of Scotland, by law, equity, and reaſon *." On the ſame day two ambaſſadors from the king of France appeared in parliament, ſent, as they ſaid, by the moſt Chriſtian king, to renew all the ancient treaties of friendſhip between France and Scotland, and to make new ones, and to offer them aſſiſtance to protect their queen and country againſt the king of England. The parliament appointed the cardinal, the earls of Argyle and Murray, the lord St. John, and ſir Adam Otterburn, to treat with the French ambaſſadors, for renewing the old and making a new alliance between the two nations †. Thus, by the weakneſs of the governor of Scotland, the cunning of cardinal Beaton, and the paſſionate raſhneſs of the king of England, the pleaſing proſpect of peace and unity between the two Britiſh nations vaniſhed, and the flames of war were rekindled. A. D. 1543.

To be provided for a war againſt both France and Scotland, the king aſſembled his parliament January 14th at Weſtminſter. On the 24th of that month the bill for confirming the change of the king's ſtyle, from Lord of Ireland to King of Ireland, paſſed the houſe of peers, and was ſent to the commons, by whom it was alſo paſſed ‡. As the king intended to command his army in France, he thought proper to have the rule of ſucceſſion to the crown ſettled before his 1544. Parliament.

* Regiſters of Parliament, f. 103. † Ibid. f. 104.

‡ Journals, p. 240. Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 3.

departure.

A. D. 1544. departure. A bill for that purpoſe was brought into the houſe of peers February 7th, paſſed on the 9th, and ſent to the commons. No mention is made in the Journals of its being returned; but it appears from the liſt of the acts paſſed this ſeſſion, that it paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. By this act the crown was ſettled, 1. On Edward prince of Wales and his lawful iſſue: 2. On the king's iſſue by his preſent, or any future queen: 3. On the princeſs Mary and her lawful iſſue: 4. On the princeſs Elizabeth and her lawful iſſue: and failing all theſe, on ſuch as the king pleaſed to appoint by letters patent, or by his laſt will *. The parliament did not grant any ſubſidies in this ſeſſion, but they did what was equally advantageous to the ſovereign, and much more unjuſt and oppreſſive to many of the ſubjects. They releaſed the king from all obligation to pay any ſums of money he had borrowed from any of his ſubjects on the ſecurity of privy ſeals; and if he had paid all or any part of any of theſe ſums, it was to be refunded; and if any perſon had ſold his privy ſeal to another, he was to reſtore the price †. There could not be a more groſs violation of the firſt and plaineſt principles of juſtice than this; and yet this was done by the king and parliament of England.

Invaſion of Scotland. Henry determined to begin his martial operations by a formidable invaſion of Scotland, then in a moſt miſerable and diſtracted ſtate, ſeveral of the chief nobility ſtill adhering to the Engliſh intereſt, and family feuds raging with the greateſt violence. Edward Seymour earl of Hertford, uncle to the prince of Wales, was appointed commander in chief, and marched to Newcaſtle with the army, which was there taken on board a fleet of two hundred ſhips, commanded by John Dudley lord Liſle, admiral of England, and landed May 4th near Leith without oppoſition. On the approach of the army to the town a conſiderable body of horſe appeared; but finding them-

* Journals, p. 240. Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 1. Herbert, p. 241.
† Ibid. c. 12.

ſelves

ſelves too weak to encounter an army ſo numerous and well appointed, they retreated, and the Engliſh entered Leith, where they found more valuable plunder than they expected. The next day the Engliſh army marched to Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which offered to ſurrender the town, on condition of ſecurity for their lives and properties. Theſe offers being rejected, they ſhut their gates, and excluded their enemies one day: but next morning the Engliſh burſt open one of the gates, and finding the place almoſt quite deſerted, the ſoldiers were permitted to plunder it; and in that employment they ſpent three days, aſſiſted by ſix thouſand men, who had marched from Berwick. Having ſtripped the town of every thing that was valuable, they ſet it on fire in ſeveral places; and then plundered and burnt the towns, villages, and gentlemen's ſeats, in the neighbourhood. At length, weary with deſtroying, and loaded with booty, they returned to Leith, burnt that place, demoliſhed the mole, embarked May 15th, and ſet ſail. In their paſſage down the Firth they viſited all the ports on both ſides, and either burnt or carried off all the ſhipping. The army from Berwick returned to that place by land, marking their way with deſolation *. By this unexpected invaſion Henry did the Scots incredible miſchief, and ruined the richeſt part of their country; but this rough kind of courtſhip was ſo far from promoting the object he had in view, the union of the two kingdoms by the marriage of his ſon with the infant queen of Scotland, that it rendered that project perfectly deſperate. A.D. 1544.

It would be endleſs to trace the fluctuations of the Engliſh and French parties in Scotland at this time. Some of the nobility were almoſt daily changing ſides, as circumſtances varied. It may not be improper, however, to mention one of theſe changes, becauſe it was productive of important conſequences. After the earl of Lennox had anſwered the purpoſe for which he had been recalled from Treaty with the earl of Lennox.

* Hall, f. 258. Herbert, p. 242.

A. D. 1544. France, and had intimidated the governor ſo much that he had abandoned the Engliſh and embraced the French party, he found himſelf neglected and ſlighted by the queen dowager and by cardinal Beaton. He found too, that his return to France was precluded by their miſrepreſentations, and that his brother, the lord Aubigny, was deprived of his employments and impriſoned. Irritated at this ungrateful treatment, the earl conveyed a hint to king Henry, that he was diſpoſed to eſpouſe his cauſe upon proper terms. In conſequence of this hint, Henry appointed the lord Wharton and ſir Robert Bowes his commiſſioners, to treat with the earl of Glencarne, Robert biſhop of Caithneſs, and Hugh Cunningham, commiſſioners of the earl of Lennox, the earl of Glencarne acting alſo for himſelf as a party. Theſe commiſſioners concluded a treaty May 17th at Carliſle. By this treaty the two earls engage, 1. To do every thing in their power to prevent the young queen's being ſtolen away and ſent out of the kingdom: 2. To endeavour to ſeize the perſon of the infant queen, and deliver her to Henry, to be educated in his court, and married to his ſon: 3. To labour to procure the protectorſhip of the kingdom of Scotland to Henry during the queen's minority. Henry, on his part, engaged, 1. To give the earl of Glencarne one thouſand crowns in hand, and ſoon after a penſion of 250l. a year to himſelf, and of 125l. a year to his eldeſt ſon: 2. To appoint the earl of Lennox governor of Scotland under him when he had obtained the protectorſhip: 3. To ſupport the earl's ſucceſſion to the crown againſt the earl of Arran, if the young queen died without iſſue: 4. To give him his niece, the lady Margaret Douglas, in marriage *. By this marriage, which was ſoon after celebrated, the earl became grandfather to the firſt monarch of Great Britain. By a ſubſequent treaty, June 26th, the earl engaged to ſurrender the caſtle of Dumbarton and the iſland of Bute to Henry for an eſtate in England worth ſeventeen

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 22—26. 47.

hundred

hundred marks a year; and the earl was furniſhed with a fleet of fourteen ſhips to carry ſix hundred men to garriſon the caſtle. But this enterpriſe was defeated by the patriotiſm of George Stirling of Gloral, captain of Dumbarton, who, though he was a friend to Lennox, was ſtill a greater friend to his country; for when he was informed that the caſtle was to be delivered to the Engliſh, he refuſed to ſurrender it, and obliged the earl to retire with precipitation *. A. D. 1544.

Theſe operations in Scotland did not divert Henry from his intended expedition into France, in conſequence of a plan that had been ſettled between him and the emperor in the preceding winter. Having appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, and ſent his army to the continent in three diviſions, the firſt commanded by the duke of Norfolk, the ſecond by the duke of Suffolk, the third by lord Ruſſel, the king, with a numerous train of nobles, went on board a beautiful ſhip, whoſe ſails were of cloth of gold, and landed July 14th at Calais. The firſt diviſion of the Engliſh, under Norfolk, joined the imperial army; the ſecond and third inveſted Boulogne. Henry, after ſpending ſome time at Calais, joined his army before that place, which was ſurrendered September 14th on honourable terms †. Boulogne taken.

The king of France, ſenſible of his inability to contend long againſt two ſuch powerful adverſaries as the emperor and the king of England, endeavoured to diſunite them, and made application to each of them for a ſeparate peace. To Henry he wrote a letter with his own hand, deſiring a ſafe-conduct to the ambaſſadors he deſigned to ſend to treat of a peace. The ſafe-conduct was ſent, and the ambaſſadors arrived at a caſtle near the Engliſh camp, where the negociation commenced ‡. But this negociation was only intended to conceal a more ſerious one, that was carried on with great ſecrecy by the intervention of a Dominican friar, between Francis and the em- End of the campaign.

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xv. p. 29. † Herbert, p. 245. Rym. p. 52, &c.
‡ Rym. p. 51.

A. D. 1544. peror, which terminated, September 19th, in a ſeparate peace between theſe two monarchs, without the leaſt regard to the king of England *. As ſoon as this peace was publiſhed, the French ambaſſadors broke off the conferences, and retired. The duke of Norfolk, who beſieged Montreuil, in conjunction with the imperial troops, being abandoned by theſe troops on the peace, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and rejoin the army at Boulogne with his diviſion. The emperor acted on this, as on ſome other occaſions, in a very deceitful manner: he not only violated the ſolemn oath he had taken not to make peace without the participation of his ally, but after drawing that ally into a war, he abandoned him in a very dangerous ſituation. The Engliſh army was much diminiſhed by the two ſieges of Montreuil and Boulogne, and the garriſon put into the laſt of theſe places; and the Dauphin was advancing by forced marches at the head of forty thouſand men to attack them. Henry, ſenſible of his danger, embarked at Boulogne September 30th, leaving the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to conduct the remains of the army to Calais, where they went on board a fleet ready for their reception October 9th, and ſailed for England †. Thus ended this campaign, which, at the opening of it, filled France with terror, and threatened it with the greateſt calamities.

1545. Attempts to retake Boulogne.

Though Francis had great reaſon to rejoice at the diſſolution of the formidable confederacy that had been formed againſt him, he lamented the loſs, and ardently deſired the recovery, of Boulogne. The dauphin attempted to retake it by ſurpriſe, and a part of his army got into the lower town in the night by the breaches before they were repaired; but the ſoldiers diſperſing in the dark in queſt of plunder, the Engliſh ruſhed down upon them from the high town, killed many, and put the reſt to flight ‡. Some other attempts that were made during the winter were equally unſucceſsful. When the dauphin's army retired, the marſhal de Buz was left with a con-

* Hiſtoire de France, par Garnier, tom. xxv. p. 452.
† Herbert, p. 248. Rym. p. 57. ‡ Herbert, p. 248.

ſiderable

ſiderable body of men near Boulogne to haraſs the garriſon, and to protect the workmen employed in building a fort at the mouth of the harbour, to prevent the admiſſion of ſupplies from England. But the earl of Hertford, having collected ſome troops from the neighbouring towns, formed a ſmall army, with which he aſſaulted the French under de Buz, and compelled them to retire to a greater diſtance with conſiderable loſs *. A. D. 1545.

The taking of Boulogne occaſioned great rejoicings in England: but, like many other conqueſts, it was a real loſs to the kingdom. The acquiſition of it had coſt 586,718 l. and the lives of ſome hundreds of brave men; and the reſolution to retain it, retarded the return of peace, and threatened the nation with a much greater loſs both of men and money. To repleniſh his exhauſted coffers, and prepare for another campaign, Henry had recourſe to the arbitrary illegal method of demanding a benevolence, and commiſſioners were appointed in all parts of the kingdom to perſuade, or rather to compel, the ſubjects to make the king a free gift. The commiſſioners for London, where the greateſt ſums were expected, met at Baynard's caſtle January 12th, but found an uncommon reluctance in the rich citizens to part with their money. To overcome this reluctance, it was thought neceſſary to employ ſome wholeſome ſeverities; and alderman Read, one of the richeſt and moſt refractory citizens, was ſent as a common ſoldier into the army againſt Scotland †. Benevolence.

Francis, having now only one enemy to contend with, determined to make one great effort for recovering Boulogne, and the other towns poſſeſſed by the Engliſh in France, and even for invading England. With that view he collected all the ſtout ſhips in the different ports of France, brought twenty-five gallies from the Mediterranean, and formed a fleet of two hundred ſail at Havre-de-Grace. An army embarked on board this fleet, which ſetting ſail arrived at Military operations.

* Herbert, p. 249. † Id. ibid. Rym. p. 84.

St.

A. D. 1545. St. Helen's July 18th, cannonaded the Engliſh fleet in Portſmouth roads, and landed ſome troops on the Iſle of Wight. Theſe troops, after ſkirmiſhing ſome days with the militia of the country, re-embarked. They made ſimilar deſcents on the coaſts of Suſſex, but were every where repulſed; and finding that they could make no impreſſion on a country ſo well defended, this great fleet returned to the port from whence it had ſailed, without having effected any thing of importance. The land army of France, though numerous and well appointed, was not more ſucceſsful. After looking at Boulogne and Guiſnes, and not daring to beſiege either of them, that great army of almoſt forty thouſand men ravaged the defenceleſs country of Oye, from whence the garriſon of Calais uſed to get forage and proviſions, and then went into winter-quarters *. Henry had taken into his pay ten thouſand lanſquinets and four thouſand horſe, levied in Germany; but the emperor refuſed them a paſſage through his territories. Diſappointed of ſo great a reinforcement, the Engliſh were obliged to remain on the defenſive all this campaign.

Francis, to cauſe a diverſion in the north of England, ſent Montgomery, lord of Lorges, into Scotland in the beginning of June this year, with three thouſand foot and five hundred horſe; and the Scots raiſed an army of fifteen thouſand, and, in conjunction with their French auxiliaries, marched to the Tweed, and ſent ſome flying parties to plunder the Engliſh borders. But though they were urged to it by the French commander, they could not be prevailed upon to invade England in a body; and after remaining on the borders till their proviſions were conſumed, they diſbanded and returned home. After their retreat, the earl of Hertford, with twelve thouſand men, entered Scotland and plundered the Merſe †.

Parliament. Though Henry had lately extorted great ſums of money from his ſubjects, by what was very improperly called a benevolence, theſe

* Memoires du Bellai, tom. vi. p. 56, &c.

† Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. iv. p. 328, &c.

ſums were far from being ſufficient for defraying the expences of his wars, and ſupplying his other wants: he had therefore recourſe to a parliament that met at Weſtminſter November 23d, and granted him a ſubſidy of two ſhillings and eight pence in the pound on goods, and four ſhillings in the pound on lands, to be paid in two years. The clergy in convocation alſo granted him ſix ſhillings in the pound of their benefices, and that grant was confirmed by parliament. Not contented with all theſe, Henry prevailed upon this liberal obſequious parliament to make him a ſtill more valuable and extraordinary grant. After the diſſolution of the monaſteries, there ſtill remained a great number of colleges, chapels, chantries, hoſpitals, and other fraternities of ſecular prieſts, endowed with lands, rents, and ſtipends, for ſaying a certain number of maſſes for the ſouls of their founders and their families. Henry had for ſome time paſt been tampering with the poſſeſſors of theſe foundations to ſurrender their endowments to the crown, and had in that way obtained the poſſeſſions of twenty-four of them. But that method was troubleſome and dilatory. The parliament at one blow diſſolved them all, and gave their houſes, lands, and goods of every kind, to the king *. Proſtitute as parliaments were at this time, it ſeems highly improbable that they meant to diſſolve the colleges in the two univerſities: but the act was conceived in ſuch general terms, that the colleges were alarmed, and applied to people in power for their protection. Their fears were ſoon diſpelled, by aſſurances that no harm was intended them †. Henry was ſo pleaſed with this parliament, that he honoured it with an uncommon mark of his regard, by delivering a long ſpeech from the throne to both houſes on December 24th, the laſt day of the ſeſſion: in that ſpeech he thanked them for their ſubſidy, and for their grant of the colleges, chapels, &c. which he valued more for their love to him, from which they had proceeded, than for the money they

A. D. 1545.

* Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 339. Rym. p. 65.

would

A. D. 1545. would bring; and aſſured them, that he would make a better uſe of that money than they could either imagine or deſire. After many ſtrong profeſſions of extraordinary love to all his ſubjects, he reprimanded both the clergy and laity for giving one another bad names; and told them, that if they did not agree better, he would be obliged to chaſtiſe them *.

1546. Military operations. There were frequent ſkirmiſhes at the end of the laſt and the beginning of this year, between the French under marſhal de Buz, and the Engliſh under the earl of Surry, governor of Boulogne. In one of theſe ſkirmiſhes the Engliſh ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs, and were put to flight. Henry, upon hearing this, recalled the earl of Surry, and appointed the lord Grey of Wilton governor in his room. Surry, an accompliſhed, brave, and high-ſpirited nobleman, was enraged at this affront beyond meaſure, and dropped ſome paſſionate threatening expreſſions, which were reported to the king, and increaſed his diſlike and jealouſy of the Norfolk family †.

Peace with France. Two attempts had already been made to bring about a peace between France and England, but without ſucceſs. The French negociators, on both theſe occaſions, obſtinately inſiſted on the reſtitution of Boulogne, and the comprehenſion of the Scots in the treaty; both which thoſe of England as obſtinately refuſed: for Henry paſſionately deſired to preſerve Boulogne as a monument of his glory, and to be at liberty to take vengeance on the Scots, againſt whom he was greatly incenſed. But both princes were now ſo heartily tired of the war, and had ſo many reaſons to wiſh for peace, that they appointed their plenipotentiaries to meet at Campes, between Guiſnes and Ardres, where, on June 7th, a treaty of peace was concluded and ſigned. Beſides the uſual articles of the renewal of amity, commerce, &c. it was ſtipulated, that Francis ſhould pay to Henry and his ſucceſſors the penſions due by former treaties: that

* Hall, f. 261. † Rym. p. 80—90. Herbert, p. 254.

Henry

Henry ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Boulogne eight years without moleſtation; that at the end of theſe eight years Francis ſhould pay to the king of England two millions of crowns as the arrears of penſions, and the expence of keeping up and repairing the fortifications of Boulogne; and that when that ſum was paid, the king of England ſhould ſurrender Boulogne to the king of France. The Scots were comprehended in this peace; and Henry engaged not to make war upon them, if they did not give him ſome new provocation *. Francis ſwore to the obſervation of this treaty Auguſt 1ſt, before the Engliſh commiſſioners; as did Henry, on St. Bartholemew's day, before the commiſſioners of France †. The Scots accepted of the comprehenſion Auguſt 14th, with a ſaving of the rights of their queen, and the liberties of their country ‡. A. D. 1546.

Henry for ſeveral years had been growing more and more corpulent, and was now become very unwieldy and dropſical: he had beſides a ſore in one of his legs, to which the humours of his body flowed, and gave him great uneaſineſs. This rendered his temper, which was naturally paſſionate and impatient of contradiction, intolerably peeviſh and iraſcible. Few approached him without fear, or converſed with him without danger. To this diſeaſed irritability of temper his queen had almoſt fallen a ſacrifice. He was vain of his theological learning, and fond of diſplaying it in converſation. The queen, who ſecretly favoured the principles of the reformers, ſometimes ventured to ſtart objections to his arguments, and ſupported her objections with too much firmneſs and ability. This was more diſagreeable to the king than ſhe imagined; and, in a peeviſh humour, he complained of it to Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, and the lord chancellor Wriotheſly, who greedily ſeized the opportunity of inflaming his anger, by repreſenting the queen as a moſt dangerous heretic, and the great encourager of heretics; and wrought up his paſſion to ſuch a pitch, The queen in danger.

* Rym. p. 94—98. † Ibid. p. 98. Hall, f. 262. ‡ Ep. R. S. tom. ii. p. 354.

A. D. 1546. pitch, that he directed the lord chancellor to draw up articles of impeachment againſt her, which he ſigned. But the chancellor having dropped this paper, it was found by one who carried it to the queen. Alarmed at her danger, and ſuſpecting the cauſe of the king's diſpleaſure, ſhe reſolved to correct her error and regain his favour. When ſhe waited upon him, and he propoſed to renew the diſpute in which they had been engaged, ſhe modeſtly declined the combat, ſaying, that it did not become her, a weak woman, to diſpute with one who, by his ſuperior learning, was intitled to dictate not only to her, but to the whole world; and that if ever ſhe had pretended to diſpute any thing he advanced, it was for the ſake of information, and to engage him in diſcourſe, which diverted his pain, and from which ſhe received the greateſt inſtruction and delight. This ſeaſonable piece of flattery appeaſed his anger, and revived his affection. He embraced her tenderly, and aſſured her of his unchangeable favour and protection. Soon after this, as they were walking in the garden, the chancellor entered, followed by forty purſuivants, to ſeize the queen, and carry her to the Tower: but the king advanced to meet him, and, after treating him very roughly, calling him knave, fool, and beaſt, he commanded him to be gone. The queen interpoſed in his favour; to whom Henry ſaid, ſmiling: "Poor ſoul! you know not how little this man deſerves your good "offices*." The queen having made this fortunate eſcape, took care not to renew the diſpute with ſo dangerous an antagoniſt.

The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surry impriſoned.

The king's jealous and violent ſpirit proved more fatal to two of his greateſt ſubjects, the duke of Norfolk and his ſon the earl of Surry. The duke had long enjoyed a very high degree of favour, and had merited that favour by the moſt important ſervices to his country, and the moſt unlimited compliance with the king's will in all things, even in oppoſition to his religious principles, his family, and party

* Knox, vol. ii. p. 58. Speed, p. 780. Herbert, p. 263. Burnet, p. 344.

connexions.

connexions. His high deſcent, his noble alliances, his places of power and profit, his immenſe eſtate, and his numerous followers, rendered him by far the greateſt and moſt powerful ſubject in the kingdom, if not too great and powerful for a ſubject. Though he had complied with all the changes in the church to pleaſe the king, he was zealouſly attached to the ancient eſtabliſhment, and was the head of the popiſh party, which added greatly to his influence. His daughter had been married to the king's natural and beloved ſon the duke of Richmond. Two of his nieces had been queens, and he had abandoned them both, the innocent as well as the guilty, to gratify the king's paſſions, and preſerve his favour. Notwithſtanding all theſe circumſtances, which ſeemed to render his greatneſs perfectly ſecure, he and his ſon were both arreſted in one day, December 7th, and conducted to the Tower, without having apprehended themſelves to have been in any danger, and without knowing of one another's misfortunes. At what time, and for what reaſons, Henry conceived this violent animoſity againſt the duke and his ſon, who had ſo long poſſeſſed his favour, it is impoſſible to diſcover with certainty. His enmity againſt them could not have been of an old date, as he had a little time before given them eſſential proofs of his confidence and favour, particularly by appointing the earl of Surry governor of Boulogne. The crimes of which they were accuſed, if crimes they can be called, were ſo frivolous, that they could not be the real cauſes of a wrath ſo violent and implacable: it ſeems probable that it was their greatneſs rather than their guilt, and the king's exceſſive jealouſy, inflamed by artful whiſperers, that involved them in this diſtreſs. Theſe whiſperers were the more dangerous, that they were of the duke's own family, which was unhappily divided. He had been ſeparated ſome years from his ducheſs, who was his moſt inveterate enemy; and the earl of Surry was at variance with his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Richmond; and both theſe ladies gave every information they could, the one againſt her huſband, and the other A. D. 1546.

A. D. 1546. againſt her brother, putting the worſt conſtruction on all their words and actions *. Some other perſons, who bore no good will to the duke and his ſon, as Elizabeth Holland, who had been the duke's miſtreſs, ſir Richard Southwell, and ſir Edmund Knivet, contributed to increaſe the king's jealouſy, by reporting ſome of their expreſſions of anger and diſcontent. A dryneſs had alſo taken place between them and the Seymour family, who, on account of their near relation to the prince, expected to have the chief direction of affairs in the next reign, and dreaded their great power and ambitious ſpirit †.

1547. The earl of Surry beheaded.

The earl of Surry, being a commoner, was tried at Guildhall January 13th, before the lord chancellor, the lord mayor, and other commiſſioners, by a jury of commoners. The chief thing laid to his charge was, his quartering the arms of Edward the Confeſſor, which was conſidered as a proof of his aſpiring to the throne. To this he anſwered, that his anceſtors had borne thoſe arms, and that he was authoriſed to bear them by the heralds. It was proved, that he kept certain Italians in his family, who were ſuſpected to be ſpies; that he converſed much with foreigners, which made it probable that he correſponded with cardinal Pole; that he had dropped ſome expreſſions reflecting upon the king and his government, which indicated a deſign to raiſe a rebellion. To theſe ſtrange accuſations he made acute, ingenious, and ſpirited anſwers. But his acuteneſs, ingenuity, and boldneſs, and even his innocence, availed him nothing. He was found guilty of high treaſon, for which, on January 19th, he was beheaded ‡.

Duke of Norfolk attainted.

The duke of Norfolk diſcovered an extreme anxiety to ſave his own life, and the honours and fortunes of his family, after his commitment. With this view, he wrote a very pathetic and affecting letter to the king, containing the moſt ſolemn proteſtations of his

* Herbert, p. 264. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

innocence

innocence and loyalty, and the moſt earneſt ſupplications for mercy. A. D. 1547. Finding that had no effect, he went to the other extreme, of aggravating his own guilt, and the guilt of his unhappy ſon, in a confeſſion he emitted before a committee of the privy council *; but without avail: Henry was implacable. The parliament met January 14th; and on the 18th of that month, the day before the earl of Surry was beheaded, a bill was brought into the houſe of peers for attainting Thomas duke of Norfolk and his ſon Henry earl of Surry, and read a firſt time. On the 19th it was read a ſecond time, and on the 20th it was read a third time and paſſed, and ſent to the commons, from whom it was returned on the 24th. So impatient was Henry in his laſt moments to accompliſh the ruin of a nobleman connected with him by many endearing ties, who had done him many important ſervices, and had complied with his will in all things during his whole reign. The bill received the royal aſſent by commiſſion on Thurſday the 27th, and on Friday the 28th, early in the morning, the king died. The parliament met on the Saturday and did buſineſs, and was prorogued to Monday the laſt of January; and on that day the commons being ſent for to the houſe of peers, the chancellor acquainted both houſes, that king Henry VIII. had died on the Friday before, early in the morning. The late king's laſt will was read, and the parliament was diſſolved †. The death of the king ſaved the duke of Norfolk's life; as it was not thought proper to begin the new reign with the execution of the firſt nobleman in the kingdom.

Henry's laſt will was dated December 30th, A. D. 1546; and as he was authoriſed by an act of parliament to regulate by his teſtament the ſucceſſion to the crown, it came to be a matter of great importance at that time, and a ſubject of no little controverſy afterwards. Accordingly, by his teſtament written on paper, he bequeathed his Henry's laſt will.

* Herbert, p. 265, 266. † Journals, vol. i. p. 287—291.

crown

A. D. 1547. crown and dominions to his ſon prince Edward and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten; failing ſuch heirs, to his daughter the princeſs Mary and her heirs; failing theſe, to his daughter the princeſs Elizabeth and her heirs; failing theſe, to the lady Fraunces, eldeſt daughter of his late ſiſter the French queen, and her heirs; failing theſe, to the lady Eleanor, youngeſt daughter of the French queen, and her heirs; and failing theſe, to his next lawful heir *. His two daughters Mary and Elizabeth being unmarried, it was declared, that if they married without the conſent of his executors, or the major part of them, they ſhould loſe their right to the ſucceſſion, and be conſidered as being dead without lawful heirs. If this was really the laſt will of Henry VIII. this part of it appears to have been dictated by paſſion, rather than by a regard to juſtice: for by it the heirs of his eldeſt ſiſter, Margaret queen of Scotland, were put out of the natural order of ſucceſſion, if not altogether excluded. To this queen he gave 3000l. in plate and jewels, and 1000l. in money, beſides her jointure. To each of his two daughters he gave 10,000l. in plate, jewels, and furniture, as a marriage portion, and an annuity of 3000l. to live upon while they were unmarried. He gave conſiderable legacies to each of his ſixteen executors, and to forty-ſix other noblemen and gentlemen. He did not forget to appoint a great number of maſſes to be ſaid for the health of his ſoul †. Objections have been made to the genuineneſs of this will; but they ſeem only to make it probable that it was made in haſte, and that Henry was aſſiſted in the writing of his ſubſcription ‡.

When this will was made, Henry was in ſo great diſtreſs, that it was viſible to all about him that he could not long ſurvive; but ſo awful was his character, and ſo dreadful his diſpleaſure, that none dared to give him the leaſt hint of his approaching diſſolution. At

* Rym. tom. xv. p. 110—117. † Ibid.
‖ Burnet, b. iii. Records, No. xxx. Harbin on Hereditary Right, &c. p. 186—208.

length,

length, when it was evident that he had not many hours to live, ſir Anthony Denny had the courage to acquaint him that his death was drawing near, and to aſk him if they ſhould ſend for any clergyman. He replied, If any, Cranmer; who was at Croydon. When he arrived, the king was ſpeechleſs; but knowing him, he gave him his hand. Being deſired by Cranmer to give ſome ſign that he died in the hopes of ſalvation through the mercy of God and the merits of Jeſus Chriſt, he ſqueezed his hand and expired, in the fifty-ſixth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth year of his reign *. A. D. 1547.

Henry was ſix times married. Two of his queens were beheaded; two of them divorced; one of them died ſoon after her marriage, poſſeſſed of her huſband's affections; the laſt, after narrowly eſcaping the block, ſurvived him. By his firſt queen, Catherine of Spain, he had two ſons who died in their infancy, and one daughter, named Mary, afterwards queen of England. By his ſecond queen, Anne Boleyn, he had one daughter, named Elizabeth, who ſucceeded her ſiſter in the throne. By his third queen, Jane Seymour, he had one ſon, named Edward, his immediate ſucceſſor. By his laſt three queens he had no iſſue. By Elizabeth Blount, daughter of ſir John Blount, he had a natural ſon named Henry, of whom he was exceedingly fond. Before he was ſeven years of age he made him a knight of the garter, created him earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond and Somerſet, appointed him warden of the marches towards Scotland, and granted him many great eſtates. This young prince, who was univerſally admired for the beauty of his perſon, the variety of his accompliſhments, and the excellence of his diſpoſitions, was married to the lady Mary Howard, daughter of the duke of Norfolk, but died before the conſummation of his marriage, when he was only about ſeventeen years old. Marriages and iſſue.

Very different characters have been given of Henry VIII. by different authors. Some have repreſented him as a brave, wiſe, juſt, His character.

* Burnet, p. 349.

and

A. D. 1547. and merciful prince, with few vices or imperfections; while others have painted him in the blackeſt colours, as a cruel unrelenting tyrant, with few or no virtues or good qualities *. Thoſe, however, who have delineated his character with the greateſt care and candour, have purſued a middle courſe, by doing juſtice to his good actions and commendable qualifications, while they have not overlooked his criminal paſſions and his vices †. The following ſhort deſcription of the moſt ſtriking features in the character of this prince may, it is imagined, be juſtified by authentic monuments and the real tranſactions of his reign. He was very tall, and in his youth he was uncommonly handſome, ſtrong, and active. He delighted and excelled in all manly exerciſes; as riding, tilting, hunting, hawking, leaping, wreſtling, &c. His gait was ſtately, and his air majeſtic. "Who," ſays a contemporary writer, "is ſo dull as not "to ſee in that moſt ſerene countenance the ſigns of a king? Who "can behold, even afar off, that auguſt majeſty of his whole per- "ſon, and not ſay he was born to a diadem ‡." Theſe perſonal charms and accompliſhments being viſible to all, gained him great admiration and popularity in the firſt part of his reign. He was fond of muſic, a good performer on ſeveral inſtruments, and no contemptible compoſer §. Great pains had been taken with his education, and he had a genius capable of acquiring knowledge. He ſpoke ſeveral languages fluently, particularly Latin and French: but unfortunately his favourite ſtudy was ſchool-divinity; in which he imagined himſelf ſo great a doctor, that he entered the liſts with Martin Luther, in his famous book *De Septem Sacramentis*; for which he received ſuch a deluge of praiſe as no author of an inferior rank muſt ever expect. We have no reaſon to ſuſpect that he was

* Lewis's Patriot King. Strype, vol. i. p. 390, 391. 404–407. Sir Walter Raleigh's Pref.

† Herbert, p. 266, 267. Burnet, p. 362.

‡ Moriſon's Apomaxis.

§ Sir John Hawkins.

deficient

deficient in perſonal courage, though he was not forward in expoſing himſelf to danger. His underſtanding was good when it was not blinded by ſome reigning paſſion. The truth ſeems to be, that the ungovernable impetuoſity of his paſſions was the great defect in his character, the ſource of all his errors and of all his crimes. In his youth the love of pleaſure was his reigning paſſion, and an extravagant fondneſs for royal feaſts, tilts, tournaments, diſguiſing, and the other pompous expenſive diverſions of the great in thoſe times. About theſe he employed his thoughts; in theſe he ſpent his time, and ſquandered away the treaſures that had been hoarded by his father *. To this he was alſo prompted by his vanity, and encouraged by his miniſters, particularly by his great favourite, cardinal Wolſey, for very obvious reaſons. As he advanced in years, and began to interfere more in buſineſs, paſſions of a darker complexion and more dangerous tendency appeared. From his father he inherited an extreme jealouſy of all who were related to the royal family, and could be ſuppoſed to entertain the moſt diſtant thoughts of the throne. To this ſeveral perſons of high rank fell a ſacrifice. His exceſſive ſelf-conceit, and the high opinion he entertained of his own ſuperior wiſdom, though it was rather a ridiculous than a criminal paſſion, had the very worſt effects. It rendered him ſuſceptible, or rather greedy, of flattery, and highly pleaſed with praiſe, with which he was accoſted on all occaſions. The two great parties, the friends of the pope and the favourers of the reformation, tried to exceed one another in the arts of flattery, and in a ſervile compliance with all his humours, which rendered him intolerably proud, obſtinate, and impatient of contradiction. This alſo increaſed his authority, ſubjected both theſe parties to his will, and put it in his power to do whatever he pleaſed. The court that was paid him by the two great rivals, the emperor and the king of France, contributed ſtill further to inflame his pride; and in ſpite of all his faults, it ren- A. D. 1547.

* See Hall's Chronicle, paſſim.

A. D. 1547. dered him popular among his own ſubjects, who were pleaſed to ſee their ſovereign the arbiter of Europe. Though prodigality and avarice are oppoſite paſſions, they are often found in the ſame perſon; and Henry was both profuſe and covetous in the extreme. Of his prodigality, the immenſe ſums he ſquandered are a ſufficient proof; and his hiſtory affords many evidences of his avarice. At two different times he borrowed great ſums from many of his ſubjects, and procured acts from his ſervile parliaments, abſolving him from the obligation of repaying them, though he had given his creditors ſecurity under the privy ſeal. But of all his paſſions, his anger was the moſt terrible. When he conceived a jealouſy or diſlike of any perſon, their ruin was reſolved; no ſubmiſſions, no ſupplications, no interceſſions, no evidences of their innocence, could ſave them from deſtruction. In a word, the character he is ſaid to have given of himſelf, "That he had never ſpared a man in his anger, nor a "woman in his luſt," ſeems to be too well founded; and they are not inexcuſable who have denominated him a tyrant, if they had not forgotten to add, that he was poſſeſſed of many valuable accompliſhments; capable at times of generous and laudable actions, and of kind affections; and that he had been an inſtrument in the hand of Providence of much good to his ſubjects and their poſterity, by diſſolving their connection with the court and church of Rome.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I. PART II.

The Civil and Military Hiſtory of Scotland, from the Acceſſion of James IV. A. D. 1488, to the Death of James V. A. D. 1542.

SECTION I.

From the Acceſſion of James IV. A. D. 1488, *to the Acceſſion of James* V. A. D. 1513.

A. D. 1488. Affairs of Scotland and England interwoven.

THE hiſtories of England and Scotland were ſo much interwoven in this period, that it was impoſſible to diſentangle them on all occaſions. This is the reaſon that ſeveral of the moſt important events in the hiſtory of Scotland, have been related at full length in the firſt part of this chapter, which will ſhorten this ſecond part; as a ſlight mention of theſe eventsin their proper places will be ſufficient.

Death of James III. unknown.

The fate of the unfortunate king James III. was for ſome time unknown, both to his friends and enemies. The former hoped, and the

A. D. 1588. latter feared, that he had eſcaped to a ſmall fleet commanded by ſir Andrew Wood of Largo, that lay in the Forth only a few miles from the field of battle. The leaders of the victorious army ſent a meſſage to ſir Andrew Wood to come and ſpeak with the prince at Leith, which he refuſed to do till they gave the lords Seaton and Fleming as hoſtages for his ſafe return. When ſir Andrew appeared before the prince and his council at Leith, he was aſked, if he knew what was become of the king; to which he anſwered in the negative. He was then aſked, who were in thoſe boats that had been ſeen plying between his ſhips and the ſhore ſoon after the late battle. To which he replied, That he and a party of his men had come on ſhore to aſſiſt their ſovereign againſt his rebellious ſubjects; but hearing that the battle was over, they returned to their ſhips. To this he added, that if his gracious maſter was ſtill alive, he would defend him to the utmoſt of his power againſt all traitors. This bold declaration was very diſagreeable to thoſe who heard it; but their concern for their hoſtages made them diſmiſs him without any injury *.

Coronation, &c. The king's death did not long remain a ſecret; and the prince was crowned June 24th at Edinburgh, in the ſixteenth year of his age †. Few of the nobles or great barons were preſent at this ſolemnity, except thoſe who had taken arms againſt the late king. The reſt of the nobility, particularly thoſe of the north and weſt, were greatly offended and grieved at theſe tranſactions; and ſince they were too late to preſerve the life, reſolved to revenge the death, of their ſovereign, and to deliver the young king from the murderer, of his father. In the mean time the predominant party were very active in improving and ſecuring the advantage they had gained. The caſtle of Edinburgh ſurrendered on being ſummoned by a herald; and the cuſtody of it was committed to the lord Hales ‡. They obtained many valuable grants of lands, honours, and offices from the king, or rather gave them to one another §. The brave

* Buchanan, lib. xiii. Abercromby, vol. ii. † Holling. p. 287.
‡ Black Acts, f. 83. § Regiſter of the great ſeal, 1 James IV.

and

and patriotic ſir Andrew Wood was prevailed upon, by perſuaſions, favours, and promiſes, to attack and take five Engliſh ſhips that had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the late king, but now infeſted the coaſts and interrupted the commerce of the Forth *. A. D. 1488.

The young king was conducted to the caſtle of Stirling, of which ſir John Lundy, one of the party, was appointed governor. While he reſided there, and had leiſure for reflection, he began to feel great remorſe for the part he had acted againſt his indulgent father. He communicated the uneaſineſs of his mind to the dean of the chapel royal; and it was probably by his advice that he began to wear a chain of iron about his body, to which he added a new link every year †. Penitence of the king.

The penitence of the prince could not be very pleaſing to the partners, or rather authors, of his guilt. To ſecure themſelves from puniſhment, they thought it prudent to procure the approbation of parliament while they were in power. A parliament was accordingly ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh October 6th; and by their 14th act, intituled, "The Propoſition of the Debait of the Field of Striviling," it is declared, "That the ſlaughter committed and done in the field "of Striviling, quhare our ſoverane lord's father happened to bi ſlane, "and uthers divers his barronis and liegis, was allutterly in thair "default, and colourit deſſait done be him and his perverſt counſall, "divers times before the ſaid field; and that our ſoverane lord that "now is, and the trew lordis and barrones that was with him in the "ſamen field, war innocent, free and quyte, of the ſaid ſlauchters done "in the ſaid field, and all perſuit of the occaſioun and cauſe of the "ſamen." This parliament conſiſted chiefly of thoſe true lords and barons (as they called themſelves) who had taken arms againſt their ſovereign, without any juſt or even plauſible reaſon, and had put him and many of his loyal ſubjects to death, of which they gravely declared themſelves innocent, though all the world knew they were guilty. Copies of this act, ſealed with the great ſeal, and the ſeals of all the members of this parliament, were ordered to be ſent to A parliament.

* Buchan. lib. xiii. † Pit's Collec. p. 96.

the

A. D. 1488. the pope, and to the kings of France, Spain, and Denmark *. Having thus acquitted themſelves, they took care to puniſh thoſe who had hazarded their lives in battle for the late king; but, for very obvious reaſons, they did this with moderation †.

1489. Inſurrection. Several noblemen and gentlemen who highly diſapproved the conduct of the prevailing party, yet ſeeing the rightful heir upon the throne, thought it prudent to ſubmit to what could not be retrieved. Others breathed nothing but revenge, and determined to reſcue their prince from thoſe who had taken advantage of his youth, and betrayed him into a rebellion againſt his father. Alexander lord Forbes, attended by his vaſſals, carried the late king's ſhirt, all torn and bloody, on the point of a ſpear, through Aberdeen and other places, calling upon all the ſubjects to ariſe and revenge the ſlaughter of their ſovereign. The lord Gordon and other chieftains in the north were no leſs active in raiſing their followers. The earl of Lennox was the firſt that took the field, and marched from the weſt at the head of two thouſand men, to join his confederates in the north. But he was ſurpriſed and defeated by the lord Drummond, as he and his men lay in a careleſs manner on the banks of the Forth, a few miles above Stirling. This ſo diſcouraged the inſurgents in the north, that they diſbanded and retired to their own homes ‡. The earl of Lennox and the other leaders of this inſurrection having made their ſubmiſſions, were pardoned and received into favour, which reſtored tranquillity to the country, and gave ſtability to the government.

Henry VII. from the day of his acceſſion cultivated peace with Scotland; and to render it more ſolid and permanent, negociated ſeveral intermarriages between the two royal families §. But the death of James III. put an end to all theſe ſchemes: for though it had been agreed that James, then prince of Scotland, ſhould be married to one of the daughters of Edward IV. no regard was paid to that agreement; and in the firſt parliament of this reign a tax

* Black Acts, f. 83.
† Ibid. f. 80.
‡ Buchan. ibid.
§ See vol. v. p. 310.

was

was impoſed to defray the expences of a ſplendid embaſſy to be ſent into France, Spain, and other countries, to find out a proper match for the young king *. Henry, however, ſtill perſiſted in his pacific views; and the truce then ſubſiſting between the two nations was uncommonly well obſerved. He even granted a protection to his well-beloved friend (as he calls him) Archibald earl of Angus, (February 12th, A. D. 1490,) who had been the chief inſtrument of the late revolution in Scotland, to paſs through England in his way to Amiens, with eighty perſons in company †. A. D. 1489.

A parliament met at Edinburgh February 15th, which may be called the healing parliament. It made an act for extinguiſhing the party and family feuds of the nobility, and uniting them in the cauſe of their king and country. Several wiſe regulations were made for collecting the royal revenues, particularly the rents of the crown lands; and ſome of the principal noblemen and gentlemen were appointed to ſuperintend the collection of them in their ſeveral diſtricts. A committee was commiſſioned to examine the public accompts. A privy council, conſiſting of two biſhops, two abbots, and ſix lords, was choſen; and ten other lords and gentlemen were appointed to aſſiſt the council, when they happened to be at court, or when they were called; and all the great officers, as the lord chancellor, the maſter of the houſehold, the chamberlain, privy ſeal, ſecretary, and clerk regiſter, were declared to be of the privy council, in virtue of their offices: and the king, it is ſaid, "had humblet his hieneſs to "promit and grant in parliament, to abyde and remane at thair "counſalles quhill the next parliament." The king further conſented, that no gifts, ſignatures, remiſſions, or other letters, ſhould paſs without the advice and conſent of the lords of the ſecret council; and that all ſuch letters ſhould be ſubſcribed by the king, and as many of the council as were preſent, to the number of ſix at the feweſt, of which the chancellor ſhould be one; and that all letters not thus ſubſcribed ſhould be null, and of no effect. An act of revocation of the grants of the young king ſince his acceſſion was alſo 1490. Parliament.

* Black Acts, f. 79. † Rym. tom. xii. p. 358.

A. D. 1490. made. This was a ſelf-denying ordinance in the predominant party; but it is probable that it was not very ſtrictly executed, like many other acts of the ſame kind in both the Britiſh kingdoms. Embaſſies were appointed to be ſent into France, Spain, and Denmark, for renewing the ancient alliances with theſe ſtates, and obtaining commercial privileges. Several wiſe laws were made for the ſtrict obſervation of the truce with England, the due adminiſtration of juſtice, and protecting the poor from oppreſſion; for regulating the coining of money; encouraging the fiſheries, &c. In a word, it will be difficult to find an aſſembly animated with a better ſpirit, and that made a greater number of wiſe and patriotic laws than this parliament *. Archibald Bell-the-cat, the potent and turbulent earl of Angus, was not preſent: he had probably ſet out on his pilgrimage to Amiens, to obtain the pardon of his ſins.

1491. A plot. The internal tranquillity of the kingdom was now perfectly reſtored, and the animoſity of the two parties, into which it had been divided, ſeemed to have been extinguiſhed; when a plot was formed, which, if it had been ſucceſsful, would have involved both the king and kingdom in great diſtreſs. John Ramſay, lord Bothwell, and ſir Thomas Todd of Shereſhaws, two of the late king's favourite ſervants, retired into England after his death, and meditated revenge. Having obtained acceſs to king Henry, they propoſed, by the aſſiſtance of their friends in Scotland, with whom they kept up a private correſpondence, to deliver the king of Scots, and his brother the duke of Roſs, into his hands, and deſired only ſome pecuniary aid. Henry had neither the virtue to reject this baſe propoſal, nor generoſity to grant them any thing conſiderable. An indenture was made at Greenwich April 16th, A. D. 1491, "betwene the right "excellent and myghty prince Henry, by the grace of God, king "of Englond and of Fraunce, and lord of Irland, on the one "partie; and John lord Bothwell and ſir Thomas Toddee, knight of "the realme of Scotland, as well for and in name of themſelves,

* Black Acts, f. 84—90.

"as

" as alſo of dyvers other named in the ſaid indentures on the other " partie. A. D. 1491.

" It is, for dyvers conſiderations in the ſame indentures declared, " amonges other things expreſſely ſhewed, that the right honourable " Jamys erle of Boughan, and the ſaide ſir Thomas, ſhall take, bringe, " and delyver into the ſaide king of Englondis handes the king of " Scottes now reynyng, and his brother the duke of Roos, or at the " teſte the ſaide king of Scotland.

" The ſaide king of Englond, by way of ayde and aſſiſtence, " geving them for th' achiving theire ſaid purpoſe, hath lent and de- " lyverd unto the ſaide ſir Thomas, as well for the ſaide erle of " Boughan as for himſelve, the ſome of CCLXVI l. XIIIS. IVd. &c.*"

The paltry ſum of 266 l. 13 s. 4 d. was to be repaid at Michaelmas, and ſir Thomas Todd gave his ſon and heir as a hoſtage for the repayment. It is difficult to form any judgment of this ſtrange tranſaction. If Henry had either deſired or hoped to get poſſeſſion of the perſon of the king of Scotland, he would certainly have afforded a more liberal aid to the conſpirators. It is hardly credible that the earl of Buchan would engage in the baſe deſign of betraying his king, who was his relation, to a foreign prince. It ſeems to me moſt probable, that the two unhappy exiles, Bothwell and Todd, were reduced to great diſtreſs, and that they fell upon this device to procure a preſent ſupply of money. However theſe things may be, we hear of no ſteps that were taken towards the execution of this plot, and it remained a profound ſecret till the above paper was publiſhed by Mr. Rymer, A. D. 1711.

In a parliament that met at Edinburgh 18th May, Patrick Hepburn lord Hales, who had lately been created earl of Bothwell, with the biſhop and dean of Glaſgow, were appointed ambaſſadors to the courts of France and Spain, for two ſpecial purpoſes: Firſt, To find out a proper match, and negociate a marriage for the king, for which they were to be furniſhed with full powers: Secondly, To renew the ancient alliances with theſe ſtates, and obtain additional privileges, Parliament.

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 440.

A. D. 1491. for which inſtructions were to be given them, with the approbation of the king and his council *. Embaſſies for the ſame purpoſes had been appointed by the two preceding parliaments, but had not been ſent; the reaſon of which ſeems to have been this: The king, when prince, and all thoſe who had joined with him againſt his father, had been excommunicated by the pope; and an embaſſy from a prince, in theſe circumſtances, could not have expected a favourable reception in any catholic court. Application had been made to the court of Rome for a revocation of that ſentence, and a bull of revocation was now daily expected. Accordingly, Andrew Foreman, who had ſolicited the cauſe of his king and countrymen, and was in great favour with pope Alexander VI., not long after returned to Scotland, and brought a conſecrated roſe of gold, with a conſolatory letter from the pope to the king, dated at Rome June 27th A. D. 1491, exhorting him to mitigate his ſorrow for the part he had reluctantly acted againſt his father, and to apply himſelf to the cultivation of honour, piety, and virtue. He brought alſo a bull, empowering the abbots of Paiſley and Jedburgh to abſolve all who had rebelled againſt the late king, upon profeſſing their repentance for what they had done †. Sir James Oglevey of Airley was appointed ambaſſador to the court of Denmark, to remove any umbrage that might have been taken at the late proceedings, to renew the ancient alliances, and to procure commercial privileges; and he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that he was created a peer on his return. This parliament made ſeveral wiſe laws for the improvement, defence, and good government of the kingdom.

Truce. The laſt truce between the two Britiſh nations was now near expiring; but as they were both cordially inclined to peace, the commiſſioners of the two kings met at Coldſtream in December this year, and, on the 21ſt of that month, concluded and ſigned a new truce for five years from that day, with all the uſual articles, with ſome new ones to render it more effectual ‡.

* Black Acts, f. 90.
† Regiſter Office, Edin. Abercromby, vol. xi. p. 497. Hollingſh. p. 409.
‡ Rym. tom. xii. p. 465.

Scot-

A. D. 1492. Peaceable times.

Scotland, for ſome years, enjoyed external peace and internal tranquillity, and its youthful monarch ſpent one part of his time in viſiting the different provinces of his kingdom, accompanied by his council, to enforce the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, and the due execution of the laws; and the reſt of it, in the ſports of the field, and in thoſe manly and martial exerciſes that were the favourite amuſements of the great in thoſe times. Happy are the times in which the great are thus employed, though they furniſh few of the materials of which hiſtory is commonly compoſed.

1493. Parliament.

A great number of excellent laws and regulations were made in a parliament that met at Edinburgh June 16th A. D. 1493. We ſhall have an opportunity of conſidering ſeveral of theſe laws in the ſubſequent chapters of this book. It is ſufficient to ſay of them in general in this place, that the makers of them appear to have been real patriots, and to have been well acquainted with the true intereſts of their country; and that thoſe writers who have repreſented our anceſtors in this period as rude and ignorant, and little better than barbarians, have not done them juſtice *.

Henry VII. ſtill continued to diſcover great anxiety to preſerve peace with Scotland. With this view he gave a commiſſion, 28th May this year, to Richard biſhop of St. Aſaph; William Tyler, governor of Berwick; Henry Eyenſworth; and John Carlington; to treat with the commiſſioners of the king of Scots about a perpetual peace, or a long truce: and to render the peace or truce more ſolid, he authoriſed them to propoſe a marriage between that king and the princeſs Catherine, grand-daughter of his uncle Edmund duke of Somerſet †. King James granted a commiſſion June 22d, to William, biſhop of Aberdeen; John Roſs, of Montgrenan; John Freſale, dean of the king's chapel of Reſtalrig; and Richard Lawſon, clerk of juſticiary, to treat with the commiſſioners of the king of England about the prolongation of the truce; but he gave them no authority to treat of a perpetual peace, or of a marriage ‡. The commiſſioners of the two kings met at Edinburgh June 25th, and

* Black Acts, f. 94. † Rym. tom. xii. p. 531. ‡ Ibid. p. 537.

A. D. 1493. prolonged the truce to the laſt day of April A. D. 1501, without making any mention of a peace or marriage *. King James at this time, and for ſeveral years after, ſeems to have had an averſion to Henry, and to have been determined againſt a marriage with an Engliſh princeſs. But he, very fortunately for Britain, changed his mind.

Commiſſions. Though the truce was thus prolonged, and Henry had paid to James one thouſand marks for damages pretended to have been done to his ſubjects at ſea, but in reality to gain his friendſhip, he was ſtill apprehenſive of a breach with Scotland; and in order to prevent it, he appointed commiſſioners May 22d to meet with thoſe of the king of Scots, to remove all cauſes of quarrel, and to ſettle a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms †. He granted alſo a ſafe-conduct to commiſſioners from the king of Scots July 28th ‡. But we hear of nothing that was done in conſequence of theſe commiſſions; and it is probable the commiſſioners never met.

1495. Negociations. Henry had now good reaſon to ſuſpect, and had received intelligence, that James's diſpoſitions were unfriendly. He took care, therefore, to put the north in a proper poſture of defence. He gave a commiſſion, March 22d, to Thomas earl of Surry, to array all the able-bodied men between the rivers Trent and Tweed; and at the ſame time he gave a ſimilar commiſſion to Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, for the counties of Durham and Northumberland. In theſe commiſſions he acquainted them, that he had received intelligence that his enemies of Scotland and of foreign parts intended to invade the north of England with a great army §. He appointed his ſecond ſon, prince Henry, warden of the eaſt, middle, and weſt marches; and conſtituted Thomas earl of Surry; Richard, biſhop of Durham; ſir William Tyler, captain of Berwick; John Heron, of Ford; and John Carlington, his deputies, May 22d, with full powers to hear the complaints, and redreſs all the injuries that had been done to the Scots by any of his ſubjects, and to puniſh thoſe who had done them. At the ſame time he directed them to array and

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 534. † Rym. p. 554. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. p. 568.

exerciſe

exerciſe all the men in the northern counties, and to place watches in proper places to warn them of the approach of an enemy *. About a month after, June 23d, he made a ſtill greater effort to gain the king of Scots and prevent a war, by giving a commiſſion to the biſhops of Durham and Carliſle, the lords Nevil and Dacres, and ſir William Tyler, to propoſe and negociate a marriage between king James and his eldeſt daughter the princeſs Margaret †. But James had contracted engagements with the king of France that made him ſlight all theſe advances of the Engliſh monarch. A. D. 1496.

A parliament met at Edinburgh June 13th A. D. 1496, in which ſeveral wiſe laws were made for the encouragement of learning and commerce, and for regulating the prices of proviſions, of labour, and of goods of various kinds, &c. &c. ‡ No mention was made of war, or of any preparation for it, in this parliament. 1496. Parliament.

Henry VII. did not yet deſpair of detaching the king of Scotland from the intereſt of his enemies on the continent, who had given him much trouble, by ſupporting Perkin Warbec, a pretender to his crown. He became the more earneſt to gain this point, that he had received intelligence that this adventurer was to make his next appearance in Scotland, and from thence to invade England, with a royal army. He therefore empowered his former commiſſioners to make James another offer of his eldeſt daughter in marriage, an offer which he knew it was the intereſt of that prince to accept. Such was his earneſtneſs to accompliſh this deſign, that he gave a ſeparate commiſſion, at the ſame time, to Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, his moſt confidential miniſter, to propoſe and negociate that marriage; and if James had been ſo wiſe as to liſten to that propoſal, he would probably have obtained very advantageous terms §. But he was too far engaged in other counſels. The arrival of Perkin Warbec in the court of Scotland, his marriage to the lady Jane Gordon, and the invaſion of England by an army of Scots commanded by their king, have been already related ‖. It muſt be confeſſed, that the conduct Perkin Warbec,

* Rym. p. 569. † Ibid. p. 572. ‡ Black Acts, f. 101.
§ Black Acts, f. 635. ‖ See part i. ſect. i.

of

A. D. 1496. of king James on this occaſion cannot be vindicated on any other principle but this: That he believed Perkin Warbec to be the real duke of York, the only ſurviving ſon of Edward IV. and undoubted heir to the crown of England; and it was probably this belief that made him decline an alliance with Henry, by the marriage of his eldeſt daughter. If we could further ſuppoſe that he had diſcovered the plot above mentioned, into which Henry had entered with lord Bothwell and ſir Thomas Todd, he would be fully juſtified in attempting to pull down a prince who had formed a ſcheme to deprive him of his crown and his liberty. But we have no evidence that he had any knowledge of that plot.

1497 98. Truce. The invaſion of England by king James this year, the departure of Warbec from Scotland, and the truce between the two kingdoms, concluded at the caſtle of Aylon by the mediation of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, have all been already narrated *. There was one point, however, about which the commiſſioners could not agree, viz. which of the two kings had been the aggreſſor in the late war, and the violator of the former truce, each of them throwing the blame upon the other. But d'Acala, the Spaniſh ambaſſador to both kings, prevailed upon them to refer this troubleſome queſtion to the king and queen of Spain †. A decent way of laying it aſleep, and it was never determined. Great difficulties, beſides this, occurred in the concluding of this treaty, and Henry was obliged to give up ſeveral points for the ſake of peace, and to ſave the money his parliament had granted him for the war. His commiſſioners demanded that Perkin Warbec ſhould be delivered to their maſter as an infamous impoſtor, unworthy of the protection of any prince. But this demand was rejected with diſdain. They demanded alſo, that reparation ſhould be made for the depredations the Scots had committed in their two late invaſions, which was poſitively refuſed. To remove theſe difficulties, they propoſed an interview between the two kings at Newcaſtle. But this James declined, ſaying, he was willing to make peace, but would not go a begging for peace. The truth

* See part i. ſect. i. † Rym. p. 671.

ſeems

ſeems to be, that the Scots had been conſiderable gainers by the war, and would willingly have continued it on any fair pretence. A. D. 1498.

The ſeparate article that had been added to the treaty of Aylon by the biſhop of Durham and the Spaniſh ambaſſador prolonging the truce during the joint lives of the two kings and a year after, had not been ratified. Henry, wiſhing to prevent all future alarms from the north in his time, ſent Robert Rydon, vice admiral of England, to the court of Scotland, then at Stirling, in the ſummer of this year, to procure the ratification of that article, or to make a new treaty to the ſame purpoſe. This ambaſſador negociated and ſigned a new treaty July 12th, which was ratified by James on the 20th of that month *. But before it could be ratified by Henry, an event happened that threatened to put an end to all theſe peaceful counſels, and to rekindle the flames of war. 1499. Treaty.

A company of young men from the north ſide of the Tweed, being on a viſit to their acquaintances in the town of Norham, were led by their curioſity to take a near and attentive view of the caſtle. The garriſon ſuſpecting that curioſity was not their only object, firſt attacked them with offenſive language, and afterwards with more dangerous weapons. The Scots, being unarmed, were put to flight, and ſome of them killed. When king James, naturally warm and high-ſpirited, heard of this, he flew into a violent rage, and declared, That it was impoſſible for the Scots and Engliſh to live in peace. He immediately diſpatched a herald to the court of England to demand ſatisfaction; and if that was denied, to denounce war. Henry, who ſincerely deſired peace, gave a mild anſwer to this demand, declaring, That he had no knowledge of what had happened; that he would inquire into it, and puniſh thoſe who ſhould be found to deſerve puniſhment. The biſhop of Durham, to whom the caſtle belonged, wrote a ſoothing letter to king James, expreſſing great concern for what had happened, and promiſing ample ſatisfaction †. Skirmiſh at Norham.

By theſe means the reſentment of king James was appeaſed, and he began to form more ſalutary and peaceful deſigns. He wrote to Marriage propoſed.

* Rym. p. 722. Regiſter Office, Edin. † Leſly, p. 323. Abercromby, p. 508.

A. D. 1499. the biſhop of Durham, who he knew poſſeſſed the favour and confidence of his ſovereign, and deſired a conference with him at Melroſs on matters of great importance to both kingdoms. The prelate having obtained his maſter's permiſſion, waited upon James at the time and place appointed. The affair of Norham being compromiſed, the king had a private converſation with the biſhop, in which he obſerved, that the moſt effectual means of eſtabliſhing a firm and permanent peace between the two nations, would be an intimate union of the two royal families, by a marriage between him and the princeſs Margaret, which he very much deſired, and which he requeſted him to propoſe and promote. The prelate, who, on account of his ſituation, was a conſtant ſufferer by war, and ſincerely wiſhed for peace, profeſſed himſelf much honoured by the confidence repoſed in him, and declared that he would exert all his influence to promote ſo deſirable an union *.

1500. Propoſal accepted. The biſhop went immediately to court, and communicated this propoſal to king Henry, who received it with joy, as it was what he had long wiſhed, and had twice propoſed. He appointed his great confident Richard Fox, biſhop of Durham, his ambaſſador to the king of Scots September 11th A. D. 1499, with full powers to ſettle all the conditions of a marriage between that prince and the princeſs Margaret his eldeſt daughter †. As the parties were within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity, and the princeſs was only in the eleventh year of her age, Henry made application to the court of Rome, and obtained a diſpenſation from the pope, dated July 28th A. D. 1500, permitting the marriage to be celebrated, and declaring it lawful, notwithſtanding the conſanguinity of the parties and the non-age of the princeſs.

1501. Commiſſions. The youth of the princeſs gave abundance of time to ſettle all the preliminaries of this marriage, and the other treaties with which it was to be accompanied. Henry granted, May 9th A. D. 1501, a ſafe-conduct to Robert archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Patrick earl of Bothwell, and Andrew Foreman, papal prothonotary and prior of May,

* Buchan. lib. xiii. † Rym. p. 729.

ambaſſadors

ambaſſadors of the king of Scots, to come into England, with one hundred perſons in their company *. It was not till the eighth of October after, that king James gave theſe ambaſſadors full powers to negociate a marriage between him and the princeſs Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry king of England †. At the ſame time he gave the ambaſſadors a commiſſion to negociate and conclude a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and confederation, between him and the king of England ‡. Another ſafe-conduct was granted by Henry to theſe ambaſſadors October 28th §. A. D. 1501.

The ambaſſadors of Scotland having arrived in the court of England in the beginning of this year, or towards the end of the laſt, Henry gave full powers to Henry archbiſhop of Canterbury, keeper of the great ſeal; Richard Fox, now biſhop of Wincheſter; and Thomas earl of Surry, treaſurer of England; to treat with them about a marriage between his eldeſt daughter the princeſs Margaret and James king of Scots. The plenipotentiaries of the two kings concluded the treaty of marriage January 24th, on the following terms: Firſt, That James king of Scots ſhould in perſon, or by proxy, marry the princeſs Margaret before the feaſt of Candlemas next: 2. That the king of Scots ſhould not deſire the princeſs to be delivered to him, in order to the ſolemnization and conſummation of the marriage, before September 1ſt A. D. 1503: 3. That the king of England ſhould at his own expence conduct the princeſs to Lamberton Kirk, or ſome other place on the borders, and there deliver her to the king of Scots on or before the ſaid 1ſt of September; and that the king of Scots ſhould ſolemnize his marriage within fifteen days after: 4. That the queen's jointure ſhould be 2,000l. Engliſh, equivalent to 6,000l. Scots: 5. That the princeſs's fortune ſhould be 30,000 nobles of gold, equivalent to 10,000l. ſterling: 6. That the queen during the marriage ſhould have 1,000l. Scots, equivalent to 500 marks Engliſh, paid to her annually, to be diſpoſed of as ſhe thought proper: 7. That twenty of the queen's attendants ſhould be Engliſh, to be 1502. Treaty of marriage.

* Rym. p. 772. † Ibid. p. 776. ‡ Ibid. p. 777. § Ibid. 780.

A. D. 1502. ſupported and paid by the king her huſband *. From hence it will appear, that though Henry was fond of this marriage, he was no leſs fond of his money, and made a very advantageous contract.

Treaty of peace. Theſe plenipotentiaries concluded and ſigned at the ſame time a treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and concord, between the king of England and the king of Scotland, and their ſucceſſors and ſubjects †. This was a great atchievement. Many attempts had been made to bring about a peace between the two Britiſh nations, but without ſucceſs; and theſe two nations had been in a ſtate of hoſtility for almoſt two centuries, interrupted only by ſhort truces ill obſerved. To render this peace more ſecure and firm, another treaty was made at the ſame time, containing various regulations for ſettling all diſputes that might ariſe in an amicable manner, without occaſioning any breach of the peace ‡. But how vain were all theſe precautions! We ſhall ſoon ſee how long this perpetual peace laſted, and how well theſe treaties were obſerved. The continuance of peace between neighbouring nations depends much more on their characters, their circumſtances, and future occurrences, than on the faith of treaties.

Miſunderſtandings. Some appearances of miſunderſtanding between the two kings took place, even before the ſolemnization of the intended marriage. Lewis XII. of France being then at peace with England, and warmly engaged in the wars of Italy, had given no interruption to the negociation of the above treaties: but when he heard that they were concluded, he took the alarm, and began to fear that ſo intimate an union between the two Britiſh monarchs would weaken the long-eſtabliſhed attachment of Scotland to France: he therefore earneſtly ſolicited king James to renew the ancient league between France and Scotland. With this requiſition James was inclined to comply, when he received a diſſuaſive letter from his father-in-law; to which he returned an anſwer, couched in very reſpectful and affectionate terms. He addreſſed him as his deareſt father, and told him, that though it was an article of the ancient league with France to renew it at the ac-

* Rym. p. 787. † Ibid. p. 793. ‡ Ibid. p. 800.

ceſſion

ceſſion of every king of either nation, and that this had been conſtantly done; yet at his deſire he would delay it till he had an interview with him, or till he had conſidered further of it, and had communicated to him his final reſolution, though he ſaw no good reaſon for this delay; nor could perceive how the renewing of the league could be hurtful to his deareſt father, or to himſelf*. But James gave a ſtill clearer proof of his independent ſpirit, and of his ſteady attachment to his ancient allies, when he came to ſwear to the obſervation of the above treaties before the Engliſh ambaſſadors in the cathedral of Glaſgow December 10th A. D. 1502, by refuſing obſtinately to give his father-in-law the title of king of France; and in that oath he is only ſtiled king of England and lord of Ireland†. A more paſſionate and leſs prudent prince would have taken this as an unpardonable affront; but Henry, though he could not be pleaſed with it, ſuffered it to paſs unnoticed. A. D. 1502.

Henry ſent the biſhops of Hereford and Worceſter to Rome in April this year, to lay all the above treaties before the pope, to obtain his confirmation of them, that the obſervation of them might be enforced by his authority, and by the dread of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, of which the greateſt princes in thoſe times ſtood in awe‡. James, by a deed executed at Edinburgh May 24th, aſſigned the following lands for his queen's jointure:—The lordſhip and foreſt of Etreke, the earldoms of March and Monteith, the palace and lordſhip of Linlithgow, the caſtle and lordſhip of Stirling, the caſtle and lordſhip of Down, the palace and lordſhip of Methvin; and iſſued a mandate to the ſheriffs of the ſeveral counties in which theſe lands lay, to grant the ſeiſins of them§. James duke of Roſs and archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the king's brother, is the firſt ſubſcribing witneſs to the firſt of theſe deeds. 1503. Deeds.

All the preliminaries of this marriage being now ſettled, and the time when the princeſs was to be conducted into Scotland drawing near, great preparations were made for that journey and the cele-

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 12. † Ibid. p. 43. ‡ Ibid. p. 55. § Ibid. p. 62.

A. D. 1503. bration of the marriage—a marriage from which Great Britain hath derived greater and more permanent advantages, than from any other that hath ever been celebrated in this iſland. The princeſs had been ſolemnly married to king James, repreſented by his proxy Patrick earl of Bothwell, at Richmond January 27th A. D. 1503, in preſence of her royal parents, the whole court of England, and the Scots ambaſſadors; but ſhe did not ſet out on her journey to Scotland till the 27th of June thereafter. She was attended by her father king Henry (the queen her mother having died February 11th before) with his whole court to Collywiſton, the reſidence of her grandmother Margaret counteſs of Richmond, where ſhe remained till July 8th, when ſhe took leave of the king her father, and proceeded on her journey, accompanied by the earl and counteſs of Surry, with a numerous and ſplendid train of lords and ladies. The young queen travelled for the moſt part on horſeback. At her entrance into towns and cities ſhe was ſeated in a horſe-litter, open on all ſides, that ſhe might be more conveniently ſeen. She was received and entertained with ſpeeches and pageants by the magiſtrates, and by the clergy with proceſſions, maſſes, and muſic. At the entrance of every county ſhe was met by the high-ſheriff, with the principal lords, gentlemen, and ladies, of the county, in their richeſt dreſſes, who conducted her to the next. Proceeding by ſhort journies, and halting ſome days at York, Durham, Newcaſtle, and Berwick, ſhe arrived at Lamberton Kirk Auguſt 1ſt, where ſhe was received by the archbiſhop of Glaſgow and a great retinue of Scots lords and ladies, and conducted that night to Faſtcaſtle, the next to Haddington, and the next to Dalkeith, where ſhe was received by the king. They made their public entry into Edinburgh Auguſt 7th, and the next day the royal marriage was ſolemnized with great pomp. After ſix days ſpent in banqueting, dancing, tilting, &c. the Engliſh lords, ladies, and gentlemen, took their leave of the king and queen, and ſet out on their return home, well pleaſed with the entertainment they had received *.

* See Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv p. 258—300.

The

A. D. 1504. Parliament.

The diverſions that followed the royal marriage being ended, and the ſtrangers who had attended it departed, the king applied himſelf to the affairs of government. A parliament met at Edinburgh March 11th, and on the 13th made an act rectifying and confirming the ſettlement of the queen's jointure; a copy of which, with the ſeals of a conſiderable number of each of the three eſtates appended, was delivered to the Engliſh ambaſſadors *. In this parliament many excellent laws were made on a great variety of ſubjects, which afford ſufficient evidence that the true intereſts of their country were well underſtood, and ſteadily purſued by this aſſembly. Several regulations were made for the more regular and ſpeedy adminiſtration of juſtice in the Low Country, and for eſtabliſhing magiſtrates and courts in the Highlands and Iſlands; for the want of which, it is ſaid, the people had become almoſt wild and lawleſs. James appears to have had the civilization of his ſubjects very much at heart; and in order to promote it, was willing to relinquiſh a part of his prerogative for a time. At his deſire an act was made againſt granting remiſſions to any who had been guilty of murder from forethought malice. This act was intended to give a check to the deadly feuds between great families; in proſecution of which many murders were committed with impunity, and it was to continue in force till it was revoked by the king †. With the ſame view, another very equitable law was made. It had been cuſtomary when perſons of rank and power had committed murder, or ſome other capital crime, to obtain a remiſſion from the king for ſome trivial offence particularly mentioned, with a general clauſe, and all other crimes. But by this law it was declared, that the general clauſe ſhould not convey a pardon for any offence that was greater than the one particularly mentioned in the remiſſion ‡. In a word, it will be difficult to produce a ſyſtem of laws more juſt and equitable, and better adapted to the ſtate of the country for which they were deſigned, than thoſe that were enacted by this parliament.

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 92–95. † Black Acts, f. 103. ‡ Ibid.

A. D. 1505. Long peace.

The immediate as well as the remote conſequences of the king's marriage were very happy. It brought peace to two nations that had long been engaged in the moſt deſtructive wars, and even extinguiſhed, for a time, their ancient animoſity, which, by its long continuance, had become inveterate, and almoſt invincible. It introduced the moſt friendly intercourſe between the two courts, and gave the two monarchs leiſure to promote the proſperity of their dominions. This leiſure was employed by James to the beſt purpoſes, in viſiting the ſeveral provinces of his kingdom, redreſſing wrongs, extinguiſhing family feuds, eſtabliſhing peace, order, and the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in all places; encouraging learning, agriculture, and other uſeful arts, which greatly endeared him to his ſubjects of all ranks, who enjoyed a degree of proſperity and peace to which they had long been ſtrangers. Henry took care of the punctual payment of his daughter's dowry, which, with his other revenues, enabled James to repair and furniſh his palaces, and to keep a ſplendid court: for in this reſpect he was of a very different ſpirit from his father-in-law, and had no taſte for hoarding money.

1506. Foreign affairs.

King James's application to the improvement and government of his kingdom did not prevent his attention to foreign affairs and the concerns of his allies. On the contrary, he did ſome of them eſſential ſervices by his interpoſition, and kept up a conſtant correſpondence, by ambaſſadors and letters, with the courts of Rome, England, Germany, France, Spain, and Denmark *. His father-in-law having complained to him, that his great enemy Edmund de la Pole earl of Suffolk was entertained and protected by his couſin Charles duke of Gueldres, James wrote a very long and very ſharp letter to the duke; in which, after the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of friendſhip, he blames him greatly for entertaining the earl; anſwers all the excuſes he had made by his ambaſſador; accuſes him of having broken his promiſe; and in the end aſſures him, that if he did not immediately baniſh the earl out of his dominions, he could expect no

* See Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i.

further

further assistance from him, either of men or money *. This letter produced the desired effect, and James was perfectly reconciled to the duke, whose cause he espoused with a degree of warmth and efficacy that did him great honour. A. D. 1506.

Affairs of Gueldres.

Charles duke of Gueldres and Juliers, and earl of Zutphen, was at this time in great distress and danger. Arnold VI. duke of Gueldres, father to Mary queen to James II. and grandmother of James IV. was imprisoned by his own son Adolph. But Charles the Bold duke of Burgundy delivered him from his prison, and restored him to his authority; out of gratitude for which, he bequeathed his dominions to his deliverer. On his death, however, Adolph got and preserved the possession of them, and was succeeded by his son Charles, who had hitherto defended himself with great bravery and success. But a formidable confederacy was now formed against him by the emperor Maximilian, his son Philip duke of Burgundy and king of Castile, and the king of England. In this extremity he sent an ambassador to king James, to implore his good offices with the confederates to divert the impending storm and procure a peace; and if that could not be obtained, to know what assistance he might expect from him in the war. To this James returned a long and distinct answer, assuring him that he would exert all his influence with the princes confederated against him, to prevail upon them to make peace with him on reasonable terms. If war became unavoidable, he acquainted him that the distance of the scene of action would make it difficult to give him all the assistance he wished; that all these princes were his friends and allies, with whom he was very unwilling to engage in war; but that he might rely upon it, that he would do as much as he could expect from a sincere friend and affectionate relation †.

To fulfil his promise to the duke, James wrote a long and elegant letter to his father-in-law; in which he employed many strong arguments, some of them expressed in the most pathetic and affecting language, to dissuade him from making war on the duke of Gueldres,

* Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 11. † Ibid. p. 30—34.

to

A. D. 1506. to whoſe dominions his children and Henry's grandchildren were the undoubted heirs, after the duke and the queen of Sicily. After painting in ſtrong colours the pain it would give him to be compelled to look upon his deareſt father as his greateſt enemy, and the ſorrow it would give his beloved wife to ſee her father and her huſband at war with one another, he tells him in the moſt poſitive terms, that if he perſiſted in his deſign to ſend troops to aſſiſt the emperor againſt the duke of Gueldres, he was determined to tranſport himſelf with an army to the continent, to place himſelf by the ſide of his brave relation, and to ſtand or fall with him. This letter he ſent with his ambaſſadors Robert Foreman, dean of Glaſgow, and the lord Lion king at arms; who having finiſhed the buſineſs at the court of England ſucceſsfully, proceeded to the continent, charged with letters to the emperor Maximilian, to Charles king of Caſtile and duke of Burgundy, (who had lately ſucceeded his father Philip,) and to the chancellor and ſenate of Burgundy. In theſe letters he uſed ſuch arguments as he imagined would be moſt effectual to diſſuade thoſe to whom they were addreſſed from invading the dominions of the duke of Gueldres *. Nor did he thus warmly eſpouſe the cauſe of his friend in vain. The ſtorm was diſſipated, and the duke was not invaded.

Denmark. But James made his greateſt exertions this year in favour of his uncle John king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, from whom the Swedes had revolted, and were ſupported in their revolt by the city of Lubeck, then very powerful at ſea. King James ſent the dean of Glaſgow and lord Lion his ambaſſadors, firſt to Lubeck, with letters to the magiſtrates and ſenate, exhorting them with much earneſtneſs and many arguments to make peace with the king his uncle, and offering his mediation, which was accepted, and a peace concluded. The ambaſſadors then proceeded to Sweden with letters to the archbiſhop of Upſal the primate, the biſhop of Roſkeld the chancellor, and the nobility †. Theſe letters paint the horrors of a civil war in very lively colours, and are written with extraordinary

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 40—49. † Ibid. p. 34—38.

elegance

elegance and energy. Among other things he aſſured them, that he would procure for them a full redreſs of all their grievances, and that no ties of blood ſhould ever engage him to ſupport a tyrant in violating the rights of his ſubjects; but that if they perſiſted in their rebellion, he was determined to aſſiſt their king his uncle with all his power. To give weight to theſe arguments, James fitted out a fleet, and embarked an army of ten thouſand men, and ſent them to Denmark, under the command of his couſin the earl of Arran. But before the arrival of this fleet and army, a peace was concluded, and they returned home *. The queen of Denmark having ſent king James a letter of thanks for this ſeaſonable and powerful aid, he returned a very polite anſwer, dated at Edinburgh 25th Auguſt A. D. 1506; in which he expreſſed ſome diſſatisfaction at the ſudden unexpected return of his fleet and army, which, he ſays, he would not have excuſed, if they had not brought him the agreeable news that peace was reſtored, and that her majeſty (who had been beſieged) was in perfect ſafety †. Theſe two examples afford ſufficient evidence that James eſpouſed the cauſe of his friends with zeal and ſpirit, and that his interpoſition was reſpected by the other powers of Europe. A. D. 1506.

King James and his anceſtors did not take the title of kings of Scotland, but of kings of the Scots, and ſeem to have conſidered themſelves as ſovereigns of that people wherever they reſided, and particularly of the colonies of Scots in Ireland. Theſe coloniſts alſo acknowledged themſelves to be their ſubjects. It appears further, that ſome of the ancient Iriſh princes or chieftains voluntarily became the ſubjects of, and ſwore fealty to, the Scots kings. A proof of both theſe occurred at this time. Odo Odoneil, an Iriſh chieftain, ſent an ambaſſador to James, notifying his father's death, and his own acceſſion to the government of his people and eſtates. He acquainted him further, that he deſigned to go to war next ſpring, and deſired the king to ſend him four thouſand men under the conduct of John Mackeane, and to command his ſubjects in Claudomp- 1507. Subjects in Ireland.

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 69. † Ibid.

A. D. 1507. niel not to aſſiſt his enemies, and that he would not go out of his kingdom to meet with his father-in-law. In anſwer to theſe letters, James condoled with him on the death of his father, who, he ſaid, had ſworn fealty to him in perſon, and had always been his loyal ſubject. He then congratulated him on his acceſſion to the power and fortunes of his anceſtors, and aſſured him, that when he came to ſwear fealty, he would treat him with the ſame reſpect and kindneſs that he had treated his father. He deſired to know againſt whom, and for what cauſe, he was going to war; and if the cauſe appeared to be good, he would ſend him the ſuccours he requeſted. He told him, that he would command his ſubjects of Claudompniel not to fight againſt him, becauſe he was alſo his ſubject. But as to the propoſed interview with his deareſt father, that was ſo pious an act, that nothing ſhould diſſuade him from it, when it became convenient for them to have an interview *. But though it is evident that many of the people of Ireland acknowledged themſelves to be the ſubjects of the kings of the Scots, I have not diſcovered what degree of authority theſe kings exerciſed over them, or what revenues they received from them.

Great Ship. King James paid great attention to trade, and prepared a fleet for its protection, not inconſiderable for thoſe times and the ſtate of his kingdom. In particular, he built one ſhip larger than any that had yet been ſeen in Europe. It was not long before he had occaſion to employ that and ſome other ſhips in defence of his commercial ſubjects. The Hollanders, for what reaſon we are not informed, had taken ſeveral Scots ſhips, and had thrown their crews into the ſea. James, irritated at this cruelty, fitted out his great ſhip, with ſome others, under the command of Andrew Barton, who ſeized all the Dutch ſhips he could meet with, ſent home ſome hogſheads of Dutchmen's heads as a preſent to the king, and returned to Leith with ſeveral valuable prizes †. A cruel revenge for a cruel injury.

Policy of France and Scotland. King James, though at peace with England, and ſo nearly connected with that royal family, did not neglect his ancient allies, but

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 63.

† Leſlæus, lib. viii. p. 343.

kept up a conſtant correſpondence with the court of France by his ambaſſadors, and by receiving ambaſſadors from that court. Nor was Lewis XII. leſs anxious to cultivate the friendſhip of the king of Scots, and to cheriſh the ancient amity between the two nations. The chief inſtrument he employed for this purpoſe was Bernard Stewart, lord D'Aubigny, who was related to, and beloved by James, and in high favour with Lewis. This nobleman made ſeveral journies into Scotland on various pretences, but in reality to confirm and ſtrengthen the union between the two courts and the two nations. Andrew Foreman, biſhop of Moray and archbiſhop of Bourges in France, who was James's great favourite, was warmly engaged in the ſame deſign. Both France and Scotland were at this time at peace with England, but they were not certain that this peace with both of them would be of long duration; and each of them deſired to ſecure an uſeful ally, in caſe of a war with a power that had long been conſidered as their common enemy *. It is in the time of peace that uſeful alliances ſhould be formed and ſtrengthened. A. D. 1507.

Succours to France.

In the courſe of the friendly correſpondence this year, Lewis requeſted of James an aid of four thouſand men, to be employed in the wars of Italy, at Savona, Genoa, or Milan. James readily agreed to this requiſition, and ſent his anſwer by his couſin James earl of Arran, and deſired to know at what port the troops ſhould aſſemble, and when the fleet would arrive to receive them. But Genoa having ſurrendered in the mean time, the king of France acquainted his ally of that event, and that the ſuccours were not now neceſſary, but intreated him to have them in readineſs, if they ſhould become neceſſary †. To which James returned this very friendly anſwer: "That he and all his ſubjects would fly to his "aſſiſtance if it became neceſſary."

Pilgrimage.

Though James IV. was a prince of great activity and ſpirit, applied to buſineſs when his affairs required it, and ſpent his leiſure hours in riding, hunting, tilting, and other amuſements, he was

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 70—89. † Ibid. p. 84. 87.

A. D. 1507. often diſquieted by remorſe for the part he had acted againſt his unhappy father. To expiate that crime, he added a link every year to the iron chain he wore about his body; he went in pilgrimage to the ſhrines of all the ſaints of any reputation in his own kingdom, and meditated a viſit to the Holy Land. On the 30th of Auguſt this year he ſet out from Stirling alone early in the morning, and rode by Perth and Aberdeen to Elgin, being an hundred and thirty miles, that day. After repoſing a few hours upon a table, he mounted again, and rode forty miles to St. Dulhacks in Roſs, on the 31ſt, the feſtival of that ſaint, and arrived in time to attend maſs and receive the ſacrament *. His penitence, it is hoped, was more acceptable to Heaven than his pilgrimages, though he probably thought them very meritorious, becauſe they were very fatiguing.

1508. Legate from Rome. That turbulent ambitious pontiff Julius II. paid great court to both the Britiſh monarchs at this time, with very ſelfiſh and ſiniſter views. He ſent a legate to the court of Scotland, with a preſent to the king of a cap of maintenance, and a ſword, that had been properly bleſſed by his holineſs, to be employed againſt the enemies of the church †. The real deſign of ſending this embaſſy and preſent was to weaken, if poſſible, the attachment of king James to his ally the king of France, who was the great object of the dread and hatred of his holineſs, on account of his power, and the ſucceſs of his arms in Italy. But that the legate could not accompliſh. The preſent, however, was received with great ceremony by the king and his nobility in the church of Holyrood-houſe.

Diſputes with Portugal. A miſunderſtanding and coolneſs had ſubſiſted ſeveral years between the courts of Scotland and Portugal, occaſioned by the mutual depredations of the ſubjects at ſea. A fleet of the Portugueſe had captured a ſhip belonging to James III. commanded by John Bertoun; of which that prince complained to the king of Portugal, and obtaining no redreſs, granted letters of marque to Bertoun a little before his death. James IV. at the earneſt requeſt of Robert and John

* Leſlæus, lib. viii. p. 345. † Ibid.

Bertouns,

Bertouns, the ſons of John Bertoun, granted them letters of marque or repriſal. Of theſe, the two Bertouns, aſſiſted by their brother Andrew, made a very good uſe. They fitted out two ſtout ſhips, with which they cruiſed on the coaſts of Portugal, and took ſeveral valuable prizes *. This trade was ſo lucrative, and appeared to them ſo honourable, that they carried it too far, and continued it too long; and in the end (as we ſhall afterwards hear) brought ruin upon themſelves, and contributed to bring many calamities upon their country. A. D. 1508.

The treaty of perpetual peace between the two Britiſh kingdoms, that had been concluded on the marriage of king James with the princeſs royal of England, had hitherto been faithfully obſerved by both powers, and the borders of the two kingdoms, formerly the ſcene of almoſt inceſſant hoſtility, were reduced to a ſtate of as great quiet and order as any other part of the iſland. Nor have we any reaſon to imagine that any breach of this treaty would have taken place, while the father and ſon-in-law continued to reign, though their joint lives had been much longer. But that prudent pacific prince Henry VII. died April 22d this year, which rendered the continuance of peace more precarious. 1509. Death of Henry VII.

Henry VIII. at his acceſſion, ſeems to have been diſpoſed to follow the example of his father, and to preſerve peace with Scotland: for he delivered to the Scots ambaſſadors, Andrew Foreman, biſhop of Moray, and James earl of Arran, (who had been ſent to congratulate him on his acceſſion,) a confirmation of the treaty of perpetual peace, under the great ſeal, dated at Weſtminſter July 29th, and on Auguſt 29th he ſwore to the obſervation of all the articles of that treaty. On the ſame day the biſhop of Moray ſwore a ſimilar oath in the name of his maſter; and king James ſwore to the obſervation of the treaty of perpetual peace at Edinburgh November 28th, before the Engliſh commiſſioners appointed to take his oath, and a great number of his own nobility †. Henry alſo renewed and confirmed the treaty of Treaty of peace confirmed.

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 91. † Rym. tom. xiii. p. 257. 261. 267.

peace

A. D. 1509. peace with France with the ſame ſolemnities, and every thing, for ſome time, ſeemed to promiſe a long continuance of tranquillity. But Henry, being young and ambitious, had not the ſame determined averſion to war, and deſire of peace, with his prudent and cautious father, nor had James the ſame reſpect for his perſon, or confidence in his friendſhip, that he had entertained towards his father-in-law.

1510. Diſorders on the marches. In ſpite of all the care that had been taken by the warden's of the marches to preſerve peace and good order on the borders, ſome acts of violence had been committed in thoſe parts in the beginning of this year, of which complaints were made to both kings. Henry granted a commiſſion June 1ſt, to ſir Robert Drury and ſir Marmaduck Conſtable, to meet the commiſſioners of the king of Scots, and in conjunction with them to puniſh offenders and redreſs grievances *. James being nearer the ſcene of theſe diſorders, acted with greater effect. Having received intelligence that a gang of banditti infeſted the middle marches, he ſet out at the head of a body of armed men, and marching all night, came upon the plunderers unexpectedly, ſeized many of them, and conducted them to Jedburgh, where they were tried, the moſt guilty executed, and others fined or impriſoned †. Thus far, therefore, there was no appearance of any miſunderſtanding between the two courts.

1511. Sea-fight. But this good underſtanding was not of long duration. Andrew Bertoun, one of the three brothers who had received letters of marque againſt the Portugueſe, returning with two ſhips from a cruiſe on the coaſts of Portugal, was attacked in the Downs by ſir Edward Howard, lord admiral of England, and his elder brother lord Thomas Howard, who had been ſent with a ſuperior force to intercept him. Though Bertoun and his men were ſurpriſed at this unexpected attack, they defended themſelves with great bravery; but being overpowered by numbers, both their ſhips were taken and brought to London. Bertoun died of the wounds he had received

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 276. † Leſly, p. 354.

in

in the engagement; and thoſe of his men who ſurvived, after being confined a few days, were ſet at liberty, and commanded to depart the kingdom in three weeks *. A. D. 1511.

Nothing could equal the ſurpriſe and indignation of king James, when he received intelligence of this event. To ſeize his ſhips, and to ſlaughter and impriſon his ſubjects acting under his commiſſion, without having made any complaint, or produced any evidence that they had exceeded their commiſſion, appeared to him an intolerable inſult and injury, a direct and wanton violation of the treaty of perpetual peace. But when the firſt tranſports of his paſſion ſubſided, he determined to obſerve the ſtipulations of that treaty, by demanding redreſs, before he proceeded to retaliation. He immediately ſent an embaſſy to the court of England, to complain of the violation of the treaty of peace, and to demand redreſs. The pride which ſuperior power and wealth are apt to produce ſeems to have influenced the Engliſh monarch and his miniſtry on this occaſion. They returned a ſhort and very provoking anſwer: "That "the puniſhment of pirates could not be a violation of any treaty, "nor require any redreſs †." The Engliſh merchants had, indeed, complained to their own government, that Bertoun had ſearched and plundered ſome of their ſhips of what he pretended was Portugueſe property: but no complaint of this had been made to the government of Scotland, as the treaty of peace required; and therefore the ſeizure of Bertoun's ſhips was an evident violation of that treaty ‡. Embaſſy to England.

The Engliſh miniſtry ſoon became ſenſible that they had acted unwarrantably, contrary to the plaineſt ſtipulations in the late treaty, and diſcovered a diſpoſition to appeaſe the reſentment of king James, and prevent a rupture. With this view doctor Nicholas Weſt, dean of Windſor, was ſent ambaſſador to the court of Scotland in the beginning of November, with very ample powers to redreſs all injuries, grievances, and attempts againſt the treaty of perpetual peace §. What redreſs doctor Weſt propoſed we are not informed: we only Embaſſy to Scotland.

* Leſly, p. 355.
† Abercromby, p. 523.
‡ Rym. tom. xii. p. 793.
§ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 309.

know

A. D. 1511. know that it was not accepted, and that his negociation was unſucceſsful. This appears plainly from a letter written by king James to the pope, dated at Edinburgh December 5th A. D. 1511, in which he complains of ſome violations of the treaty of peace by the late king of England his father-in-law, but more bitterly of the far greater violations of it by the preſent king his brother. "The preſent king of England, (ſays he,) who hath ſworn to the treaty of perpetual peace, purſues our ſubjects by ſea and land, kills, captivates, and impriſons them; we demand, but do not obtain redreſs. In his conduct every thing is hoſtile, nothing peaceful. We find that the loſſes and ſufferings of our ſubjects daily increaſe. We have communicated theſe things to your holineſs, that if war enſue, you may know that we have not ſought it, but have been forced into it in our own defence *." In a word, it is abundantly evident that king James had by this time received great provocation, and was very much incenſed againſt his brother-in-law, and that all the amity which had lately prevailed between the two courts and the two nations was at an end.

1512. Confederacy againſt France. It is poſſible, however, that the affair of Bertoun and the diſputes on the borders might have been compromiſed without producing a war, if a more ſerious cauſe of quarrel had not intervened. Henry VIII. then young and ambitious, had been betrayed by the pope, and his father-in-law Ferdinand of Arragon, into a league againſt Lewis XII. November 10th A. D. 1511, only a few months after he had ſworn to a treaty of peace with that prince, and without having received the ſlighteſt provocation †. This holy league, as it was called, was kept a profound ſecret for ſome time, but began to be ſuſpected about the beginning of this year, and was ſoon after publicly known and avowed. The pope and Ferdinand attempted to draw James into this pretended holy league, and doctor Leonard Lopez, the Spaniſh ambaſſador at his court, uſed every argument to that purpoſe that could be imagined, but in vain. This appears from a letter he ſent to Ferdinand by his ambaſſador, in which he moſt earneſtly in-

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 123. † See Section II. A. D. 1511.

treated

treated him not to engage in a war againſt a chriſtian prince, but to reſerve his forces, to be employed, in conjunction with thoſe of other chriſtian princes, againſt the infidels in Africa. To remove all obſtruction to that pious expedition, he preſſed him very warmly to mediate a peace between the pope, the common father of chriſtians, and the moſt chriſtian king *. He appointed his couſin John duke of Albany, then in France, his ambaſſador to the emperor Maximilian, and ſent his moſt confidential miniſter, Andrew Foreman, biſhop of Moray, to Rome, with inſtructions to both to mediate a peace between the pope and the king of France †. This is a ſufficient proof that James was at this time ſincerely diſpoſed to peace, and made every effort in his power to prevent a war. A. D. 1512.

As ſoon as Lewis XII. diſcovered the confederacy that was formed againſt him, he diſpatched an ambaſſador to the court of Scotland to ſecure the aſſiſtance of his ancient allies. Monſieur la Motte, the French ambaſſador, found king James ſo much heated with reſentment againſt the king and people of England for the injuries they had lately done him, that he eaſily prevailed upon him to renew and confirm all the former treaties of alliance between the two crowns, with a very remarkable addition. In all former treaties the contracting parties had engaged to aſſiſt one another only againſt the Engliſh, and againſt ſuch as ſhould attempt to change the regular order of ſucceſſion to their reſpective crowns. But in this new treaty the two kings engaged to aſſiſt one another againſt all who may live and die. This treaty was ratified by king James at Edinburgh 16th March A. D. 1512 ‡. Treaty with France.

The Engliſh miniſtry, being now determined on a war with France, became ſenſible of the error they had committed in irritating the king and people of Scotland, and reſolved, if poſſible, to procure a reconciliation. Henry therefore ſent Thomas lord Dacres and doctor Weſt to the court of Scotland in April with two commiſſions: by the one they were authoriſed to require James to ſwear again to Embaſſy to Scotland.

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 131. † Ibid. p. 130—146.
‡ Abercromby, p. 526.

A. D. 1512. the treaty of perpetual peace, and to engage that their maſter would do the ſame; by the other, to redreſs all grievances and violations of the peace *. The redreſs propoſed was not accepted, and James declined to renew his oath. He declared, however, it is ſaid, to the ambaſſadors, by word of mouth, that he would obſerve a ſtrict neutrality; but when he was requeſted to give that declaration in writing, he refuſed †. James, it is probable, gave the ambaſſadors good words, and expreſſed a great regard for his brother-in-law, which they conſtrued into a promiſe of neutrality. His ſituation was very critical. Being a ſuperſtitious prince, he was averſe to engage in a war againſt the pope, whoſe thunders he dreaded; and at the ſame time he was warmly attached to the king of France. Beſides, the engagements into which he had entered with France and England were of ſuch a nature, that it was hardly poſſible to perform them both: he might therefore have been undetermined at this time what part he would act in the approaching war, which might induce him to give the Engliſh ambaſſadors fair words, without entangling himſelf in any new engagements.

Embaſſy to Denmark. When things were in this ſtate king James ſent an ambaſſador to his uncle John king of Denmark with the following inſtructions, dated at Linlithgow May 28th A. D. 1512: To acquaint him, that the king of England had declared war againſt their common friend and ally the king of France, and to inquire what aſſiſtance he was willing to give to the moſt chriſtian king, and on what conditions: To inform him further, that the Engliſh had committed, and ſtill continued to commit, many hoſtilities againſt his ſubjects, for which he could obtain no adequate ſatisfaction; and to inquire what money he would lend him, and on what terms, and what ſhips and troops he would ſend to his aſſiſtance, if he engaged in a war with England. The ambaſſador was inſtructed to return as ſoon as poſſible with an anſwer to theſe queſtions ‡. He received a favourable anſwer, and the king of Denmark ſent ſome ſhips, loaded with arms and ammu-

* Rym. p. 332, 333. † Herbert, p. 12.
‡ Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, 148.

nition,

nition, into Scotland in the end of this, or beginning of the next year *. A. D. 1512.

Hoſtilities. Robert Bertoun, the brother of the late Andrew Bertoun, had long ſolicited for letters of marque to avenge his brother's death and the capture of his ſhips; and as ſoon as James received intelligence that the Engliſh fleet, with an army on board, had actually ſailed to invade France, he granted them. Bertoun ſailed in the end of May, and returned to Leith in July with fifteen prizes †.

About the ſame time James endeavoured to create a diverſion to the Engliſh arms, by exciting an inſurrection in Ireland. The great Odoniel, as he is called, viſited the court of Scotland, and ſwore fealty to the king, who entertained him honourably, and ſent him home to raiſe his followers, and make war upon the Engliſh in that country ‡.

Letters from Rome. Though James prepared for war, he did not intermit his endeavours to prevent it, and to bring about a peace between the pope and the king of France. With this view he ſent an ambaſſador to Rome in the beginning of this year; and the pope, in anſwer to his earneſt ſolicitations, tranſmitted to him letters, expreſſive of the higheſt eſteem and warmeſt affection, thanking him for his unwearied labours to promote peace, which was obſtructed only by his undutiful ſon the king of France, who would not ſubmit to him, who was the common father of all kings. He ſent him at the ſame time a copy of the letters he had received from the Raguſians, concerning the great preparations the Turks were making for invading Italy; and alſo the copy of a letter he had written to the king of France on that ſubject. This laſt exhibits a moſt curious ſpecimen of canting and hypocriſy. Though he hated Lewis mortally, he addreſſed him as his moſt dear ſon, acquainted him with the great preparations the abominable Turks were making for invading Chriſtendom. "But, "my deareſt ſon, (ſaid he,) if theſe odious Turks ſhould come, what "can they do more cruel, more deteſtable, or more horrible, than "your ſoldiers did, after the battle of Ravenna?" He puts him in

* Abercromby, p. 527. † Ibid. p. 526. ‡ Ibid. p. 527.

A. D. 1512. mind of the glory his anceſtors had acquired, by enriching and protecting the church, and conjures him not to tarniſh all that glory by oppoſing him, and obſtructing the union of all chriſtian princes againſt the enemies of the chriſtian faith, which he alone had hitherto obſtructed. He tells him, that he and many other princes had lately entered into a moſt holy league for recovering Bologna, Ferrara, and all the other poſſeſſions of the church from him; and then undertaking an expedition againſt the Turks, and obteſts him by the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt to enter into that moſt holy league and expedition *. Lewis perfectly well knew that the pretended holy league was made only againſt himſelf, and that the expedition againſt the Turks was a mere pretence.

James knight to the queen of France.

Lewis XII. was at great pains to conciliate the friendſhip, and ſecure the aſſiſtance of the king of Scots, when all his other allies, except the duke of Gueldres, had abandoned him; and almoſt all the other princes of Europe had combined againſt him. One of the arts employed for that purpoſe would appear ridiculous in the preſent age; but in that age, and with ſuch a prince, was well calculated to produce the deſired effect. Anne of Britanny, queen of France, knowing him to be a gallant prince, an admirer of the ladies and of chivalry, choſe him for her knight and champion, to protect her in her diſtreſs from all her enemies; and ſent him a ſhip, loaded with arms, as a token of her confidence that he would uſe them in her defence †. He was proud of this honour, and determined to act the part of a valiant and loyal knight.

Commiſſion of array.

As Henry had ſent an army under the marquis of Dorſet to invade Guienne, he thought it prudent to provide againſt an invaſion from Scotland, by giving a commiſſion to Thomas earl of Surry Auguſt 6th, to array all the defenſible men in Yorkſhire, Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and Lancaſhire, to arm and train them, that they might be in readineſs to repel the Scots whenever it ſhould be neceſſary ‡. The earl of Surry, who was lord high treaſurer and

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 156—165.

† Leſly, p. 358. Drummond, p. 140—145. ‡ Rym. p. 339.

earl

earl marſhal of England, executed this commiſſion with great activity and ſpirit, the neceſſity and advantage of which ſoon after appeared. A. D. 1512.

This array in the north of England, and ſome intelligence he had received, made James imagine that an invaſion of Scotland was intended, to put it out of the power of that kingdom to aſſiſt France. This we learn from the letters he ſent to his uncle John king of Denmark towards the end of this year. He acquaints that prince, that it had been declared in the parliament of England, (that met November 4th,) "That it would be imprudent to invade France till they "had firſt diſabled Scotland: That the king of England was ſo "much elated by the great ſubſidy he had got from his parliament, "that he boaſted he would invade both France and Scotland at the "ſame time. I am informed (ſays he) by my friends and favourers, "that the great preparations the Engliſh are making by ſea and land "are deſigned againſt us. Being afraid to attack the French, who "are prepared for war, they deſign ſuddenly to aſſault the Scots, "who are meditating nothing but peace and concord. For reſiſting "ſuch a formidable aſſault we are but ill prepared, and therefore we "beſeech your majeſty, our moſt dear uncle, to provide as ſtrong a "fleet and army as poſſible, and ſend them to the aſſiſtance of your "nephew *." James was indeed miſinformed by his friends in England; but that he entertained theſe apprehenſions at this time (December 12th A. D. 1512) there can be no doubt. It appears alſo from the whole of this, and from his other letters, that he earneſtly deſired and endeavoured to prevent a war between France and England; but ſince that could not be prevented, he thought it moſt prudent and moſt generous to adhere to the ancient allies of his crown, from whom he might expect aſſiſtance againſt the ambitious attempts of his too powerful neighbours. "It would be very imprudent, "(ſays he in the ſame letter,) and unſafe for us, to ſuffer the Engliſh "to ſubdue France; for then there can be no doubt that they would "make themſelves maſters of Scotland †." Letters to Denmark.

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 169. † Ibid. p. 171.

In

A. D. 1513.

Negociations.

In the beginning of this year every thing wore a hoſtile appearance between the two Britiſh nations; but the intercourſe between the two courts was not quite broken off. James propoſed to ſend an embaſſy, conſiſting of John lord Drummond, ſir Robert Lawder, ſir John Ramſay, ſir William Scot, and Mr. John Henryſon; and on January 25th Henry granted them a ſafe-conduct to come into England, with one hundred perſons in their company. But this embaſſy, for ſome reaſon now unknown, was never ſent. Henry alſo gave a commiſſion February 1ſt to William lord Conyers and ſir Robert Drury, to meet with commiſſioners of the king of Scots, to ſettle all diſputes about the treaty of perpetual peace, and to make new regulations for the better obſervation of that treaty. He gave another commiſſion February 15th to Thomas lord Dacres and doctor Nicholas Weſt, to agree with commiſſioners of Scotland on an abolition of all the paſt treſpaſſes againſt the perpetual peace *. Doctor Weſt came to the court of Scotland March 16th, and prevailed upon James to agree to a meeting of the commiſſioners of both kings, to be held on the borders in the beginning of June. Theſe commiſſioners accordingly met at the time and place appointed; but after long debates they could come to no agreement †. This was owing to the Engliſh commiſſioners, who inſiſted upon a delay to the 15th of October; by which time they hoped the event of the expedition into France would be known. James was greatly irritated at this attempt to deceive him, and from that time relinquiſhed all hopes and thoughts of peace.

Supplies.

Monſieur la Motte, the French ambaſſador, who had lately made ſeveral voyages between France and Scotland, arrived in the Clyde May 24th with four ſhips loaded with wine, flour, &c. About the ſame time ſome ſhips from Denmark arrived at Leith with arms and ammunition ‡. James being thus better prepared for war, became more indifferent about peace.

A fleet and army ſent to France.

There was one way in which James had it in his power to aſſiſt his ally the king of France, without ſo much as the appearance of

* Rym. p. 346. † Leſly, p. 358. ‡ Ibid.

violating

violating the treaty of perpetual peace with England. By an article in that treaty it was agreed, "That if the king of England, or his "ſucceſſors, made war upon any of the allies of the king of Scots, or "his ſucceſſors, the king of Scots ſhould abſtain from invading the "dominions of the king of England, but ſhould be at liberty to "aſſiſt his ally in any other way, and that ſuch aſſiſtance ſhould not "be conſidered as a violation of the treaty *." There was a ſimilar article in favour of the king of England. King James availed himſelf of the liberty allowed by this article. He had a conſiderable fleet in readineſs, in which there were three ſhips of uncommon magnitude for thoſe times, the Michael, the Margaret, and the James. He gave the command of the fleet to James Gordon, a ſon of the earl of Huntly; and of four thouſand land forces on board, to his couſin James earl of Arran. Having received intelligence that the king of England, with a great army, had invaded France, the fleet ſailed from Leith July 26th, and arrived ſafe. The troops, it is ſaid, did good ſervice in the war, for which their commander was rewarded with a penſion, and the privileges of their countrymen, in that kingdom, confirmed and enlarged †. A. D. 1513.

It would have been fortunate, as well as prudent, if James had been contented with ſending ſuccours to his ally; and it is probable he would not have proceeded any farther, if he had not been provoked to it by the haughtineſs of his brother-in-law, and the injuries his ſubjects had received from the Engliſh, for which he could obtain no redreſs. Theſe injuries daily increaſed. As ſoon as the miſunderſtanding between the two monarchs was known, the borderers broke looſe, and renewed their uſual depredations. Towards the end of July a troop of Engliſhmen having plundered a part of the Merſe, king James commanded the earl of Hume to collect his followers and revenge the injury. The earl entered England Auguſt 13th, at the head of three thouſand men, deſolated the country, and burnt ſeveral villages. But as they were returning with their booty in great ſecurity, they fell into an ambuſh, were defeated, and loſt all Depredations.

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 796. † Leſly, p. 359.

their

A. D. 1513. their plunder *. Though this was no great matter in itſelf, it had a very bad effect, by inflaming the king's reſentment beyond meaſure; it rendered him deaf to all advice; raſh, violent, and precipitant, in all his proceedings.

Letter to king Henry. James ſent his principal herald, Lion king at arms, in his fleet to France, with a long letter to king Henry, in which he enumerated all the injuries he had received from him, and the reaſons he had to declare war againſt him; the chief of which were theſe following:—In general, his unfriendly and unfair dealing towards him in all tranſactions, and on all occaſions: In particular, his approving of the inſidious deceitful conduct of his commiſſioners at the late meeting on the borders, by the frivolous excuſes they made for their producing no criminals, and by their inſiſting upon a delay of all matters till October, when it had been promiſed that all things ſhould be amicably ſettled at that meeting:—his refuſing to grant a ſafe-conduct to an ambaſſador he had propoſed to ſend to him; a thing that had never been done even by the Turks:—his retaining the legacies that had been left to his queen by her brother and father, out of hatred to him:—his refuſing ſatisfaction for the ſlaughter of Andrew Bertoun, (which had been done by his command,) and ſtill detaining his ſhip:—his protecting the baſtard Heron, who had killed ſir Robert Ker, warden of the middle marches:—his making war, without any provocation, on his two neareſt relations and beſt allies, the king of France and duke of Gueldres, to whom he muſt look for aſſiſtance when he ſtood in need. He, in the end, intreats him to deſiſt from the proſecution of that war immediately, and acquaints him, that if he did not, he would be obliged, in conſequence of his alliance with theſe princes, to take part with them, and to do that thing which he truſted would oblige him to deſiſt †.

Anſwer. This letter was preſented to Henry by lord Lion in the camp before Terouenne, who, having peruſed it, told the herald, he was ready to return an anſwer if he would promiſe to report it to his

* Hall, f. 38. Buchan. p. 250. † Holingſh. p. 295.

maſter. "I am (ſaid he) my maſter's moſt faithful ſervant, and "bound to obey his commands, but not thoſe of any other. If it "pleaſe your majeſty, you may communicate your anſwer in "writing, which I ſhall deliver; but my maſter requires actions "rather than words." After conſulting with his council, Henry delivered a letter to the herald, dated Auguſt 12th, written with great aſperity, and containing ſome ſevere reproaches, refuſing, in very poſitive terms, to comply with his requiſition to deſiſt from the proſecution of the war againſt the king of France *. But the herald was detained ſo long on the continent by contrary winds, that this letter came too late. A. D. 1513.

In the mean time James, knowing that Henry would not be deterred by a letter from proſecuting his enterpriſe, was eagerly engaged in raiſing an army to invade England in perſon. From that his queen and ſome of the wiſeſt of his nobility endeavoured to diſſuade him, by repreſenting the weak ſtate of his family; that he had only one child, an infant of ſixteen months old; that they knew his native intrepidity would precipitate him into danger; and conjured him to conſider in what danger and diſtreſs his family and his country would be involved, if he was either killed or taken priſoner. When all the tears, intreaties, and blandiſhments of his queen, and all the arguments of his counſellors, were ineffectual, they had recourſe to a ſtratagem. As the king was one evening at veſpers in St. Michael's church in Linlithgow, a tall perſonage of a venerable aſpect, with a long beard, dreſſed in a gown of azure blue, girt about his body with a white ſaſh, made his way through the crowd; and leaning on the king's deſk, ſaid, "I am ſent from heaven, O king! to warn you "not to proceed on your intended enterpriſe, which will be unfortu-"nate; and to charge you to abſtain from all familiarities with "women, or the conſequences will be moſt fatal." Having ſpoken thus, he retired. When prayers were ended, the king inquired for him, in order to examine him: but he could not be found; having, Stratagem.

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 382.

A. D. 1513. moſt probably, retired to his accomplices in the palace, which is only a few paces from the church *.

King James invades England.

All the arguments and arts that were employed to diſſuade or deter James from the intended expedition, ſerved only to render him more determined and precipitate. Without waiting for all his forces, or for the return of his herald, he marched with the troops he had collected to the borders, paſſed the Tweed Auguſt 22d, and encamped on that and the two following days on Twiſel-haugh. At that place, Auguſt 24th, he publiſhed an act or declaration, with the conſent of his nobles, "That the heirs of all who were killed or died in the "army during that expedition, ſhould pay nothing for their ward-"ſhip, relief, or marriage, without any regard to their age †."

Takes ſome caſtles.

The army in a few days made themſelves maſters of the caſtles of Wark, Norham, Heaton, and Etat, and in part demoliſhed them. The caſtle of Ford was alſo taken, but preſerved from demolition by the lady of the manſion. In this caſtle, it is ſaid, James forgot the charge that had been given him by the apparition at Linlithgow, and captivated by the converſation or perſonal charms of the lady, miſ-ſpent his time, and neglected his affairs. However that may be, the army remained about Ford ſeveral days in a ſtate of inaction, and great numbers took that opportunity of deſerting and returning home, ſome to ſecure the booty they had got, and others from diſcontent, or to avoid fatigue or danger. By this moſt unſeaſonable deſertion the army was equally weakened and diſpirited ‡.

Proceedings of the earl of Surry.

As the Engliſh had long expected, ſo they were well prepared for this invaſion. As ſoon as the earl of Surry received intelligence that the Scots were beginning to collect their forces, he diſpatched meſſengers to all the noblemen and gentlemen in the northern counties to meet him, with all their followers, who had been muſtered and trained, on the firſt day of September at Newcaſtle. He ſet out

* Buchan. lib. xiii. p. 251. Buchanan was told this ſtory by ſir David Lindſay of the Mount, who was ſtanding near the king.

† Black Acts, f. 110.

‡ Drummond, p. 74. Hall, f. 37, 38. Buchan. p. 251.

from

from York Auguſt 27th; and though the roads were bad and the weather ſtormy, he marched day and night till he arrived at Durham: there he received the news of the ſurrender of Norham, which was believed to be impregnable, and whoſe captain had promiſed to keep the Scots at bay till the king returned from France. Having received the banner of St. Cuthbert from the prior, he proceeded Auguſt 30th to Newcaſtle, where he was joined by the lord Dacres, and many other chieftains, with their followers. Here a council of war was held, and the troops from all parts were appointed to rendezvous September 4th at Bolton in Glendale, about twenty miles from Ford, where the Scots army lay. The earl marched from Newcaſtle September 3d, to make room for the forces that were daily coming forward, and arrived at Alnwick that evening. There, on Sunday September 4th, he was joined by his heroic ſon the lord admiral of England, with a body of choice troops from the Engliſh army before Terouenne. This moſt fortunate junction, at ſo critical a time, gave great joy to the earl his father, and to the whole army *. A. D. 1513.

From Alnwick the earl of Surry ſent a herald to the king, to accuſe him of having broken the ſolemn oath he had taken to obſerve the treaty of perpetual peace, and to offer him battle on Friday September 9th, if he dared to abide till then on the territories of his maſter the king of England. The lord admiral ſent a meſſage to the king by the ſame herald, "That he had come from the continent to "juſtify the ſlaughter of the pirate Andrew Bertoun: That he "would take no quarter, and give none to any but the king." James, conſulting only his own intrepid ſpirit, accepted the offer of a battle with alacrity; and in a ſhort paper written by his ſecretary, vindicated himſelf from the accuſation of having broken his oath, by obſerving, "Our brother was bound as far to us as we to him; and "when we ſwore laſt before his ambaſſadors, in preſence of our "council, we expreſſed ſpecially in our oath that we would keep to Defiance.

* Hall, f. 37, 38.

A. D. 1513. "our brother, if our brother kept to us, and not elſe. We ſwear "our brother broke firſt to us *." We hear of no return he made to the lord admiral.

Advice of the Scots nobility.

His nobility had before this earneſtly importuned their king to return into Scotland, and ſupported their advice with ſtrong arguments. "He had done enough (they ſaid) for his allies, by detain- "ing ſo great an army at home, and cauſing ſo many troops to re- "turn from the continent. He had alſo gained ſufficient honour by "taking and demoliſhing ſo many caſtles, and enriching his ſubjects "with the ſpoils of their enemies. So many of their followers had "gone home with theſe ſpoils, and thoſe who remained were ſo "much weakened by fatigue and ſcarcity of proviſions, that their "army was become ſo inferior to that of the enemy both in ſtrength "and numbers, that the riſk on both ſides was not equal. Scot- "land hazarded her king, and almoſt all her nobility; England only "a part of her nobility and common people: nor did the advantages "to be gained by a victory, bear any proportion to the ruinous conſe- "quences of a defeat." Theſe and other arguments were urged with ſo much warmth by Archibald Bell-the-cat earl of Angus, that the king in a paſſion told him, "If he was afraid, he might be gone." Irritated at the imputation of cowardice, which he did not deſerve, and foreſeeing the conſequences of the raſh imprudent counſels that were adopted, he departed, but left two of his ſons, and the greateſt part of his followers, with the army †.

Encamp at Flodden.

The noblemen and other chieftains finding the king was determined to give the Engliſh battle, intreated him to chooſe an advantageous ſituation, and prevailed upon him to remove his camp from Ford to Flodden, a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance on the ſkirts of Cheviot. This was a very well-choſen poſt, which might have been made very ſtrong by a little art and labour. But theſe were not employed; only a battery was formed, and mounted with cannon pointing directly upon the bridge over the river Till. The

* Hall, f. 40. † Buchan. p. 252.

ſoldiers

ſoldiers built huts of earth, and covered them with ſtraw, to ſcreen themſelves from the inclemency of the weather, which was very rainy, and there waited the approach of the enemy. A. D. 1513.

When all the Engliſh forces rendezvouſed at Bolton September 5th, they were found to amount to twenty-ſix thouſand fighting men, well armed and appointed in all reſpects, and impatient for action. They marched September 6th to Wooller-haugh, within three miles of the Scots camp, and there reſted all the next day. The earl of Surry having diſcovered by his ſpies the ſituation the Scots had choſen, formed a ſcheme which he hoped would make them relinquiſh that advantage. Knowing the king's undaunted courage and high ſenſe of honour, he wrote a letter, ſubſcribed by himſelf and all the great men in his army, reproaching him for having changed his ground after he had accepted the offer of battle, and challenging him to deſcend, like a brave and honourable prince, into the ſpacious vale of Millfield that lay between the two armies, and there decide the quarrel on fair and equal terms. This ſcheme did not ſucceed. The king would not admit the herald who brought the letter into his preſence, but ſent him this verbal anſwer: "That it did not become "an earl to dictate to a king: That he would uſe no diſhonourable "arts, and expected victory from the juſtice of his cauſe and the "bravery of his ſubjects, and not from any advantage of ground*." A ſtratagem.

The Engliſh army decamped from Wooller-haugh September 8th; but inſtead of marching down the banks of the Till towards the Scots, they paſſed that river near Wooller, directed their courſe towards Berwick, and encamped that night at Barmore. This made the Scots noblemen imagine that the enemy deſigned to paſs the Tweed at Berwick, and plunder the fertile country of the Merſe; and they importuned their ſovereign to decamp, and march to the defence of his own dominions. But he declared that his honour was engaged, and that he was determined to abide there all the next day, which was the day appointed for the battle †. March of the Engliſh.

* Hall, f. 41. † Ibid. 42. Buchan. p. 253.

The

A. D. 1513.

The two armies in preſence.

The Engliſh decamped from Barmore Friday morning September 9th, and directed their courſe towards the Tweed; which ſeems to have convinced the Scots that they deſigned to paſs that river. About noon they ſet fire to their huts, the ſmoke of which prevented them from ſeeing their enemies, who had changed their direction, and marched with great expedition towards the Till. When the ſmoke was diſſipated, the Engliſh infantry were ſeen paſſing that river by Twiſel bridge, and the cavalry at a ford a little higher. At that moment Robert Borthwick, who commanded the artillery, fell on his knees before the king, and begged his permiſſion to fire upon the bridge, which, he ſaid, he could break down, and prevent the rear of the enemy from paſſing. "If you fire one ſhot upon the bridge "(cried the infatuated monarch) I will command you to be hanged, "drawn, and quartered. I will have all my enemies before me, and "fight them fairly *." His nobles preſſed him to take his ſtation on a riſing ground in the rear of the army, whence he might ſee the whole field, and give the neceſſary commands. "No, (ſaid he,) I "will live and die with my brave ſubjects; and if we obtain the "victory, as I hope we ſhall, I will have my ſhare of the honour †." An imprudent and fatal reſolution.

The battle of Flodden.

As ſoon as the Engliſh paſſed the Till they were drawn up in two lines, each conſiſting of a main battle (as it was called) in the centre, and two wings, with a ſtrong body of reſerve in the rear of both lines. The Scots were drawn up in one line, with a body of reſerve in the rear. The battle began about four o'clock in the afternoon by a diſcharge of the artillery on both ſides. Thoſe of the Scots being ſituated too high, the balls flew over the heads of their enemies; but thoſe of the Engliſh did great execution, which made the Scots impatient to come to a cloſer engagement. The earls of Huntly and Hume made a furious attack upon the right wing of the Engliſh, and threw it into diſorder. The undiſciplined Highlanders in the right wing of the Scots army obſerving this advantage, became ungovern-

* Pitſcottie, p. 116. † Abercromby, p. 535. Hollingſh. p. 300.

able,

able, broke their ranks, and ruſhed down in a tumultuary manner upon the left wing of the Engliſh, commanded by the lord Stanley. They were received with a calm and ſteady courage; and after a fierce and bloody ſtruggle, in which their two leaders, the earls of Argyle and Lennox, fell, they were put to flight, and purſued a conſiderable way up the hill. By this time the main battle of the Scots, conducted by their king on foot, (accompanied by his amiable and accompliſhed ſon the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, with ſeveral other perſons eminent for their rank and valour,) had engaged the main battle of the Engliſh, commanded by the earl of Surry, aſſiſted by his valiant ſon the lord admiral. As theſe two great bodies approached each other the archers diſcharged flights of arrows, with one of which, it is ſaid, the king was wounded. They ſoon came to a cloſe engagement, hand to hand, and body to body, with ſwords, ſpears, pikes, and other inſtruments of death. The earl of Surry was ſupported by his ſecond line and by the lord Stanley, the king by the earls of Bothwell and Huntly, and their followers. Then the battle raged with uncommon fury and great ſlaughter, till night put an end to the bloody conteſt, without its being known who had obtained the victory. The Engliſh retired a little from the field, and reſted all night upon their arms. The Scots having loſt their leaders, and being near their own country, went off in ſmall parties in the night, ſome over the Tweed at Coldſtream, and others by the dry marches. The earl of Hume and his numerous followers, who had not engaged in the laſt cruel conflict, and others who joined them, remained on the field all night, employed in ſtripping the dead, and retired early in the morning with their booty, leaving the cannon behind them *. A. D. 1513.

When the Engliſh approached the field of battle next morning, they found it abandoned, and no enemy to be ſeen, which gave them a good Great loſs of Scots.

* Deſcriptions of this famous battle have been given by all our hiſtorians of both nations, and by ſeveral foreigners. Thoſe of them who lived neareſt the time, ſeem to have written under the influence of national prejudices, and their accounts are very contradictory. The above is what hath appeared to me moſt probable, and neareſt the truth.

A. D. 1513. title to claim the victory. This title became much clearer, when the ſtate of the loſs of both armies was known. In point of numbers, it was nearly equal on both ſides; but in the quality and importance of the perſons ſlain, it was very different. James, impelled by his natural ardour and intrepidity, ruſhed into the midſt of danger; and his nobles animated, or rather miſled, by his example, acted the ſame part. The conſequence of this was, that the Scots loſt their king and the flower of their nobility; a loſs which the moſt complete victory could not have compenſated. The king's body was found among the dead, and known by the lord Dacres, who had been ambaſſador at his court only a few months before, and was perfectly well acquainted with his perſon. It was conveyed to Berwick, and there ſhewn to ſir William Scot and ſir John Foreman his ſerjeant porter, who burſt into tears at the ſight, and acknowledged that it was the body of their beloved maſter *. The idle contradictory tales of his eſcape from the battle, that were long believed by the vulgar, are unworthy of a place in hiſtory. Alexander Stewart, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the king's natural ſon, and the pupil of Eraſmus, a youth of great hopes, was found dead by the ſide of his royal father; with George Hepburn, the marſhal biſhop of the Iſles; and the abbots of Kilwinning and Incheffray. No fewer than twelve earls, thirteen lords, and about four hundred knights and gentlemen of Scotland, fell in this fatal battle †. A moſt deplorable loſs to ſo ſmall a kingdom; and yet the ſurvivors were not diſpirited ‡.

James buried. The king's body was embalmed at Berwick, and ſent from thence to the monaſtery of Sheen near Richmond, where it lay a conſiderable time unburied, becauſe he had been excommunicated by the pope for his adherence to the king of France, and his oppoſition to the holy league. King Henry applied to the pope to take off the ſentence of excommunication, that he might bury his late brother-in-law, (who had, he ſaid, exhibited ſigns of contrition in his dying

* Hall, f. 43.

† Abercromby, p. 546. Weaver's Fun. Mon. p. 834.

‡ See ſir David Dalrymple's Remarks on the Hiſtory of Scotland, p. 147.

moments,)

moments,) in the cathedral of St. Paul's, as he intended. His holineſs, out of his regard to the king of England, to the royal dignity and many virtues of the late king of Scotland, granted authority to the biſhop of London to take off the ſentence of excommunication, if upon trial he found ſufficient evidences of his contrition *. This farce was accordingly acted; the dead prince was tried, abſolved, and at laſt buried, not in St. Paul's, but in the monaſtery of Sheene, where his body, wrapt in lead, was ſeen long after by Mr. Stowe the hiſtorian †. A. D. 1513.

James IV. was killed at Flodden September 9th A. D. 1513, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth of his reign. He was of middle ſtature, remarkably ſtrong and agile. By continual exerciſe he became capable of bearing very uncommon degrees of labour, cold, thirſt, and hunger. His face was ſweet and amiable; and he had ſo great a command of his countenance, if not of his paſſions, that he ſeldom changed colour on hearing good or bad news. He was eaſy of acceſs, and his deportment was at once dignified and affable, never uſing harſh or ſevere expreſſions, even when he was offended. He excelled in all the martial and manly exerciſes that were admired and faſhionable in his time, and made a diſtinguiſhed figure at all tilts and tournaments, in which he perſonated king Arthur, or the ſavage knight, in honour of his lady the queen of France. His ſenſe of honour was high and a little romantic, having imbibed no ſmall portion of the ſpirit of ancient chivalry, which influenced him not only in his diverſions, but in his moſt important affairs. His perſonal courage was of that kind which courts rather than avoids danger; and his hiſtory affords a ſtriking proof that a prince may have too much as well as too little perſonal courage, and that the former of theſe extremes may be as fatal to himſelf and to his ſubjects as the latter. Though he was not learned, he was a friend to learning, and contributed to promote it, both by his laws and by his bounty. Like his father, he had a taſte for the arts, particularly for eccleſiaſtical, civil, and naval architecture. He built ſeveral Character of James IV.

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 385. † Stowe, p. 494.

A. D. 1513. churches in a good ſtyle, repaired and ornamented his palaces, and his great ſhip the St. Michael was univerſally admired. His court was greater and more ſplendid than that of any of his predeceſſors, or indeed than his revenues could well afford. In the adminiſtration of juſtice he was as rigorous as he was equitable, and reduced even the remote parts of his kingdom to ſome degree of order and ſubmiſſion to the laws. Some of our hiſtorians, particularly biſhop Leſly, are laviſh in their praiſes of his piety; which, according to their account, was not of the moſt rational kind, but conſiſted very much in pilgrimages to the ſhrines of different ſaints for obtaining the pardon of his ſins; and in doing this, he ſometimes added to their number. It was in one of theſe pious peregrinations that he ſeduced the lady Jean Kennedy, a daughter of the earl of Caſſillis. His inordinate paſſion for the ſex was indeed the greateſt blemiſh in his character, and proved one of the cauſes of his ruin.

His iſſue. James IV. had by his queen four ſons:—1. James, born February 25th A. D. 1508, who died 14th July 1510. 2. Arthur, born 20th October 1509, who died in his infancy. 3. James, born 5th April 1511, who ſucceeded him. 4. Alexander, a poſthumous ſon, born 30th April 1514, who died 15th January 1517. His natural children mentioned in hiſtory were theſe:—1. Alexander archbiſhop of St. Andrews, by Mary Boyd, daughter of Archibald Boyd of Bonſhaw. 2. Catherine, married to James earl of Morton, by the ſame lady. 3. James earl of Moray, by lady Jean Kennedy, a daughter of the earl of Caſſillis. 4. Margaret, married to John lord Gordon, by Margaret, daughter of John lord Drummond. 5. Jean, married to Malcolm lord Fleming, by lady Iſabel Stewart, daughter of James earl of Buchan *.

* Crawford's Hiſtory of the Stewarts, p. 32, 33.

SECT. II.

From the Acceſſion of James V. A. D. 1513, *to his Death* A. D. 1542.

AT the acceſſion of James V. when he was only one year five months and four days old, Scotland was in great confuſion and diſtreſs; a ſcene of ſorrow and lamentation for the loſs of the king, the flower of the nobility and gentry, and of ſome thouſands of inferior rank, who all fell in the fatal battle of Flodden. But in the midſt of this diſtreſs no ſymptoms of deſpair appeared, no thoughts of ſubmiſſion were entertained. An invaſion was expected, and a vigorous reſiſtance was reſolved *. Contrary to their expectation, the enemy did not diſcover a great inclination to improve the advantage they had gained. A troop of ſixty horſemen ventured to paſs the Tweed and Coldſtream on the morning after the battle, and were all taken priſoners †. Though the earl of Surry was ſufficiently elated by his victory, he did not think it prudent to purſue it, but diſbanded his army and returned to London, which gave the Scots leiſure to ſettle their government.

A. D. 1513. State of Scotland.

The late king had by his laſt will appointed the queen to be regent of the kingdom, and guardian to her ſon, while ſhe continued a widow. In that capacity ſhe called a convention of the three eſtates to meet at Stirling December 21ſt, where they ſwore fealty to their infant monarch, and then adjourned to Edinburgh, to hold a parliament ‡. By this parliament the queen was acknowledged regent, though no woman before had ever borne that office; but a cabinet council was appointed, conſiſting of James Beaton, archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the earls of Arran, Huntley, and Angus, without whoſe advice ſhe was to tranſact no buſineſs of importance §.

The queen regent.

* Epiſtolæ R. S. tom. i. p. 186. † Hall, f. 43. ‡ Leſly, p. 367. § Ibid.

A. D. 1514.

The queen writes to her brother.

As ſoon as the queen was thus eſtabliſhed in the government, ſhe wrote to her brother, the king of England, earneſtly intreating him not to diſtreſs her and her infant ſon, his neareſt relations, by making war upon them. Henry, who was naturally affectionate to his relations, anſwered, that the Scots ſhould have either peace or war as they inclined. If they choſe war, they ſhould have war; if they choſe peace, they ſhould have peace *. This was a prudent, as well as a humane reſolution; as he was then engaged in a war with France, in which he had been ſhamefully deſerted by his faithleſs confederates, the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain. A truce for one year and one day, it is ſaid, was made in the beginning of this year; but of this there is not ſufficient evidence.

The queen's marriage.

The queen was delivered of a ſon April 30th, who was named Alexander, but died January 15th A. D. 1517. This princeſs was only in the twenty-fourth year of her age; and though ſhe knew that the continuance of her power depended on her continuing a widow, love triumphed over ambition, and ſhe married, Auguſt 6th, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, without having conſulted her brother, the king of England, or any of her own council. She had this apology to make for herſelf, that the nobleman ſhe had choſen for her huſband was young, handſome, rich, and powerful, the head of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in the kingdom. This marriage, however, was unfortunate, and proved the ſource of much diſquiet to herſelf, and of many calamities to Scotland †.

On the day after the queen's marriage, Auguſt 7th, a peace was concluded at London, between France and England, in which the Scots, as the allies of France, were comprehended, on the following reaſonable conditions: 1. That the Scots did not invade England, by the authority of their government, after the 15th of September next. 2. That they did not make any incurſion without that authority, with above three hundred men. 3. That they intimated their willingneſs to be comprehended in the peace §. This is a proof that

* Drummond, p. 156. Buchan. p. 256. † Leſly, p. 370.
§ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 419.

there

there was no truce between the Engliſh and Scots at this time. It is alſo a proof that the French did not deſerve the reproaches that have been caſt upon them by ſome of our hiſtorians, of having abandoned the Scots in this treaty, who had ſuffered ſo much on their account *. Lewis XII. was incapable of an action ſo diſhonourable. A. D. 1514.

No ſooner were the Scots delivered from all apprehenſions of a war with England, than they fell into the moſt violent internal broils. Theſe were occaſioned partly by a competition for the archbiſhopric of St. Andrews, which ſhall be related in its proper place, and partly by the queen's marriage. When that marriage was made public, it gave great offence to ſeveral of the young nobility, who thought themſelves ſlighted, and to ſome of the ancient councillors, who had not been conſulted; but to none more than to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow and the earl of Arran, two of the cabinet council appointed by parliament. The queen devolved all her authority upon her huſband, who, we may preſume, was not a little elated by ſo great an acceſſion of honour, power, and wealth, which increaſed the number and inflamed the paſſions of his enemies. It was the common cry of theſe enemies, that the queen had forfeited all title to the government by her marriage, and that another governor ſhould be immediately choſen. They did not agree ſo well in their choice of the perſon to be advanced to that dignity. Some propoſed the earl of Arran, the king's near relation but Alexander lord Hume, who, on account of his great experience, his great eſtate, and numerous vaſſals, had no little influence, ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported the nomination of the duke of Albany, that he was choſen, and a deputation was ſent into France, to invite him to come immediately into Scotland, to take upon him the government of the kingdom †. Duke of Albany choſen governor.

John duke of Albany ſtood in the ſame relation to the king with the earl of Arran, but with this advantage, that it was by the male line. The earl of Arran was the ſon of the lady Margaret, ſiſter to James III.; the duke was the ſon of Alexander duke of Albany, Embaſſy.

* Leſly, p. 371. † Id. p. 369. Buchan. p. 256.

brother

A. D. 1514. brother to that prince. The duke inherited great eſtates in France by his mother, the counteſs of Boulogne, was in high favour with the king of France, and had acquired the reputation of a brave and able commander in the wars of Italy. Though Lewis XII. was pleaſed to ſee one of his ſubjects, on whoſe attachment he could depend, advanced to the government of Scotland, he did not think it prudent to give umbrage to the king of England, (with whom he had lately concluded a peace, and whoſe ſiſter he was about to marry,) by ſending the duke of Albany to ſupplant his other ſiſter, the queen of Scotland. Nor was the duke very willing to undertake the government of a nation to whoſe language, laws, and manners he was a ſtranger, till he knew with what powers he was to be inveſted, and what advantages he was to enjoy. In particular, he inſiſted on being reſtored to his father's honours and eſtates that had been confiſcated and annexed to the crown. He ſent his friend, monſieur De La Beauté, who arrived in Scotland November 20th, to excuſe his not coming till after the king of France's marriage, (at which he was obliged to attend,) and to ſettle all preliminaries. His party was now ſo ſtrong, that preliminaries were ſoon ſettled; he was reſtored to all his father's honours and eſtate; and by way of ſecurity, the caſtle of Dunbar was delivered to his ambaſſador *.

1515 Deplorable ſtate of Scotland. In the mean time Scotland was a ſcene of the moſt deplorable anarchy. The heads of clans purſued their family feuds without reſtraint; thieves and robbers followed their infamous employments with impunity; the poor and peaceable were plundered and oppreſſed. The queen, or rather the earl of Angus in her name, continued to exerciſe ſome authority; but it ſerved only to increaſe the diſorders of their country, and the number and violence of their own enemies. Provoked at the exclamations of Beaton, archbiſhop of Glaſgow, againſt their marriage, they deprived him of the office of chancellor. This inflamed his reſentment beyond meaſure. He put on armour under his pontifical robes, came to Edinburgh at the head of the vaſſals of his ſee, and being joined by the Hamiltons,

* Drummond, p. 160.

fought a kind of pitched battle againſt Angus and the Douglaſſes in the ſtreets of the metropolis *. In this action the prelate and his friends were put to flight, about ſeventy were killed, and among theſe were ſeveral perſons of rank. The earls of Lennox and Glencairn took the caſtle of Dunbarton by ſurpriſe, and turned out the lord Erſkine and his garriſon †. Theſe and other diſorders made the nation in general, and eſpecially thoſe who favoured the French, impatient for the arrival of the duke of Albany, from whoſe adminiſtration they expected great advantages. The prevalence of the French party, and the popularity of the duke of Albany, were ſo great at this time, that the queen and her huſband thought it prudent to ſecure an aſylum in England; and on January 23d, they obtained a ſafe-conduct for themſelves and three hundred perſons in their company, to come into England and reſide in it one year ‡. A. D. 1515.

Though the duke of Albany had been much importuned by his party in Scotland to haſten his arrival in that kingdom, he was detained in France ſeveral months by various events; particularly by the marriage of Lewis XII. with the princeſs Mary of England, the death of that prince, the acceſſion of Francis I. and the negociations of peace between France and England. While theſe things were in agitation, it was not thought prudent to provoke Henry, by ſending the duke into Scotland. But the treaty of peace (in which the Scots were included) having been ſigned April 5th, he was permitted to depart with a convoy of eight ſtout ſhips, and landed May 18th at the town of Ayr §. *Arrival of the duke of Albany.*

The nobility and gentry of both parties crowded from all corners to attend the duke, as ſoon as they heard of his arrival, and conducted him to the capital. The queen, yielding with a good grace to a torrent that ſhe could not ſtem, met him between Glaſgow and Edinburgh, with her congratulations, which, we may preſume, were not very ſincere ‖. In a parliament that met at Edinburgh July 12th, the three eſtates took an oath of obedience to the duke of Albany, *Parliament.*

* Pitſcottie, p. 121. † Leſly, p. 374. ‡ Rym. p. 473.
§ Rym. p. 476—487. Epiſt. Regum Scotorum, p. 233. ‖ Drummond, p. 160.

as

A. D. 1515. as guardian to the king and governor of the kingdom during the king's minority; and the duke took an oath to protect them in all their liberties, and to govern according to the laws of the land. The duke was put in poſſeſſion of all his father's eſtates and honours, and his titles in all public acts were theſe: John duke of Albany, earl of March, Mar, and Garcoch, lord of Annandale and the Iſle of Man, tutor to the king, and regent of Scotland *.

Peace. The duke immediately after he landed entered upon the government, and wrote from Glaſgow May 22d, to the king of France; notifying his approbation of a letter that had been written to that king by the council of Scotland three days before his arrival; giving their conſent to be comprehended in the peace he had lately made with England. The letter of the Scots council, which he thus approved, was a very ſpirited performance; in which they told the king of France, that they had entertained no thoughts of a peace or truce with England, but had been reſolved upon revenge; and that it was out of reſpect to him, and at his earneſt requeſt, that they conſented to be comprehended in the peace †.

The laws executed. A kind of peace with England, though certainly not very cordial, being thus reſtored, the duke applied himſelf with vigour to correct the internal diſorders of the ſtate, by eſtabliſhing the authority of the laws, and bringing thoſe who violated them to juſtice. To convince the great that they were no longer to commit acts of violence with impunity, he brought the lord Drummond to trial, for having given the lord Lion a blow within the verge of the court, confiſcated his eſtate, and with great difficulty was prevailed upon to ſpare his life ‡. One Peter Moffat, a noted robber, having had the impudence to appear at court, was ſeized, condemned, and executed; which ſtruck terror into all his aſſociates, and others of a ſimilar character §. By theſe and other ſpirited acts of juſtice, a viſible change was ſoon produced on the ſtate of the country; and ſecurity, peace, and good order, were introduced.

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum. Rym. tom. xiii. p. 510.
† Rym. p. 508—512. ‡ Leſly, p. 360. § Buchan. p. 258.

Henry

Henry VIII. was far from being pleaſed with the eſtabliſhment of the duke of Albany in the government of Scotland, as he knew him to be wholly devoted to France. He attempted therefore to deprive him of that government, by aſſuming it to himſelf, on account of his being uncle to the young king, and conſequently the natural guardian of his perſon, and protector of his dominions. This claim, which Henry had communicated to the pope, rouſed the indignation and jealouſy of the Scots. They wrote a very ſtrong letter to his holineſs July 3d, in which they declared, that their king, with the conſent of the three eſtates, and of the queen his mother, had choſen his neareſt relation, the duke of Albany, for his guardian and governor of his kingdom; that the kings of Scotland, in their minority, had never needed any foreign protectors; and particularly, that the kings of England, though they had often attempted it, had never obtained any authority over them, or direction in their affairs. In the concluſion, they conjure the pope not to conſider any perſon as governor of Scotland but the duke of Albany, and to grant the prelacies of the kingdom only on his nomination *. A. D. 1515. Letter to the pope.

Though the duke of Albany was an accompliſhed prince, and animated with the beſt intentions, he laboured under ſome diſadvantages, that rendered his adminiſtration neither ſo comfortable to himſelf, nor ſo beneficial to his country, as it would otherwiſe have been. A ſtranger to the language, laws, and manners of the people in general, and unacquainted with the characters, connexions, and circumſtances of the leading men of the nation, he was expoſed to the danger of being deceived, and infected with the paſſions of thoſe from whom he received his information. This actually happened. John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, unfortunately gained his confidence, and gave him ſuch impreſſions as he pleaſed. Hepburn was eloquent, plauſible, and inſinuating, but deceitful, covetous, and vindictive; inflamed with the moſt implacable hatred againſt the earl of Angus and the lord Hume, becauſe they had ſucceſsfully oppoſed his pretenſions to the primacy. He laboured therefore with much art The regent deceived.

* Rym. p. 513. Epiſt. Regum Scotorum, p. 233.

A. D. 1515. and aſſiduity to alienate the mind of the regent from thoſe two noblemen, and to inſpire him with jealouſy of their power and ambition; and his labours were too ſucceſsful *.

A conſpiracy. The lord Hume ſoon perceived a change in the countenance and behaviour of the regent towards him, which he could not bear with patience. Irritated at his ingratitude, and too proud to endure contempt, he reſolved upon revenge, and determined to pull him down from the eminence to which he had raiſed him. With this view he ſolicited a reconciliation with the queen and her huſband, which was eaſily obtained; and it was agreed, that the queen ſhould fly with her two ſons into England, and put herſelf and them under the protection of her brother. But this moſt dangerous plot being diſcovered to the regent, he flew to Stirling Auguſt 10th, was admitted into the caſtle, and committed the two princes to the cuſtody of three noblemen on whoſe fidelity he could depend †.

The conſpirators fly to England. The conſpirators finding that their plot was diſcovered, conſulted their ſafety by flight. The lord Hume, with his brother William, and a number of his moſt reſolute followers, retired into England, where they were well received. The queen, and her huſband the earl of Angus, took ſanctuary in a nunnery at Coldſtream, and there waited the return of a meſſenger they had ſent to the court of England. The meſſenger returned with orders to the lord Dacres, warden of the marches, to receive the queen of Scotland with all the honours due to her rank, and conduct her to the caſtle of Harbotle. In that caſtle ſhe was delivered October 7th, of a daughter, the lady Margaret Douglas, who became the mother of lord Darnly, and the grandmother of king James, the firſt monarch of Great Britain ‡.

The queen's retreat, or rather flight, gave no little uneaſineſs to the regent. He wiſhed to preſerve peace with England, and he apprehended that ſhe would give ſo provoking a repreſentation of his conduct as would produce a war. To prevent this, he diſpatched an ambaſſador to London, to expreſs the great ſurpriſe and ſorrow he had felt on the queen's retreat; to declare that he had given her

* Buchan. p. 258. † Ibid. p. 259. Leſly, p. 377. ‡ Ibid.

no

no reaſon for taking that ſtep; and to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that if ſhe would return ſhe ſhould be treated with all poſſible reſpect and honour, and permitted to enjoy all her poſſeſſions and rights in peace *. Theſe declarations prevented a war, but did not induce the queen to return. A. D. 1515.

The lord Hume, and the deſperadoes who followed him, haraſſed the borders of Scotland, in the months of Auguſt and September, with frequent incurſions, which ſo irritated the regent, that he cauſed all their houſes and lands to be ſeized, and marched with ſome troops to the borders, to put a ſtop to their depredations. The earl of Angus, who had remained quiet, having received a private invitation and promiſe of impunity, came to the regent, and was very favourably received. The lord Hume and his brother, either encouraged by this, or diſpirited by their loſſes, came October 6th, and threw themſelves at the regent's feet, and implored his mercy; but they did not meet with the ſame favourable reception. They were conducted to Edinburgh, committed to the caſtle, to the cuſtody of their brother-in-law, the earl of Arran, with a declaration, that if he ſuffered them to eſcape he ſhould be conſidered as guilty of high treaſon †. Lord Hume impriſoned.

It is difficult, or rather impoſſible, to diſcover the ſecret motives that influenced the conduct of that powerful turbulent nobleman Alexander lord Hume on many occaſions, and particularly in the great exertions he uſed to deprive the queen of the regency, to prevent the election of the earl of Arran, his ſiſter's huſband, and to promote the election of the duke of Albany, an abſolute ſtranger. But he diſcovered no little art in his attempts to pull down Albany from the high ſtation to which he had contributed ſo much to raiſe him. He not only drew his two moſt mortal enemies, the queen and the earl of Angus, into a plot againſt the regent, but he now prevailed upon his keeper, the earl of Arran, to betray his truſt, by ſetting him and his brother at liberty, and even to join with them in Rebellion.

* Buchan. p. 259. † Leſly, p. 378.

A. D. 1515. an open rebellion *. They all three went out of the caſtle on foot in the middle of the night in the month of October, and made all poſſible haſte to raiſe their followers.

The regent, greatly incenſed at the treachery of Arran and the inveteracy of Hume, raiſed a body of troops with his uſual celerity, and inveſted the caſtle of Hamilton, reſolving to raſe it to the foundation. But this caſtle contained a very powerful defender, who ſaved both it and its owner from deſtruction. This was the lady Margaret Stewart, counteſs dowager of Arran, daughter of James II. ſiſter of James III. and aunt of James IV. and of the duke of Albany. At the earneſt ſupplication of this venerable lady, the duke deſiſted from the ſiege, and promiſed to pardon her ſon, the earl of Arran, upon his ſubmiſſion. The earl informed of this, ſubmitted and was pardoned †. The lord Hume, not having ſo powerful an interceſſor, was not treated with the ſame lenity. By a parliament that was ſitting at the time of his eſcape, he and his two brothers, David and William, were declared rebels, and their eſtates confiſcated. The Humes, enraged by thoſe ſevere proceedings, returned to their predatory incurſions; in one of which they burnt the town of Dunbar, only twenty-ſeven miles from Edinburgh. Such were the confuſions that reigned in Scotland A. D. 1515.

1516. A truce. The commiſſioners of the two kingdoms met at Coldingham in January A. D. 1516, and concluded a truce from the middle of that month to Whitſunday. After much oppoſition from the Scots commiſſioners, the lord Hume was comprehended in this truce, which ſaved that turbulent chieftain once more from the deſtruction with which he was threatened. His attainder was taken off by a parliament that met in May, and he was reſtored to his eſtate and honours; but with this expreſs declaration, that if he committed any new acts of rebellion or diſobedience, all his former crimes ſhould be remembered againſt him in judgment ‡.

Queen goes to the Engliſh court. The duke of Albany, and the earl of Angus the queen's huſband, endeavoured to perſuade her to return to Scotland, by giving her

* Leſly, p. 378. † Id. p. 179. ‡ Drummond, p. 166. Leſly, p. 382.

the

the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of an honourable reception, and the enjoyment of all her rights *, but in vain; ſhe was a princeſs of ſtrong paſſions, and when once offended not eaſily appeaſed. Having ſpent the winter and ſpring in the caſtle of Harbotle, ſhe ſet out for London, where ſhe arrived May 3d, and was received in the moſt affectionate manner by her brother king Henry, and her ſiſter Mary, queen dowager of France †. A. D. 1516.

Correſpondence.

The queen of Scotland did not conceal her animoſity againſt the duke of Albany, or her fears for the ſafety of her ſon in the cuſtody of the neareſt heir to his crown; and ſhe ſeems to have inſpired her brother with the ſame paſſions. Ambaſſadors from Scotland were then in London negociating a truce, and by them Henry ſent a letter to the three eſtates, expreſſing in very ſtrong terms his apprehenſions for the ſafety of the infant king his nephew, and intreating them to diveſt the duke of Albany of the regency, and oblige him to return to France, as the only means of preſerving peace between the two kingdoms. To this letter the parliament of Scotland returned a reſpectful, but very ſpirited anſwer; in which they gave the duke of Albany a very high character, for his wiſdom, probity, and honour, and his tender care of the perſon of their young king; "againſt "whom," ſaid they, we firmly believe he would not attempt any "thing, to obtain the three kingdoms of France, England, and "Scotland." They vindicated their own conduct in chuſing the duke to be regent of the kingdom and tutor to the king, as agreeable to the laws of their country and practice of their anceſtors; and declared, that they could not deprive him of the high office to which they had voluntarily raiſed him, without diſhonouring themſelves ‡. This letter was ſubſcribed and ſealed by all the prelates and lords of parliament at Edinburgh July 4th A. D. 1516.

Propoſitions.

The duke of Albany ſent his friend, the count De Fayette, to the court of England with this letter, together with certain propoſitions from himſelf, tending to remove miſunderſtandings, and promote peace between the two kingdoms. Theſe propoſitions, ten in num-

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 238. † Hall, f. 58. ‡ Rym. p. 550.

A. D. 1516. ber, were well calculated to preſerve peace upon equitable terms; but contained no conceſſions that indicated a fear of war, and breathed the ſame bold independent ſpirit with the parliament's letter. They were referred by Henry to his favourite, cardinal Wolſey; and that haughty prelate aſſented to them all, with a few trivial explanations, to ſave the appearance of an implicit compliance. For example, by the eighth article it is propoſed, that the cuſtody and ſafe-keeping of the king of Scots ſhould belong to the members of his council and the three eſtates of parliament, and that no other perſon ſhould preſume to intermeddle with it. Though this article was evidently contrived to prevent the interference of the king of England, the cardinal aſſented to it, with this unmeaning addition, "provided the king of Scots be ſafely kept." Three of the articles were calculated to engage the queen dowager to return to Scotland, which the duke of Albany very much deſired; knowing ſhe could do him leſs hurt there, than in the court of England. The cardinal, in his maſter's name, ſigned his aſſent to all the propoſitions July 24th; and on the laſt day of that month he ſigned a prolongation of the truce to November 30th A. D. 1517, that the plenipotentiaries of the two kingdoms might have time to negociate a peace *.

Executions. The prolongation of the truce with England gave the regent leiſure to attend to the internal police of the country, and to call the moſt dangerous diſturbers and plunderers to an account. The baron of Strouan, a highland chieftain, who, at the head of a band of robbers of his own clan, had long haraſſed the neighbouring countries, was apprehended by the earl of Athol, and beheaded at Logurial, which ſtruck terror into the other plunderers of the remote parts †. The next perſon he attacked was of a higher rank and much greater power. This was Alexander lord Hume, hereditary chamberlain of Scotland, warden of all the marches, and the head of a numerous and warlike clan; a nobleman formidable by his power and riches, but ſtill more formidable by his artful, factious, and daring character. While the regent reſided at Faulkland in Auguſt this year,

* Rym. p. 574. † Leſly, p. 382.

Hepburn,

Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, was often with him in private, and filled his mind with ſo much dread and jealouſy of lord Hume, that he determined his deſtruction. To accompliſh this, he came to Edinburgh in September, and called a convention of the nobles, to which he invited lord Hume by particular letters, earneſtly intreating his attendance. He accordingly ſet out, (contrary to the advice of ſeveral of his friends,) accompanied by his brother William, and his friend ſir Andrew Ker of Firnehurſt. They were received by the regent with every mark of regard they could deſire, but were ſoon after ſeized and committed to different priſons. They were not ſuffered to languiſh long in confinement. The lord Hume and his brother were brought to their trial October 10th. The recent offences of which they were accuſed, were probably not very great, but advantage was taken of that ſingular clauſe in their laſt pardon, "That if they committed any new offences, their pardon ſhould be "null and void, and all their former crimes ſhould be laid to their "charge." This was accordingly done; they were found guilty of treaſon, and ſentenced to be beheaded, and their heads to be ſet up on the gates of Edinburgh. This ſentence was executed on the lord Hume October 11th, and on his brother the day after *. Sir Andrew Ker made his eſcape. This inſidious and ſevere proceeding excited fears and ſuſpicions in ſome of the nobility, and a thirſt for revenge in the friends of the ruined family. A D. 1516.

The duke of Albany had found the government of Scotland a very difficult and laborious office, and wiſhed for a fair occaſion of returning to France, to viſit his family, and to attend to his affairs in that country. Such an occaſion now offered. Francis I. ſent an ambaſſador into Scotland in the ſpring A. D. 1517, to ſolicit the renewal of the ancient league between the two kingdoms, and the duke prevailed upon a convention of the eſtates to give him a commiſſion to negociate that affair at the court of France, upon his giving them a promiſe that he would return in ſix months. Before his departure, he conſtituted the earls of Arran, Angus, Huntley, and 1517. Albany goes to France.

* Leſly, p. 389. Buchan. p. 280.

Argyle,

A. D. 1517. Argyle, the archbiſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, with ſir Anthony d'Arcy, Sieur de la Beauté, a French nobleman, his ſubſtitutes. To prevent diſputes among his vicegerents, he allotted a particular diſtrict to each of them; and as he repoſed the greateſt confidence in ſir Anthony d'Arcy, he appointed him warden of the borders, and governor of the neighbouring countries. For the ſecurity of the king's perſon, he brought him from the caſtle of Stirling to the caſtle of Edinburgh, and committed him to the care of the earl of Marſhal, the lords Ruthven and Borthwick, with his governor the lord Erſkine. Still further to prevent commotions, he confined ſome of the moſt turbulent chieftains in the caſtles of Dunbarton, Dunbar, and Garvil. Taking with him the earl of Lennox, with the eldeſt ſons of the earls of Arran, Huntley, and Glencairn, (under the pretence of doing them honour and perfecting their education, but in reality as hoſtages for the good behaviour of their friends,) he embarked at Dunbarton for France about the middle of June *.

The queen returns to Scotland.

The queen of Scotland having ſpent about fourteen months in the court of England, and hearing of the departure of the duke of Albany, ſet out (attended by a ſplendid train of Engliſh lords and ladies) on her return home. When ſhe arrived at Berwick, ſhe was waited upon by her huſband the earl of Angus, who met with a very cold reception. She had been greatly offended with him for deſerting her at Harbotle, and making his peace with the regent; but ſhe was ſtill more offended with him for his gallantries during her abſence, of which ſhe had received intelligence. Like her brother Henry, as her love had been violent, her jealouſy was invincible, and ſhe never could be reconciled to him. She was received at Edinburgh with all the honours due to her rank, but was not admitted into the caſtle to viſit her ſon. The lords who had the cuſtody of the king's perſon were of the French faction, and warmly attached to the duke of Albany; they knew that the king's grandfather had been conveyed, or rather ſtolen, out of the caſtle of Edinburgh by the

* Leſly, p. 367. Buchan. p. 261. Drummond, p. 256.

queen

queen his mother; they knew alſo that the preſent queen had once formed a plot to carry her ſon into England, and ſuſpected that ſhe ſtill entertained the ſame deſign. Theſe were the cauſes of their extreme caution, and the only apologies that can be made for their incivility *. Upon a report that the plague had appeared in Edinburgh, the king was carried to the caſtle of Craigmillar, where the queen was admitted to viſit him; but her viſits were ſo frequent, that they confirmed the ſuſpicions of the lords who had the care of his perſon; and they conducted him back to the caſtle of Edinburgh, from which the queen was excluded †. A. D. 1517.

All the precautions that had been taken by the duke of Albany to prevent diſorders in Scotland in his abſence, were ineffectual. The Sieur de la Beauté, to whom he committed the wardenſhip of the borders, was well qualified for that very difficult office. He was not only remarkable for the beauty of his perſon and elegance of his manners, but reſpectable for his virtues and abilities. Having no family connexions to bias his mind, he adminiſtered juſtice with courage and impartiality. But theſe virtues ſerved only to increaſe the number, and inflame the rage of his enemies, who diſliked him as a foreigner, and dreaded and deteſted him as a juſt intrepid magiſtrate. As he was holding a court at Dunſe September 20th, attended only by a few gentlemen and his own ſervants, a body of the Humes in arms, headed by ſir David Hume of Wedderburn, came to that place, inſulted him, and killed ſome of his French ſervants. The warden, perceiving his danger, got on horſeback, and attempted to ſave himſelf by flight: but his horſe having unfortunately ſtuck in a marſh, his cruel purſuers came up, inſtantly ſtruck off his head, and carried it in triumph to their leader, who ſet it upon the gate of Hume caſtle ‡. So proud was ſir David Hume of this exploit, that he commanded the warden's hair (which was remarkably long and beautiful) to be cut off, and wore it as a trophy at his ſaddle-bow §. The warden ſlain.

* See vol. v. p. 253. † Leſly, p. 387.

‡ Buchan. p. 261. Leſly, p. 387. Drummond, p. 171. § Pitſcottie, p. 130.

A. D. 1517. Though the other governors, it is ſaid, were not much afflicted at the hard fate of the warden, at whoſe promotion they had repined, they could not overlook ſo daring an outrage againſt government. In order to bring the delinquents to juſtice, they appointed the earl of Arran warden of the borders. The earl of Angus, who thought himſelf better intitled to that office on account of his eſtates in thoſe parts, was greatly provoked at this appointment, and it gave riſe to a family feud between the Hamiltons and the Douglaſſes, which continued long, and produced very fatal effects *. This feud was much inflamed by the ſpirited conduct of Arran, who committed ſir George Douglas the brother, and Mark Carr the friend, of the earl of Angus, to the caſtle of Edinburgh, as confederates and favourers of the Humes.

Earl of Arran warden.

1518. The earl of Arran, as chief of the deputed governors, called a parliament to meet at Edinburgh February 19th A. D. 1518. In this parliament ſir David Hume and his accomplices were condemned to death, and their eſtates confiſcated, for the murder of the late warden, and other crimes †.

Parliament.

Caſtles ſurrendered. Immediately after the concluſion of the parliament the earl of Arran, with a conſiderable army and a train of artillery, marched towards the borders; but he met with no oppoſition, and put garriſons into the caſtles of Hume, Wedderburn, and Lanton. Sir David Hume and his accomplices had previouſly retired into England, where they found a ſecure aſylum ‡.

Truce. Though the duke of Albany now reſided in France, he ſtill acted as regent of Scotland, and in that capacity prolonged the truce with England to November 30th A. D. 1519, to which another year was afterwards added §. He took care alſo to have the king and kingdom of Scotland comprehended in the treaty of peace concluded between France and England at London October 2d A. D. 1518 ‖. By theſe treaties the external peace of the kingdom was for ſome time ſecured.

* Leſly, p. 388. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
§ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 600. ‖ Ibid. p. 624.

But

A. D. 1519. Diſorders in Scotland.

But notwithſtanding this, the abſence of the duke of Albany was very ſeverely felt by the people of Scotland. While that prince was preſent he kept the fierce and turbulent chieftains in ſome degree of order and ſubmiſſion to the laws, by his ſuperior authority and great abilities; but after his departure the country became a ſcene of violence, anarchy, and confuſion. His ſubſtitutes were at variance among themſelves, and one of them protected the criminal whom another attempted to puniſh. Competitions for offices, and even diſputes about property, were determined by the ſword; and family feuds were proſecuted with unrelenting fury. A kind of pitched battle was fought between the Hamiltons and the Douglaſſes, and their ſeveral partiſans, near Kelſo, in which the Hamiltons were defeated. Sir David Hume of Wedderburn, with his followers, made frequent inroads into the Merſe, in one of which, October 6th A. D. 1519, he killed Robert Blackader, prior of Coldingham, and ſix of his ſervants, to make way for William Douglas, abbot of Holyrood-houſe, and brother to the earl of Angus, who obtained that priory. In a word, the Humes became triumphant on the borders, and took poſſeſſion of their caſtles and eſtates that had been forfeited. Their party ſtill prevailing, George, the eldeſt ſurviving brother of the late lord Hume, was reſtored by parliament Auguſt 12th A. D. 1522 *.

1520. Skirmiſhes in Edinburgh.

The two great parties, the Engliſh and French, into which Scotland was long divided, were now completely formed. The earl of Angus was the head of the Engliſh, and the earl of Arran, in the abſence of the duke of Albany, was the head of the French party. Such of the nobility as were friends to the peace and proſperity of their country, laboured to bring about a reconciliation between theſe two powerful noblemen, and a meeting was appointed to be held at Edinburgh in May A. D. 1520 for that purpoſe. Angus ſuſpecting no danger, and expecting to be joined by his friends from the Merſe, came to Edinburgh with a ſlender retinue. The earl of Arran, and Beaton archbiſhop of Glaſgow, with their friends, find-

* Drummond, p. 173. Hollingſh. p. 306. Records of Parliament.

A. D. 1520. ing themſelves much ſtronger than the other party, reſolved to ſhut the gates, and ſeize the earl of Angus and his principal followers. Angus having received intelligence of this deſign, collected and armed his friends; and, to gain a little time, ſent his uncle, the famous Gavin Douglas, biſhop of Dunkeld, to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, to propoſe an amicable conference: but that prelate, having put on armour under his pontifical robes, declared, that upon his conſcience he could not conſent; at the ſame time ſmiting with violence on his breaſt, which made the plates of his armour rattle. "How now, my lord! methinks your conſcience clatters," ſaid the good biſhop, and retired, having firſt reproached his grace for a conduct ſo unbecoming his character. The earl of Angus perceiving that he could not eſcape without fighting, drew up his ſmall but brave and determined band, of about eighty gentlemen, on the high-ſtreet within the Netherbow-port. His enemies, who were much more numerous, and confident of victory, advanced to the charge: but as they advanced by the narrow lanes that lead from the Cow-gate to the High-ſtreet, they were incommoded by their numbers, and the moſt forward of them being killed as they emerged from theſe lanes, and others ſeeing this and attempting to turn back, threw the whole into confuſion, and they fled on all hands, leaving about ſeventy of their number dead on the ſtreet. The earl of Arran, with his natural ſon ſir James Hamilton, eſcaped over the marſh called the North-loch with great difficulty. The archbiſhop of Glaſgow took ſhelter behind the high altar in the Blackfriars church, from whence he was dragged by his enraged enemies, and would have been killed if the biſhop of Dunkeld had not interpoſed *.

Conſequences of this ſkirmiſh.

The earl of Arran and his party were much diſpirited by this defeat, and importuned the duke of Albany to return to Scotland. Their adverſaries, elated with their victory, took down the heads of the late lord Hume and his brother from the gates of Edinburgh, and buried them with great funeral pomp Auguſt 21ſt A.D. 1520†. They

* Buchan. p. 261. Drum. p. 174. Pitſcottie, p. 120. † Leſly, p. 395.

made an excurſion to Linlithgow and Stirling, in hopes of taking the archbiſhop of Glaſgow by ſurpriſe; but being diſappointed, they returned to Edinburgh, and diſmiſſed their followers. A. D. 1520.

The regents and council of Scotland were ſo much engaged in their party quarrels, that they paid no attention to the truce with England, till it was on the point of expiring. Fortunately for them, king Henry and his favourite miniſter, cardinal Wolſey, were ſo much employed in their intrigues and negociations with the emperor and the king of France, by both of whom they were courted, that they had no leiſure or inclination to quarrel with the Scots: peace was therefore preſerved between the two kingdoms through the whole of this year by ſhort truces *. This policy of making only ſhort truces of a month or two, was adopted by the Scots, in conſequence of directions from the duke of Albany, that if a war broke out between France and England, they might be at liberty to aſſiſt their ancient allies. 1521.

Though the king of France had bound himſelf, when he made peace with England A. D. 1518, to detain the duke of Albany in France, and not ſuffer him to return to Scotland, he now determined to ſend him into that kingdom to ſupport his party, and diſpoſe the Scots to adhere to their ancient league with France, which had lately been renewed with great ſolemnity. The duke accordingly landed in the weſt of Scotland November 19th, after an abſence of four years and five months, and was joyfully received by the great body of the nation †. Albany arrives in Scotland.

The arrival of the duke of Albany made a great and ſudden change in the ſtate of parties in Scotland. He made his public entry into Edinburgh December 3d, accompanied by the queen dowager, (who had been reconciled to him, and correſponded with him in his abſence,) by the lord chancellor Beaton, the earl of Huntley, and many of the prime nobility. He immediately turned out the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, who were of the Anguſian or Engliſh party, and put his own friends in their place. He then called a parliament The Engliſh party broken.

* See Rym. tom. xiii. p. 727, 728. 730. 734. 736. 744, 745. † Leſly, p. 396.

to

A. D. 1521. to meet at Edinburgh December 26th, and on the 9th of that month he cauſed the earl of Angus and all the chieftains of his party to be ſummoned at the market-croſs of the metropolis, to appear before that parliament to anſwer to the accuſations that were to be brought againſt them. A compromiſe was made, (by the interpoſition, it is ſaid, of the queen,) by which the earl of Angus, and his brother William prior of Coldingham, were allowed to go into voluntary exile in France. Their uncle Gavin Douglas, biſhop of Dunkeld, went to London, and the reſt of their partiſans retired into England. Thus the Engliſh party, which had lately been triumphant, was broken and diſperſed *. Henry VIII. was greatly offended at the return of the duke of Albany, and his ſevere proceedings; but he was ſtill more provoked at the queen his ſiſter, for her joining the duke's party. The biſhop of Dun is ſaid to have inflamed his reſentment both againſt his ſiſter and the duke.

1522. King Henry's letter to the Scots parliament. The duke of Albany in the beginning of this year applied to the court of England for a prolongation of the laſt truce, which was to expire at Candlemas. But Henry VIII. was too much irritated at the duke's return to Scotland to comply with that requiſition: on the contrary, he ſent a very angry letter, dated January 14th A. D. 1522, to the parliament of Scotland then ſitting, declaring, that if they did not immediately diveſt the duke of Albany of the government, and compel him to leave the kingdom, he and his confederates would make war upon them, and do them all the miſchief in their power. The reaſons he aſſigned for this hoſtile declaration were theſe: — his anxiety for the ſafety of his nephew their young king; the danger to which that prince was expoſed, while the next heir to his crown was his guardian; that the duke had committed the cuſtody of the king to a foreigner of little reputation; that his ſiſter the queen dowager was proſecuting a divorce from her lawful huſband, in order to a marriage with the duke, which would involve her in perdition, and expoſe her ſon to great danger; that the duke had left France, though that king had ſolemnly engaged to detain him there;

* Leſly, p. 396.

and

and that he had come into Scotland with a deſign to kindle war between the two kingdoms *. A. D. 1522.

To this threatening letter the parliament returned a very ſpirited and ſenſible anſwer, dated February 9th. They expreſs great ſurpriſe that ſo wiſe a prince gave ſo much credit to the falſe and improbable calumnies of traitors, and that he protected and encouraged all the rebels againſt their king his nephew, to whom he profeſſed ſo much love. They declared that the duke of Albany had never interfered with the cuſtody of their king's perſon, but had left that entirely to the queen his mother, his council, and his parliament, who had committed it to four of the moſt aged, wiſe, and honourable noblemen of the kingdom; that he muſt have a very mean opinion of their virtue, honour, and loyalty, if he did not believe that they were at leaſt as anxious as any other perſons could be for the preſervation of their native ſovereign. They aſſure his majeſty, that the report of an intended marriage between the queen and the duke of Albany was an infamous and abſurd calumny, and that they firmly believed that neither of the parties had ever entertained a thought of ſuch a marriage. What private promiſe he had obtained from the king of France about detaining the duke of Albany abroad, they did not pretend to know; but if he had really poſſeſſed all that love to their king his nephew, and all that good-will to them he had often profeſſed, he would have importuned the king of France to ſend him into Scotland, to put an end to their internal broils and miſeries, with which he was not unacquainted. They earneſtly intreat him to withdraw his protection and favour from the biſhop of Dunkeld, and the other rebels againſt their king; without which there could be no ſolid peace between the two kingdoms. They conclude with declaring, that though they wiſhed for peace, they were fully determined to take either peace or war, as it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend, rather than conſent to do ſo great an injury to their king and country, ſo great a diſhonour to themſelves, and ſo great a wrong to the lord governor, as to remove him from his office at the requeſt of his grace, or of any other Anſwer.

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 761.

prince;

A. D. 1522. prince; and if his grace made war upon them on that account, they would truſt in God and the juſtice of their cauſe, and defend their king and country, as their anceſtors had often done before them *. Henry wrote letters in the ſame ſtrain, containing ſimilar threats and accuſations, and received ſimilar anſwers of denial and defiance †. As a laſt effort to intimidate the Scots, Henry commanded the lord Dacres to paſs the borders with five hundred men at arms, and publiſh a proclamation, That if the Scots did not accept of the terms propoſed by the king of England before the 1ſt of March, he would make war upon them with all his power. This was accordingly done, but without effect ‡.

Preparations for war.

Both nations now prepared for war, which appeared to be unavoidable. Henry availed himſelf of his ſuperior force by ſea, and ſent ſeven great ſhips into the Forth in April; but the coaſts were ſo well guarded that they made little or no impreſſion, though they created an alarm, and diverted the Scots from attacking the Engliſh on the borders. In the beginning of July all the French and Scots were baniſhed out of England, and their goods confiſcated §. To raiſe a formidable army, all the men between ſixteen and ſixty in the counties of Shrewſbury, Nottingham, Derby, York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, Lancaſter, Cheſter, and Durham, were commanded to be ready to march againſt their ancient enemies the Scots, who, it was ſaid, intended to invade England in September; and the earl of Shrewſbury was appointed July 30th lord lieutenant of the north, and general of the army ‖.

Parliament.

In the mean time the regent of Scotland was not idle. He called a parliament that met at Edinburgh July 22d, in which it was unanimouſly agreed to raiſe an army to defend the kingdom againſt their old enemies the Engliſh. To encourage perſons of all ranks to fight bravely in defence of their country, it was enacted, That the heirs of all the vaſſals of the crown, the regent, the prelates, and barons, who fell in battle, ſhould have their wardſhips, marriages, and reliefs, free;

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 761—763. † Herbert, p. 51.
‡ Stowe, p. 515. § Leſly, p. 399. ‖ Rym. p. 772—774.

and

and that the wives and children of yeomen and farmers who were slain, should enjoy their tenements for five years at the former rent *. When the parliament broke up, the regent and chieftains made haste to collect their followers. A. D. 1522.

Before the Scots army was formed, the earl of Shrewsbury, with the readiest of his troops, made an incursion into Scotland, and burnt one half, and plundered the other half of the town of Kelso: but on the approach of the men of Tiviotdale and the Merse, the English retired with precipitation. Incursion.

The duke of Albany marched at the head of a numerous army in the beginning of September, and encamped on the banks of the river Esk, within a few miles of Carlisle: but when he proposed to pass that river and invade England, the most powerful chieftains in his army refused to follow him; and it was with some difficulty he prevailed upon them to remain in their camp. The memory of the fatal battle of Flodden was still fresh in their minds; they knew that the present war was undertaken solely to make a diversion in favour of the French, and thought it sufficient for that purpose to detain the forces of the north of England at home to defend their country. When things were in this situation, the queen of Scotland interposed, and by her mediation a truce was concluded between the regent and lord Dacres, warden of the English borders, for fourteen days; in which time commissioners were to be sent to the court of England, to negociate a peace, or longer truce. They were accordingly sent in October; but their negociations were unsuccessful, because they insisted on the French being included in the peace or truce †. Expedition.

The duke of Albany was much chagrined at the opposition of the Scots nobility to his intended invasion of England. He was now convinced that his authority as regent was not sufficient to engage them to make a vigorous attempt upon England in the minority of their king, unless he could procure a considerable body of auxiliaries to encourage and assist them. In hopes of procuring these auxiliaries, Albany goes to France.

* Black Acts James V. tom. xii. † Lesly, p. 405. Drum. p. 179.

A. D. 1522 he ſet ſail for France in the end of October, promiſing to return by the firſt of Auguſt in the following year *.

1523. Hoſtilities. Hoſtilities were recommenced on the borders in the ſpring, and continued through the ſummer of this year, by mutual depredations and incurſions, which did much miſchief to the wretched inhabitants of thoſe parts, but determined nothing. In one of theſe incurſions Thomas earl of Surry, who commanded in the north, took and burnt the town of Jedburgh September 24th, and demoliſhed the magnificent monaſtery of that place †.

Albany returns. The duke of Albany having obtained ſome troops from the king of France, prepared to return with them into Scotland by the time appointed. But he was prevented by an Engliſh fleet fitted out to intercept him. On this occaſion the duke acted with great prudence, and deceived his enemies. He removed his troops from the ſea-coaſt, and directed his ſhips to ſeparate, and put into different ports, at no great diſtance from one another. The Engliſh admiral, ſir William Fitz-Williams, ſeeing no fleet in any of the French harbours, and no appearance of an embarkation, left his ſtation about the middle of Auguſt, and returned into port. The duke then collected his ſhips, and embarked his troops with great expedition at Breſt; ſailed from thence on the 21ſt, and arrived in the weſt of Scotland on the 24th of September, with a fleet of about fifty ſail, three thouſand infantry, and one thouſand men at arms ‡.

Expedition. The regent having brought his fleet into the Clyde, and landed his troops, called a convention of the eſtates. In his abſence the Engliſh party had increaſed, and ſeveral of the lords and barons thinking it imprudent to wage perpetual war with a too powerful neighbour, at the inſtigation of a diſtant ally, wiſhed for a peace with England. But the duke, by his authority, his ſpeeches, promiſes, and other arts, prevailed upon the convention to reſolve to raiſe an army and continue the war. The army rendezvouſed in Douglaſdale, and paſſed the Tweed October 20th, by the bridge of

* Leſly, p. 406. Buchan. p. 263. † Ibid.
‡ Drummond, p. 180. Buchan. p. 263.

Milroſs,

Milroſs, with a deſign to penetrate into England by the middle-marches. But here again the regent met with an unexpected check; ſome of the moſt powerful chieftains poſitively declared againſt an offenſive war, and refuſed to enter England; which obliged him, with great reluctance, to repaſs the Tweed, and march down the north banks of that river to Coldſtream, nearly oppoſite to the caſtle of Werk. That caſtle, now entirely demoliſhed, was then in perfect repair and very ſtrong, as we are told by George Buchannan, the famous poet and hiſtorian, who was preſent at this ſiege. The duke ſent four thouſand French and Scots, with a train of battering cannon, over the Tweed, to beſiege this caſtle, which conſiſted of a lofty tower or donjon, an inner incloſure, ſurrounded by a very thick wall and double ditch; and an outer incloſure much larger, ſurrounded alſo with a ſtrong wall and ditch. The beſiegers ſoon got poſſeſſion of the outer incloſure; and a practicable breach being made in the inner wall, they gave an aſſault, but were repulſed. Heavy rains falling at the ſame time, they raiſed the ſiege and returned with their artillery, for fear of being cut off from the main army by the ſwelling of the river. The duke, convinced that he could do nothing of importance with an army of which he had not the command, decamped November 29th, and marching to Lauder, diſmiſſed his troops. The earl of Surry, who had orders to remain on the defenſive, alſo diſbanded his army of forty thouſand, and hoſtilities ceaſed for ſome time *. Though Scotland reaped neither honour nor profit from this expedition, it was of great advantage to France, by detaining ſo many forces in England. A. D. 1523.

The duke of Albany perceiving that his own power and the power of the French party were declining, and the Engliſh party increaſing, propoſed to go to France, with a deſign, it is probable, to procure a greater reinforcement of troops, and promiſed to return before the firſt of September. He reſided ſome time with the king at Stirling, and gave him ſuch advice and inſtructions as a youth in his thir- 1524. Albany leaves Scotland.

* Buchan. p. 265.

A. D. 1524. teenth year was capable of comprehending. He directed the council, to whom he committed the management of affairs in his abſence, to keep the king at Stirling, and not to make any peace or truce with the Engliſh before his return. Attended by a ſplendid retinue of the nobility, he proceeded to the Clyde, where his fleet waited for him, and ſailed for France May 19th, from whence he never returned again to Scotland *. He was a prince of great abilities and greate virtues; equally brave and prudent; a lover of order and juſtice; quick and deciſive in his reſolutions; and poſſeſſed great command of temper in the moſt trying ſituations. Having no children of his own, he was ſo far from entertaining any unfriendly deſigns againſt his royal pupil, (of which Henry VIII. pretended to ſuſpect him,) that he viewed him with the eyes of a parent, and watched over him with the moſt tender care. But being a native of France, where he had great connexions, poſſeſſions, and offices, his attachment to that country had too great an influence on his conduct in the government of Scotland, which rendered his adminiſtration difficult and unpleaſant to himſelf, and diſagreeable to a great party of the Scots, who wiſhed for a peace with England.

Correſpondence. The duke of Albany, before his departure, carried on a kind of pacific correſpondence with cardinal Wolſey, to prevent any hoſtilities that might detain him, in which he ſucceeded. The cardinal encouraged the correſpondence with another view, in which he miſcarried. He endeavoured to perſuade him to come into England, to hold a conference with him, in which, he ſaid, they would not only ſettle a peace between the two kingdoms, but the general peace of Chriſtendom. The cardinal's real deſign was, if the duke had come into England, to tempt him (with a promiſe of a large ſhare of the kingdom of France, which they deſigned to diſmember) to imitate the duke of Bourbon, who had revolted from his ſovereign. But Albany well knew the cardinal had no intention to make a general peace, and was too wiſe to truſt his perſon in England †. The

* Buchan. p. 265. Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 332. 335.

† Otterborne and Welhamſtede, f. 11. Append.

queen at the ſame time correſponded with her brother in the ſame pacific ſtrain, which contributed alſo to prevent hoſtilities in the ſpring of this year. A. D. 1524.

As no truce ſubſiſted between the two nations, in the months of June and July hoſtilities were renewed by mutual incurſions, to the equal advantage, or rather diſadvantage, of both *. To preſerve the memory of theſe petty, but very deſtructive, wars, (which ſeem hardly worthy of a place in hiſtory,) may ſerve to impreſs our minds with a grateful ſenſe of our ſuperior ſecurity and happineſs in the preſent times. Incurſions.

The earl of Angus and his brother, weary of the inactive life of exiles, made their eſcape from France in July this year, came to the court of England, and were well received by the king and his favourite, cardinal Wolſey, who reſolved to employ them to ſupport and ſtrengthen the Engliſh party in Scotland, where the earl had great eſtates and many friends. But one difficulty occurred. They knew the animoſity of the queen againſt the earl her huſband, and were no ſtrangers to the violence of her temper, and the raſh courſes of which ſhe was capable, when provoked. They ſent the earl and his brother into the north, to the care, or rather cuſtody, of lord Dacres, with ſtrict injunctions not to ſuffer them to enter Scotland till further orders †. Angus returns from France.

In the mean time, the queen dowager was very active in ſtrengthening her party, in order to obtain the regency, by the excluſion of the duke of Albany; and ſhe was the more active to accompliſh her deſign, that ſhe heard her hated huſband was arrived in England, and expected in Scotland. Accompanied by the earls of Arran, Argyle, Lennox, and ſome other lords and gentlemen, the queen conducted the young king, her ſon, July 29th, from Stirling to Edinburgh, and there, with the conſent of the great men of her party, took upon her the adminiſtration. James Beaton, the chancellor and archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, a zealous friend to the duke of Albany and the French intereſt, oppoſed this irregular meaſure; inſiſting The queen aſſumes the regency.

* Hall, f. 129. † Otterborne, Appendix.

that

A. D. 1524. that nothing of that kind could be done till after the firſt of September, (when the regent had promiſed to return,) and by a regular parliament. For this oppoſition he was impriſoned, but ſoon after ſet at liberty *. That no interruption might be given to theſe proceedings, ſo agreeable to the court of England, hoſtilities were ſuſpended in the months of Auguſt and September by two ſhort truces.

Angus returns to Scotland. As the earl of Arran had formerly been at the head of the French party, he was ſtill ſuſpected by Henry and his miniſter. They therefore ſent the earl of Angus into Scotland, with inſtructions to endeavour to regain the favour of the queen his ſpouſe, and to cooperate with the earl of Arran, if he continued ſteady in the Engliſh intereſt, but if he deviated from it, to oppoſe him; in which he was promiſed the moſt effectual ſupport. The earl and his brother arrived in their native country in October, after a tedious exile, and were joyfully received by the numerous friends of their family. Their arrival ſoon produced another revolution.

Parliament. The queen, to ſecure the power ſhe had obtained, called a parliament, to meet November 16th at Edinburgh. Though the earl of Angus was in the country, he did not take his ſeat in this meeting, which conſiſted chiefly of the queen's party. By their ſecond act, they deprived the duke of Albany of his two high offices, of regent of the kingdom and tutor to the king, becauſe he had not returned with ſuccours from France before the firſt of September, as he had promiſed; and ordered a reſpectful letter to be written to the king of France, containing their reaſons for this proceeding †. By the ſame act, they declared the king (then in the fourteenth year of his age) capable of governing his dominions, and appointed a council to adviſe and aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration. This ſecret or cabinet council was compoſed of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the biſhop of Aberdeen, the earl of Arran, and the earl of Argyle, who were to ſuperintend all negociations with foreign princes and ſtates, the coin-

* Leſly, p. 413. Buchan. p. 266.

† Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 351—356.

ing

ing of money, and the adminiſtration of juſtice; but were to do nothing without the queen's conſent *. The guardianſhip of the king's perſon was committed to the queen-mother, who, with the advice of the privy council, was to make choice of wiſe and virtuous men to inſtruct him in learning and good manners †. On November 18th the parliament appointed Robert biſhop of Dunkeld, Gilbert earl of Caſſilis, and Alexander abbot of Cambuſkenneth, ambaſſadors to the court of England, to negociate a peace or truce, and a marriage of their young king and the princeſs Mary, the only child of Henry VIII. ‡ This parliament, having gratified the queen in all her wiſhes, was prorogued to February 25th A. D. 1525. A. D. 1524.

The three ambaſſadors, in their way to London, made a truce, November 29th, for two months, with Thomas lord Dacres, warden general of the Engliſh marches §. On their arrival in London, and entering upon the negociation of a marriage between their king and the princeſs of England, Henry VIII. propoſed the two following conditions: 1. That the Scots ſhould diſſolve their league with France, and make a ſimilar league with England. 2. That the king of Scots ſhould reſide in the court of England till after the marriage was conſummated. But theſe were unexpected conditions, concerning which they had no inſtructions. The truce was therefore prolonged to the 28th of March, to give them an opportunity of conſulting their conſtituents; and the earl of Caſſilis returned to Scotland for that purpoſe ‖. 1525. Embaſſy to England.

When the time to which the parliament had been prorogued approached, the political hemiſphere, which had been ſo ſerene and calm at the former meeting, began to be overcaſt, and threatened a ſtorm. Some diſcontents and jealouſies prevailed among the noblemen of the queen's party; and the earl of Angus, her hated huſband, came to Edinburgh, attended by a numerous train of his friends and fol- Parliament.

* Regiſt. Parliam. vol. vi. Regiſter Office, Edinburgh. † Ibid.
‡ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 27. § Ibid. p. 28. ‖ Ibid. p. 30. Leſly, p. 414.

lowers.

A. D. 1525. lowers. Alarmed at theſe appearances, ſhe publiſhed a proclamation, prohibiting the parliament to meet in the city, and appointing it to meet in the caſtle of Edinburgh, where the king reſided. The earl of Angus and ſeveral other noblemen ſtrongly and juſtly reprobated this meaſure, as inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the members and the freedom of debate; and to prevent its being put in execution, they blockaded the caſtle with two thouſand armed men, who ſuffered no proviſions to be introduced, except for the king's table. The earl of Arran, who commanded in the caſtle, threatened to fire upon the city, which threw the inhabitants into great conſternation. But when things were in this ſituation, ſome of the moſt reſpectable prelates interpoſed, and brought about an accommodation. The king was conducted to Holyrood-houſe, and the parliament was opened, with the uſual parade, in the uſual place *.

Though hoſtilities were thus prevented, the animoſity of the parties was not extinguiſhed. The debates on chuſing the lords of the articles were violent, and many proteſts were taken on both ſides. One of the chief tranſactions of this ſeſſion was, the choice of new council, which conſiſted of the archbiſhops of St. Andrews and Glaſgow, the biſhops of Aberdeen and Dumblane, the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Lennox. But this council was to tranſact nothing of importance without the conſent of the queen. The late blockade of the caſtle was declared to have been for the good of the king and kingdom, for which no perſon ſhould ever be called in queſtion. The ſummons that had been iſſued againſt the earls of Angus and Lennox, for entering the city of Edinburgh in the night in arms, was recalled and annulled. The new council was authoriſed to name a committee to have the care of the king's perſon, with power to conduct him from one place to another, but not to carry him out of the kingdom, under the pain of high treaſon; the queen to be at the head of this committee, and to have free acceſs to her ſon at all times †. In a word, parties ſeem to have been nearly equal at this

* Leſly, p. 416. Regiſt. Parl. vol. vi. † Ibid.

meeting;

meeting; or if the earl of Angus had the advantage, he was unwilling to puſh it too far: for though the queen's power was diminiſhed, ſhe was ſtill treated with great reſpect. A. D. 1525.

The earl of Caſſilis was inſtructed to conſent to the diſſolution of the league with France, if Henry diſſolved his alliance with the emperor, to whom the princeſs Mary had been contracted about three years before, but not to conſent to the king's going out of his kingdom. Henry promiſed to treat with the emperor on the ſubject. But the news of the battle of Pavia, in which the French king was taken priſoner, had reached the court of England, and ſo entirely engaged the attention of Henry and his miniſter, that no further progreſs was made with the Scots ambaſſadors, who, deſpairing of ſucceſs, returned home *.

The queen's complaint.

What efforts the earl of Angus made to gain the affections of his royal ſpouſe, we are not informed; but it is certain they were ineffectual. Her animoſity againſt him became daily more violent, and ſhe complained to a parliament that met at Edinburgh July 11th A. D. 1525, that though ſhe had commenced a proceſs againſt her huſband the earl of Angus for a divorce, he ſtill continued to uplift her rents and diſpoſe of her eſtates, and craved redreſs. To this complaint the earl replied, that he was willing to give the queen his wife every manner of aſſurance of her perſonal ſafety, and every ſort of ſatisfaction, but could not relinquiſh the rights of a huſband, or conſent to her ſeparation from him †. It doth not appear that the queen obtained any redreſs; and it ſeems probable, that it was on this occaſion ſhe left her ſon at Edinburgh, and retired to Stirling in diſcontent.

In the ſame parliament, July 17th, it was appointed that the lords of the ſecret council ſhould perform their duty in the following manner: That one of the prelates and one of the earls of that council, aſſiſted by three or four members of the ordinary council, ſhould attend the court, and adminiſter the government for three months, and then be ſucceeded by another prelate and another earl, with the

* Leſly, p. 416. † Regiſter of Parl. vol. vi.

A. D. 1525. like number of aſſiſtants for the next three months, and ſo in regular ſucceſſion. By the ſame act the archbiſhop of Glaſgow and the earl of Angus, and in company with them the biſhop of Orkney, the earl of Morton, the abbot of Holyrood-houſe, the abbot of Arbroath, and the lord Seaton, were appointed to remain with the king, and to adminiſter the government from July 17th to November 1ſt; and during that time they were to have the cuſtody of the king's moſt noble perſon *. By another act of the ſame parliament, July 31ſt, it was declared, that the tranſactions of the ſecret council, without the queen's concurrence, ſhould be valid; and that the power conferred on her by the former parliament ſhould be recalled, unleſs ſhe returned within twenty days, and uſed the counſel of the lords †. This is a ſufficient proof that the queen had retired from court ſome time before this; that her abſence retarded buſineſs, and was diſapproved by parliament.

When the earl of Angus and his co-adjutors were regularly inveſted with authority, and the cuſtody of the king's perſon, by parliament, they entered upon the adminiſtration; and there can be no doubt that they employed their power for their own and their friends advancement. The other counſellors had retired, and the queen's conſent to their tranſactions was no longer neceſſary. The earl of Angus himſelf was made chancellor, and warden of the eaſt and middle marches; his uncle, Archibald Douglas of Kilſpendy, was made treaſurer; his brother, ſir George, was made lord chamberlain; and his other brother, William prior of Coldingham, it is ſaid, was made abbot of Holyrood-houſe ‡. They did not, however, neglect the intereſts of the public. A parliament was held in September, in which a commiſſion was given by the king and three eſtates to the earl of Angus, George abbot of Holyrood-houſe, and three others, to meet with the commiſſioners of the king of England,

* Regiſter of Parl. vol. vi. † Ibid.

‡ This laſt, though affirmed by all our hiſtorians, could not be true; becauſe it appears from an authentic record, that George Creichton was abbot of Holyrood-houſe on the 28th September this year. Much leſs could this be the cauſe of the queen's retiring to Stirling. Rym. tom. xiv. p. 91.

for

for confirming the peace between the two kingdoms. The commiſſioners of both nations met at Berwick 10th October, and concluded a truce for three years; and agreed to meet again at the ſame place 12th January A. D. 1526, to exchange ratifications of the treaty *. A. D. 1525.

The time now approached when the earl of Angus and his friends ſhould reſign their power to thoſe who had been appointed by parliament to ſucceed them: but they diſcovered no diſpoſition to comply with that appointment. They found themſelves in poſſeſſion of the perſon and authority of their king, and reſolved to retain them as long as poſſible. When this reſolution became apparent, it not only inflamed the reſentment of the queen and their other enemies, but it offended the other members of the ſecret council and their friends, who deſired and expected to enjoy the honours and emoluments of government in their turns. The archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and other diſcontented nobles, held a meeting in the caſtle of Stirling, where the queen reſided, and from thence ſent a meſſage to the earl of Angus at Edinburgh, accuſing him of detaining the perſon of the king, and retaining the adminiſtration after his time was expired, and requiring him to reſign them to thoſe who had been appointed by parliament to ſucceed to that charge. To this meſſage the earl of Angus returned no anſwer; but he prevailed with the king to declare to the meſſenger, that the earl had treated him ſo well, that he choſe to remain with him; and charged him to communicate that reſolution to the queen his mother, and the nobles who had ſent him †. The earl of Angus retains the adminiſtration.

Theſe were not the real ſentiments of the young monarch: for though the earl of Angus had indulged him in the gratification of all his youthful paſſions to gain his favour, he plainly perceived that he was a priſoner, and earneſtly deſired to be ſet at liberty; and he found means to communicate this deſire to the queen and the nobles at Stirling, and conjured them to attempt his deliverance ‡. The king wiſhes to be ſet at liberty.

* Rym. p. 114. † Leſly, p. 417. ‡ Ibid.

A. D. 1526.

Attempt to deliver the king.

As ſoon as the lords received this intimation of the king's deſire, they raiſed their followers, and formed an army, with which they marched to Linlithgow. The earl of Angus, well informed of all their motions, had collected all his friends and followers, and, with the king in his company, marched from Edinburgh January 12th, to meet and give them battle. But when he approached Linlithgow, the leaders of the other army, either thinking themſelves too weak, or unwilling to attack the king in perſon, and expoſe him to the danger of an action, retired to Stirling without fighting. They ſoon after diſmiſſed their followers, and returned to their own eſtates *.

Angus fixed.

This feeble unſucceſsful attempt fixed Angus more firmly in his ſeat. The queen was ſo much afraid of falling into his hands, that ſhe fled into the north with the earl of Moray. The earls of Arran, Argyle, and the other diſcontented nobles, conſulted their ſafety, by living in great privacy, and keeping at a diſtance from court †. The king of England took no umbrage at his proceedings, but rather countenanced them; and the ratifications of the treaty of three years truce were exchanged March 15th at Berwick ‡.

Battle of Melroſs.

Though the earl of Lennox remained at court at the earneſt deſire of the king, and ſeemed to be ſincerely attached to the earl of Angus, he was ſecretly offended at his retaining the government, and thereby preventing him from enjoying it in his turn. The king had made him his confident, and communicated to him his hatred of Angus and the Douglaſſes, and his ardent deſire to be delivered from them; and they formed a ſcheme for that purpoſe. The late truce had not put an end to the depredations on the borders, which were privately promoted by the laird of Buckleugh at the inſtigation of Lennox, in order to draw Angus with the king into thoſe parts where Buckleugh was very powerful, and was to make an attempt to ſet the king at liberty. Angus, ignorant of this ſcheme, went, with the king in his company, and attended by a little army of his friends and followers, July 24th, to Jedburgh, where he was joined by the Humes

* Leſly, p. 418. Rym. p. 114. † Leſly, p. 418. ‡ Rym. p. 128.

and by the Kers of Ceſsford and Farmherſt. Here he remained ſome days, puniſhing ſome of the moſt guilty of the marauders, and taking ſecurities from others for their future good behaviour. As he was returning, July 29th, he diſcovered a great body of horſemen in order of battle, directly in his way to the bridge over the Tweed at Melroſs. This hoſtile appearance ſurpriſed the earl of Angus, but was expected by the king and Lennox, who ſecretly rejoiced at the ſight. A meſſenger was ſent to demand, in the king's name, who they were, and why they appeared there in that warlike poſture? Their leader anſwered, that he was the laird of Buckleugh, and that he came with a thouſand of his friends and followers to wait upon his ſovereign, and to ſhew him how many brave men he had always ready to ſerve him. On receiving this anſwer, a herald was ſent as from the king, to command him to depart, and diſmiſs his followers, under the pain of being treated as a traitor. Buckleugh replied, that he knew the king's mind, and would not retire. Angus having committed the care of the king's perſon to the earl of Lennox, lord Maxwell, his brother ſir George Douglas, &c. advanced to meet his enemies, whom he immediately engaged. The conflict was for ſome time fierce and doubtful. But the Humes and Kers, who had taken their leave of the king a little before, hearing the noiſe, returned full ſpeed, and obtained the victory. The laird of Buckleugh was wounded, eighty of his men killed, and the reſt put to flight. Angus loſt almoſt an equal number of men; and the laird of Ceſsford, purſuing too eagerly, was ſlain by one of Buckleugh's men, which gave riſe to a long and deadly feud between the Kers and Scots *. After this action Angus marched back to Jedburgh, where he reſted ſome days, and then returned with the king to Edinburgh. A. D. 1526.

The queen and the archbiſhop of St. Andrews were equally incenſed againſt the earl of Angus: the former earneſtly deſired to have her marriage with him diſſolved, and the latter encouraged her to bring an action againſt him for that purpoſe in his court. This was accordingly done, and the queen applied to the prelate for a divorce The queen divorced.

* Leſly, p. 420.

A. D. 1526. divorce from her huſband; becauſe, as ſhe alleged, he was married to a daughter of the earl of Traquair at the time of his marriage with her. The earl, who had been prompted to his courtſhip of the queen rather by ambition than by love, made no oppoſition, and the archbiſhop pronounced the ſentence of divorce. As ſoon as this ſentence was confirmed by the pope, the queen married Henry Stewart, a brother of lord Avandale. Her brother Henry VIII. was ſo much offended with this divorce and marriage of his ſiſter, that he never after paid her much regard *.

1527. Lennox retires from court.

John Stewart earl of Lennox was an accompliſhed nobleman, remarkably handſome in his perſon, of engaging manners, and much beloved by the young king, who delighted in his company, and made him his confident. This excited ſuſpicion and jealouſy in the mind of Angus, which he could not conceal. Lennox perceiving that he was ſuſpected, reſolved to retire from court, and attempt to deliver the king by force, which he had failed to accompliſh by art. To this he was urged by the king, who furniſhed him with letters to ſeveral noblemen who were diſaffected to the earl of Angus †. We know not the preciſe time when Lennox left the court; it was, we are told, not many months after the king's return from Jedburgh to Edinburgh in Auguſt 1526, and therefore moſt probably in the beginning of the year 1527.

Angus and Arran unite.

After the departure of Lennox, Angus ſuſpected, or was informed, that he intended to reſcue the king out of his hands, and endeavoured to ſtrengthen his party, that he might be able to repel the dreaded ſtorm. With this view he applied to the earl of Arran, who he knew had a miſunderſtanding with Lennox, though he was his neareſt relation. Arran had been married firſt to a ſiſter of lord Hume, by whom he had no children, and from whom he was divorced on a very frivolous pretence. He was then married to a niece of James Beaton archbiſhop of St. Andrews, by whom he had children. Lennox, who was his ſiſter's ſon, he was told, intended to call in queſtion, at a proper ſeaſon, the legality of his divorce from his firſt wife, and

* Leſly, p. 419. † Ibid. p. 421.

the

the legitimacy of his children by his ſecond wife, in which, if he ſucceeded, he would become heir to the honours and eſtates of his family, and to his chance of ſucceeding to the crown. This had occaſioned an eſtrangement between Arran and his nephew, which made him the more readily liſten to the propoſals of Angus, who engaged to admit him to a participation in the government; and the two powerful chieftains agreed to ſupport one another with all their forces *. A. D. 1527.

Soon after the departure of Lennox from court, an aſſembly of the diſcontented nobles was held at Stirling, in which it was reſolved to reſcue the king, and wreſt the government out of the hands of Angus by force of arms. They then ſeparated, to prepare for executing this reſolution, and agreed to rendezvous at the ſame place in Auguſt. Lennox having raiſed his own friends and vaſſals, and being joined by a thouſand highlanders, and two thouſand men under the earl of Caſſilis and the lord Kilmares, marched to Stirling, where he met with ſo many forces from Fife, Perthſhire, and other parts, as made an army of ten thouſand men, with which he determined to attack the earl of Arran, who had taken poſt at Linlithgow, before he could be joined by the earl of Angus, who was ſtill at Edinburgh. Arran, however, either ſuſpecting, or having received intelligence of this deſign, ſent an expreſs to Angus to join him immediately. Lennox marched from Stirling early in the morning September 3d; but when he approached Linlithgow, he found that the enemy had taken poſſeſſion of the bridge over the Avon, about a mile to the weſt of that town, which obliged him to make a circuit, and paſs the river at Emanuel Nunnery, about a mile above the bridge. The eaſtern banks of the Avon at this place are very ſteep, and the troops, fatigued with their long march, were put out of breath by climbing them, when they were attacked by the enemy advantageouſly poſted on the riſing grounds: they fought, however, with great bravery for ſome time, when a cry aroſe that the Douglaſſes were in ſight, with which many were intimidated and began to fly. Angus had marched Battle of Linlithgow bridge.

* Godſcroft, p. 254.

from

A. D. 1527. from Edinburgh the ſame morning, but was retarded by the king, who pretended ſickneſs, and made various delays; but on hearing the report of cannons, he puſhed forward with the van of his army at full ſpeed, leaving the king to the cuſtody of his brother ſir George Douglas. When he reached the field of battle, he ſaw the enemy flying, and found the earl of Arran weeping over the body of his nephew the earl of Lennox, who had been taken priſoner and butchered in cold blood by the baſtard of Hamilton. Angus was ſo much affected at the ſight, that he could not refrain from tears; but when the king heard of the fate of his favourite, he was ſtill more deeply affected, and mourned for him long and bitterly *.

Queen and archbiſhop fly.

The two victorious earls, having reſted and refreſhed their forces a few days at Linlithgow, marched to Stirling, and from thence to Fife, compelling all the barons and gentlemen who had been in the late inſurrection, to compound for their delinquency by their lands or money, or to join their party to ſave their lives. The queen and the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who were moſt obnoxious, fled in diſguiſe, and concealed themſelves ſo effectually, that they could not be diſcovered: the archbiſhop, in the garb of a ſhepherd, tended a flock of ſheep ſeveral months on Bogrionneumuir †.

Anarchy.

Scotland was at this time a ſcene of the moſt deplorable anarchy and confuſion. The magiſtrates in many places had no authority, and where they had any, they employed it as an inſtrument of wreaking their vengeance on thoſe of the oppoſite party. The earl of Gaſſilis, a nobleman of great honour and bravery, after his eſcape from the battle of Linlithgow, was ſurpriſed and ſlain by the ſheriff of Ayrſhire, at the inſtigation of the baſtard Hamilton, becauſe he refuſed to become a partiſan of the Hamiltons. Deadly feuds between the Leſleys and Forbeſes in the north, and among the Mackintoſhes in the Highlands, were proſecuted with the moſt barbarous and deſtructive cruelty ‡. The earl of Moray having received a commiſſion from the king, raiſed an army, defeated the Mackintoſhes, and took many of them priſoners, of whom he hanged no fewer than

* Leſly, p. 422. Drummond, p. 290. † Pitſcottie, p. 139. ‡ Leſly, p. 423.

two

two hundred, who diſcovered a degree of fidelity to their leader, which would have done great honour to better men in a better cauſe. Each of them was offered his life and liberty, if he would diſcover the lurking-place of his chieftain Hector Mackintoſh; but they all rejected the offer, and choſe rather to die than to betray the chief *. The earl of Angus, after his return from Fife, marched with the king and an army of ſix thouſand men into Liddeſdale, (where the greateſt diſorders prevailed,) obliged the borderers to make their ſubmiſſions, hanged twelve of the moſt guilty, and took hoſtages for the good behaviour of the reſt †. A. D. 1527.

The archbiſhop of St. Andrews, weary of leading the life of a lurking fugitive, and ſeeing no immediate proſpect of a revolution in his favour, found means to convey to ſir George Douglas propoſals for an accommodation with his brother the earl of Angus, accompanied with a promiſe to himſelf of certain advantageous leaſes of lands and tithes. The propoſal was joyfully received, and the accommodation was ſoon concluded. The archbiſhop returned to his caſtle of St. Andrews, and to the poſſeſſion of all his benefices; the public tranquillity ſeemed to be completely reſtored, and the authority of the Douglaſſes firmly eſtabliſhed ‡: for the reconciliation and ſubmiſſion of the archbiſhop were ſoon followed by that of the queen, her huſband Henry Stewart, and his brother James lord Avondale, who ſurrendered the caſtle of Edinburgh March 24th, (which they had taken by ſurpriſe,) and were pardoned at the interceſſion of the queen §. After the ſurrender of the caſtle of Edinburgh, the court removed to Falkland, where the king, indulged in the gratification of all his youthful paſſions, appeared to be perfectly pleaſed with his ſituation. 1528. Tranquillity reſtored.

Theſe fair appearances of tranquillity and ſubmiſſion ſeem to have put the Douglaſſes off their guard. The earl of Angus having ſtaid about a month at Falkland, returned to the ſouth (where he had great eſtates) to attend to his private affairs. The archbiſhop of St. Andrews invited ſir George Douglas to paſs ſome days with him in The king's eſcape from Falkland.

* Leſly, p. 424. † Ibid. p. 426. ‡ Ibid. p. 427. § Ibid.

A. D 1528. that city at Eaſter, and to receive the promiſed leaſes. Archibald Douglas lord treaſurer went at the ſame time to Dundee on buſineſs, or, as ſome ſay, to viſit a lady, leaving the king to the care of the captain of the guard of a hundred men, which conſtantly attended him, and a few inferior officers of the court. The king, encouraged by the abſence of his three moſt watchful keepers, reſolved to attempt an eſcape. He directed the laird of Fairnee, the chamberlain of Fife, and Foreſter of Falkland, to ſend meſſages to all the neighbouring gentlemen to attend the king next morning at a royal hunt. He ſupped ſooner than uſual; and during ſupper he entertained the captain of the guard with diſcourſe about the next day's diverſion, recommending to him to ſee all the houſehold early to reſt, and to awake him next morning at four o'clock; he then retired to his bedchamber, and went to bed: but as ſoon as all was quiet he aroſe, and putting on the livery of a yeoman of the ſtable, ſilently ſlipt out of the palace, and paſſed the guard undiſcovered: when he came to the ſtable he found a groom and page (who were in the ſecret) waiting with horſes ready ſaddled: they mounted, rode full ſpeed to Stirling, and were received into the caſtle which belonged to the queen, and had been neglected by the Douglaſſes *. The news of the king's eſcape flew like lightning; the barons and gentlemen of the neighbourhood made haſte to attend him with their followers; expreſſes were ſent to thoſe at a diſtance, and he ſoon found himſelf ſurrounded by ſuch a body of men as put him out of danger.

Attempt to retake the king.

In the mean time all was diſmay and confuſion at Falkland. When the captain of the guard entered the king's chamber in the morning to awake him, and perceived it empty, he was alarmed. Search and inquiry were made every where, but the king could not be found, nor any intelligence procured: ſome ſurmiſed that he was gone to Bambrigh to viſit a certain lady; but the earl of Rothes arriving from thence to attend the hunt, aſſured them that he was not there. Expreſſes were diſpatched to the lord treaſurer at Dundee, to the chamberlain at St. Andrews, and to the earl of Angus in Lothian, to ac-

* Drummond, p. 293. Pitſcottie, p. 140, 141.

quaint them with what had happened. The two former reached Falkland the ſame forenoon, and the earl the next morning, when it was known that the king had eſcaped to Stirling. A council was held, in which it was reſolved to raiſe an army, and attempt to recover by force the prize they had loſt. But on this occaſion the Douglaſſes found, what almoſt all fallen miniſters have found, that they had fewer real friends and more ſecret enemies than they imagined. Having at length collected a body of their friends and followers at Edinburgh, they marched towards Stirling, but were met by a herald, who commanded them, in the king's name, not to come within ten miles of the court, under the pain of being proclaimed traitors. Some of the leaders were for puſhing forward and riſking a battle; but this appeared to the earl of Angus and others too dangerous: they therefore changed their reſolution, and poſted themſelves at Linlithgow in the way between Stirling and Edinburgh *. A. D. 1528.

The king held a council July 2d, at which the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, ſeven earls, nine lords, and many gentlemen, were preſent, to whom he complained of the ignominious reſtraint in which he had been held by the earl of Angus and his friends for almoſt three years, and diſcovered that his reſentment againſt them was very ſtrong. By the advice of this council a proclamation was iſſued, and ſent by a herald to Linlithgow, commanding the earl of Angus to confine himſelf to the north of the river Spey, his brother ſir George and his uncle Archibald to enter themſelves priſoners in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and the reſt of their army to diſperſe. But with this command they did not comply †. Council.

The king being now in the eighteenth year of his age, and at full liberty, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Edinburgh September 6th, to call thoſe to account who had detained his perſon, uſurped his authority, and were ſtill in arms againſt him. Soon after, the earl of Angus marched back from Linlithgow to Edinburgh, of which he hoped to get poſſeſſion, and to prevent the meeting of a parliament, Angus repulſed.

* Leſly, p. 428. † Ibid. Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 270. Pitſcottie, p. 142.

A. D. 1528. from which he had every thing to fear. But he was prevented by the lord Maxwell and the laird of Cochinvare; and the king arriving at the head of two thouſand men, he retired Auguſt 25th to his caſtle of Tantallon *.

Angus, &c. forfeited. The parliament met at the appointed time, at which the earl of Angus, his brother and uncle, though they had been ſummoned, did not appear; but John Bannantine, who was a member, and one of their retainers, had the courage to proteſt, that nothing done againſt them in that parliament ſhould be of any avail, becauſe they could not attend it without being guilty of treaſon, as the proclamation commanding them not to come within ten miles of the court under the pain of treaſon had not been recalled. This proteſt was diſregarded. The king declared with a ſolemn oath, that while he was detained by the Douglaſſes, he was daily in fear of death. This declaration made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the members. The earl of Angus, his brother ſir George Douglas, his uncle Archibald Douglas, with their moſt intimate friend Alexander Drummond of Carnock, were condemned as traitors, and their eſtates forfeited †.

Treaties. The Douglaſſes were not diſpirited by this ſevere ſentence, but revenged themſelves on the moſt active of their enemies by plundering their eſtates. They relied much on the powerful interceſſion of Henry VIII. for procuring their pardon; and if that proved unſucceſsful, they were certain of an aſylum in England. It appears from the narrative in a treaty concluded at Berwick December 12th A. D. 1522, between the commiſſioners of England and Scotland, "That the "king of England had diverſe and ſyndry tymes addreſſed his maiſt "honourable letters to the right hie and excellent his derreſt Nevo "the king of Scottis, in the favour of the erle of Anguſe, George "Douglas his brother, and Archibald Douglas his uncle, being for-"fallit in Scotland upon leſe majeſtie, to be reconſilet to the favour, "mercy, and grace, of the ſaid king of Scottis ‡." In an article of

* Leſly, p. 428. Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 270. Pitſcottie, p. 142. † Ibid.
‡ Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 277.

the

the ſame treaty it is ſtipulated, that if the king of England at any time received the earl of Angus, his brother, his uncle, and their friends, into his dominions, it ſhould be no breach of the peace, provided the earl ſurrendered his caſtle of Tantallon, and that he or his followers made no incurſions into Scotland. The ſame commiſſioners, at the ſame place, December 14th, concluded a truce for five years between the two kingdoms; the articles of which were nearly the ſame with thoſe of former truces *. A. D. 1528.

The reſentment of king James againſt the Douglaſſes was ſtill too ſtrong to liſten to any application in their favour: he was ſo far from this, that he marched from Edinburgh December 10th at the head of an army, and beſieged their caſtle of Tantallon; but after lying about a month before it, and having loſt many men and horſes, he turned the ſiege into a blockade, and had recourſe to negociation. The governor, Simon Panango, a ſoldier of fortune, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, ſurrendered the caſtle on honourable terms †. Tantallon ſurrendered.

The Douglaſſes having loſt their ſtrongeſt fortreſs, perceived they could not long maintain their ground in Scotland; and being invited by Henry VIII. they retired into England with their principal followers, who choſe to ſhare their fortunes, or deſpaired of pardon. They were there moſt kindly received, and honourably entertained for many years; only Alexander Drummond of Carnock obtained a pardon, and returned home ‡. The Douglaſſes retire into England.

The retreat of the Douglaſſes reſtored the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, which had been diſturbed by their ambition. But great diſorders ſtill prevailed on the borders, which were encouraged by the chieftains in thoſe parts, who paid little regard to the late truce. To give a check to theſe diſorders, James called a convention of his nobility in May this year at Edinburgh, in which he preſided in perſon, though he was only entered into his nineteenth year. William Cockburn of Henderland, and Adam Scott of Tuſhelaw, commonly called the King of Thieves, two moſt notorious offenders, who

* Rym. Fœd. tom. xiv. p. 278—282.

† Godſcroft, p. 259, &c. ‡ Ibid.

had

A. D. 1528. had been guilty of many atrocious crimes, were condemned to death; the earl of Bothwell was baniſhed; the lords Maxwell and Hume, with the lairds of Buckleugh, Ceſsford, Farneherſt, Polwart, Johnſtone, and ſeveral others, were committed to priſon by this convention *. Thus James gave an early ſpecimen of his ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, and ſpirited exertions for ſuppreſſing theft and robbery, for which he was afterwards ſo famous.

James, not contented with what he had done at the convention, engaged his nobles to attend him with their followers at a royal hunt; and he ſet out from Edinburgh June 2d, attended, it is ſaid, by twelve thouſand men. To conceal his real deſign, he hunted ſome days in the foreſt by the way, and then fell ſuddenly into Ewſdale and Eſkdale, and ſeized many of the marauders of thoſe parts by ſurpriſe, of whom he hanged no fewer than forty-eight. Among theſe was the famous John Armſtrong of Kilknocky, the boldeſt, moſt patriotic, and ſucceſsful free-booter of thoſe times. He was conſtantly attended by a troop of twenty or thirty ſtout men, well mounted and armed: he never robbed a Scotchman, but made moſt deſtructive incurſions into England, and laid the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland under contribution. This audacious plunderer, proud of the injuries he had done to the Engliſh, and probably expecting to be rewarded for them, had the effrontery to appear before his ſovereign with his myrmidons in rich and ſplendid dreſſes; but they ſoon found their error: they were ſeized, found guilty, and executed, though Kilknocky, who was very rich, made mighty offers to obtain a pardon. This ſpirited conduct of the young king had a very happy effect, and ſtruck terror into the boldeſt offenders. He returned to Edinburgh July 28th, and ſet the impriſoned chieftains at liberty, when they had given hoſtages for their good behaviour †.

Three years of peace.

Thoſe periods of time are the moſt happy which afford the feweſt materials for hiſtory, when a kingdom enjoys internal tranquillity and external peace, and the perſons and properties of the people are ſecured by the ſteady impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. Such was the

* Leſly, p. 430. † Ibid. p. 433. Buchan. p. 272.

ſtate

ſtate of Scotland in the years 1530, 1531, and 1532, which reflects great honour on the memory of its youthful monarch. A. D. 1528.

Several applications had been made to James by his uncle Henry VIII. for the reſtoration of the Douglaſſes, without effect. Theſe exiles, irritated at this inflexibility, excited ſome diſturbances on the borders. But as both courts ſincerely deſired peace, a ſtop was ſoon put to theſe diſturbances by a meeting of commiſſioners at Newcaſtle October 1ſt, who concluded a truce for one year *. 1533. A truce.

Still further to confirm and prolong that peace between the two kingdoms, which was ſo beneficial to both, the two Britiſh monarchs appointed plenipotentiaries to meet and negociate a perpetual or temporary peace. The commiſſioners for Scotland were, William Stewart, biſhop of Aberdeen, and ſir Adam Otterburn: thoſe for England, ſir Thomas Audeley, chancellor; Thomas Cromwell, ſecretary; Edward Fox, almoner; John Trigonwell; and Richard Gwent. They met at London, and on May 11th concluded and ſigned a treaty of peace, to continue during the lives of the two kings, and a year after the death of him who died firſt. The day after, the ſame plenipotentiaries ſigned another treaty, containing only two articles: by the firſt the king of England engaged to ſurrender to the king of Scots, the fortreſs of Edrington near Berwick, with all its lands: by the ſecond article it was agreed, that the king of England might entertain in his dominions Archibald late earl of Angus, George his brother, and Archibald his uncle; provided they made no hoſtile incurſions into Scotland †. 1534. Treaty of peace.

King James being now in the twenty-fourth year of his age, began to entertain ſerious thoughts of marriage, to which he had many inducements. He was the only ſurviving male of his family, and was far from being fond of the Hamiltons, who were next in the line of ſucceſſion to the crown, and imprudently diſcovered very ſanguine hopes, which gave him great offence. Theſe hopes did not ſeem to be ill-founded. The king was much addicted to vague amours, and raſhly expoſed himſelf to danger in the proſecution of James reſolves to marry.

* Rym. p. 480. † Ibid. p. 529—539.

them,

A. D. 1534. them, as well as in purſuing thoſe deſperate banditti, with which his kingdom was infeſted. He was alſo moſt earneſtly importuned to marry by the queen his mother, and by his nobility. Impelled by ſuch powerful motives, he began to look around him for a proper match. His reputation for courage and activity was now very high, his friendſhip was courted by the greateſt princes, and he was in no danger of having his addreſſes rejected. Godeſcalco Erico, ambaſſador from the emperor Charles V. arrived in the court of Scotland in April this year, with the enſigns of the order of the Golden Fleece, and an offer to James of his choice of three princeſſes of the imperial family, viz. Mary queen dowager of Hungary, the emperor's ſiſter; Mary of Portugal, daughter of his ſiſter Eleanora; and Mary of England. By theſe advances James very juſtly ſuſpected that the emperor deſigned to draw him into his party againſt his ancient ally the king of France, and his uncle the king of England. He returned a polite anſwer, full of reſpect and gratitude to the emperor, but declined to accept any of the matches propoſed. To render this refuſal leſs offenſive, he expreſſed a deſire to eſpouſe the princeſs Iſabella of Denmark, the daughter of another of the emperor's ſiſters. But that princeſs was already contracted to the elector palatine, of which it is probable James was not ignorant *.

Embaſſy to France.

King James appears to have had an early and ſteady attachment to the French, and to their king Francis; with which, it is probable, his tutor, the duke of Albany, had inſpired him in his youth. When that duke renewed the ancient league between France and Scotland A. D. 1517, he negociated a contract of marriage between his pupil the king of Scots, then in his ſixth year, and the eldeſt daughter of Francis, then an infant. That princeſs was dead; but James ſtill retained an inclination to a match in the royal family of France. With that view he ſent David Beaton, abbot of Arbroath, and the lord Erſkine, to the court of France, to demand the princeſs Magdalene, the king's eldeſt daughter, for their ſovereign. The ambaſſadors were well received, and no objections were made to the mar-

* Buchan. p. 274.

riage,

riage, but that the princeſs was of a delicate frame, not likely to live long, or to have any children. Francis at the ſame time recommended Mary of Bourbon, daughter of Charles duke of Vendoſme, as a proper conſort for their king; and ſtill further to teſtify his regard, he ſent him the enſigns of the order of St. Michael *. A. D. 1534.

Embaſſy from England.

Henry VIII. was at no leſs pains to conciliate the affections and ſecure the friendſhip of his nephew the king of Scots, than the emperor, or the king of France. In the beginning of this year he ſent him, by William Barlow, biſhop of St. Aſaph, a long letter, explaining the reaſons of his conduct in procuring a divorce from queen Catherine and marrying Anne Boleyn; in withdrawing from the obedience of the pope, and in the other meaſures he was then purſuing. Not contented with this, he ſoon after ſent lord William Howard, attended by a ſplendid retinue, into Scotland, with the enſigns of the order of the garter to the king. Lord William, accompanied by biſhop Barlow, reſided ſome time in Scotland, and had frequent conferences with the king; in which they endeavoured to convince him of the wiſdom and rectitude of his uncle's proceedings, and to perſuade him to imitate his example, by withdrawing from the obedience of the pope, and enriching the crown by ſeizing ſome of the ſuperfluous wealth of the clergy, particularly of the monks. But the principal object of the ambaſſadors was, to prevail upon him to agree to an interview with his uncle at York. In order to this, they made him the moſt tempting offers; that Henry would create him duke of York and lieutenant of the kingdom, and declare him next in the line of ſucceſſion to the crown after his own legitimate children, of which he had then only one daughter, an infant. The clergy of Scotland were greatly alarmed at the thoughts of this interview, and endeavoured to prevent it, by repreſenting the extreme danger of truſting his perſon to a prince who had claimed the ſuperiority of his dominions, and ſtill ſupported the Douglaſſes, who had uſurped his authority, and deprived him of his liberty. To give weight to their arguments, they offered him a conſiderable ſum

* Leſly, p. 440.

A. D. 1534. of money as a free gift, and alſo an annual addition to his revenue. Theſe arguments and offers prevailed, and determined James to decline the interview, but in the leaſt offenſive manner, and on ſome fair pretence. The council of Scotland, therefore, objected to York, as too diſtant, and propoſed Newcaſtle, as a more proper place for the interview: and if this propoſal had been fairly laid before Henry, it is probable he would have given his conſent. But lord William Howard, who was young, proud, and paſſionate, being provoked that his offers had not been readily accepted, returned to London, and made a very unfavourable report to Henry of the diſpoſitions of James and his miniſters, which had a very unhappy effect, and produced a coolneſs between theſe two princes which was never removed *.

Embaſſy from Rome. The pope reſolved to launch the thunders of the church againſt Henry VIII. and was anxious to ſecure the attachment of his neareſt neighbour and relation, the king of Scots, to the holy ſee. With this view, he ſent a legate into Scotland, with a letter and a conſecrated cap and ſword to the king, which were received with great reſpect and ceremony. The letter contained a moſt violent declamation againſt Henry, and an earneſt exhortation to James, to employ all his power to extirpate ſo great a monſter of iniquity from the earth. To this flaming epiſtle James returned a civil anſwer, aſſuring his holineſs of his ſteady attachment to the church, and his reſolution to ſuppreſs hereſy in his own dominions †.

1535. Parliament. By the firſt act of a parliament that met at Edinburgh June 7th this year, 1535, holy church was ſecured in all her privileges, liberties, and immunities. By the ſecond act of this parliament, thoſe who lay under the ſentence of excommunication above forty days are ſubjected to very ſevere penalties; "becauſe the damnable perſuaſions and perverſe doctrines of heretics gave occaſion to many "to deſpiſe that ſentence, and other cenſures of holy church ‡." Many excellent ſtatutes were made in this parliament for eſtabliſhing

* Herbert, p. 184. Buchan. p. 275. † Leſly, p. 441.
‡ Black Acts James V. f. 68.

a ſtrict

a ſtrict police and regular adminiſtration of juſtice, which king James had very much at heart. A. D. 1535.

Few princes have poſſeſſed more activity than James V. He ſometimes ſpent whole days, and part of the night, on horſeback, in his expeditions againſt the banditti of the borders and of the north. Having reduced thoſe parts of his kingdom to tolerable order, he now reſolved to viſit the numerous iſlands with which it was ſurrounded, whoſe inhabitants paid little regard to government. He ſailed from the Forth in July with five ſtout ſhips well manned, accompanied by the earls of Arran, Argyle, Huntley, and ſeveral other lords and gentlemen, and firſt viſited Orkney, where he held courts, and puniſhed ſuch as were found guilty of robbery, oppreſſion, and other crimes. He then ſailed to the Hebrides, or Weſtern Iſles; and as his arrival was unexpected, the proprietors and chieftains of thoſe iſles had no opportunity of eſcaping; he ſeized ſuch of them as were accuſed of plundering their neighbours, or of making depredations on the continent, and impriſoned them in the caſtle of Dunbarton. In the whole of this voyage, he gave directions to make ſoundings, to examine the harbours, to meaſure the diſtances of one iſland from another, and from the continent; by which he gained a more perfect knowledge of theſe remote parts of his dominions than any of his predeceſſors. The obſervations that were made in this voyage were afterwards publiſhed for the benefit of navigators. He landed at St. Ninians in Galloway, and proceeded to Edinburgh, where he arrived towards the end of the year *. James viſits the Iſles.

As king James now meditated a more diſtant voyage, he thought it prudent to order ſome of the moſt potent chieftains on the borders into confinement, to prevent diſturbance in his abſence. The laird of Buckleugh was confined in the caſtle of Edinburgh, lord Hume in the caſtle of Down, the laird of Fairnihirſt in Falkland, and the laird of Johnſtone in Dundee. This appears to us an arbitrary, but it was then a neceſſary meaſure, for preſerving peace with England, and preventing internal commotions. "Thereafter," ſays Pitſcottie, 1536. Chieftains confined.

* Drum. p. 303. Pitſcottie, p. 152. Buchan. p. 275.

A. D. 1536. "there was great peace and reſt a long time, and the king had great "profit; for he had ten thouſand ſheep going in Eatrick foreſt, in "keeping by Andrew Bell, who made the king as good account of "them as if they had gone in the bounds of Fife *."

King James next called a convention of his nobility, and communicated to them his intention of going to France to finiſh the negociations of his marriage, which had been too long protracted, exhorted them to preſerve peace and good order, and to be obedient to the regents he had appointed. A fleet of five ſhips being ready, he ſailed from Leith July 24th, but was driven back into the Forth by a ſtorm. Having repaired the damages the fleet had ſuſtained, he ſailed again from Kirkaldy Auguſt 31ſt, attended by a ſplendid train of his nobility, and in ten days landed at Dieppe in Normandy. From thence he proceeded with his ſuite to Rouen, where he was joined by the earls of Moray, Lennox, and Caſſilis, the lord Erſkine and the abbot of Arbroath from Paris. Reſolved to ſee his intended bride, he went to Vendoſme *incognito;* and not being ſo much charmed with her appearance as he expected, he returned to Rouen without being diſcovered, or at leaſt without making any advances to the lady †.

King James married.

A deciſive battle, it was then expected, would ſoon take place in Provence between the Imperial and French armies commanded by the emperor and the king of France. James, prompted by his natural intrepidity, and ardently deſirous of fighting by the ſide of the ancient ally of his family and country, ſet out immediately to join the French army; but before he reached the ſcene of action, the emperor had retired without fighting, and the king of France was on his return to his capital. As ſoon as Francis heard of the approach of the king of Scots, he diſpatched the dauphin to meet and conduct him. When the two kings met, they embraced in the moſt affectionate manner, and proceeded together to Paris, where James was royally lodged and entertained. For ſome time there was nothing but a ſucceſſion of feaſts, and tilts and tournaments, at which mar-

* Pitſcottie, p. 153. † Leſly, p. 442.

tial

tial exerciſes the young king acquired great honour, by his courage, ſtrength, and dexterity. Having frequently ſeen and converſed with the princeſs Magdalene, he was charmed with her delicate beauties and gentle diſpoſition; and the princeſs was no leſs charmed by the perſonal accompliſhments and gallantry of her royal lover; and Francis, convinced of their mutual affection, no longer oppoſed their union. All preliminaries being ſettled, their marriage was ſolemnized with great pomp January 1ſt A. D. 1537 *. A. D. 1536.

James received with his royal bride a fortune of 100,000 crowns of the ſun, with an annuity of 30,000 franks; and he ſettled upon her as great a jointure as any queen of Scotland had ever enjoyed. Francis detained his daughter and ſon-in-law at his court ſeveral months after their marriage. At length James becoming impatient to return to his own dominions, Francis made him a gift of two ſhips laden with cannon and military ſtores, and loaded him and his queen with preſents of plate and jewels. The king, with his queen and court, arrived at Rouen in the beginning of April, and there (April 3d) executed a deed of great importance; *viz.* a revocation of all grants that had been made from the crown, of lands, rents, offices, wardſhips, &c. during his minority †. This was not intended to be executed, but to be kept as a rod over the heads of thoſe who had received theſe grants, to ſecure their good behaviour, that they might not be actually reſumed. The king, queen, and all their ſuite, attended by the high admiral of France, and a ſplendid train of lords and ladies, ſailed from Newport in the end of April, and landed at Leith May 17th. They were there received with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of reſpect and joy by a prodigious confluence of ladies, lords, and gentlemen, who had come from all parts of the kingdom to congratulate the king and queen on their arrival. The queen, by her gentleneſs and affability, gained the hearts of all who approached her; and this marriage gave univerſal ſatisfaction ‡. 1537. Arrival of the king and queen.

* Leſly, p. 442, 443.

† Black Acts James V. f. 76.

‡ Leſly, p. 445, &c.

This

A. D. 1537. This joy was ſoon ſucceeded by a ſorrow no leſs univerſal. The young queen was ſeized with a fever in the end of June, and died at Holyrood-houſe about the middle of July, to the unſpeakable grief of her royal conſort, and the great concern of her ſubjects *.

The queen's death.

Executions. James was at all times a ſevere juſticiary; but about this time his ſeverity degenerated into cruelty, and two executions took place that fixed an indelible ſtain upon his memory. John, eldeſt ſon of lord Forbes, was a diſſolute youth, ſurrounded by diſſolute companions, among whom was one Strahan, a fellow of low birth and profligate manners. This fellow being refuſed a favour by Forbes, went to the earl of Huntley, (between whoſe family and that of the Forbeſes a feud had long ſubſiſted,) and informed him, that Forbes had been engaged in a plot to kill the king ſeveral years before. Forbes was apprehended, condemned, and executed, on the ſole evidence of this worthleſs informer. He was generally believed to have been innocent of the crime for which he ſuffered, but his notorious profligacy made him be little regretted. The other execution was far more piteous and deplorable. Lady Jean Douglas, ſiſter to the baniſhed earl of Angus, was a lady of great beauty and virtue. She was firſt married to the lord Glamis, and after his death to Archibald Campbell of Keepneth. In her widowhood ſhe had been courted by John Lyon, a near relation of her firſt huſband, who was ſo much enraged at her rejecting him, that he accuſed her and her huſband, and her ſon lord Glamis, who was a mere boy, and an old prieſt, of a plot to poiſon the king. Nothing could be more improbable than this accuſation. They lived privately at a great diſtance from the court, with which they had no communication. They were all, however, ſeized, and committed to priſon in the caſtle of Edinburgh. The lady was brought to her trial, and though ſhe defended herſelf with great preſence of mind and the moſt pathetic eloquence, ſhe was found guilty by a majority of the jury, and condemned to the flames. This cruel ſentence was executed on the caſtle-hill of Edinburgh, in

* Leſly, p. 445, &c.

the

the preſence of a prodigious crowd of ſpectators. Her youth, her beauty, and her noble birth, but above all, the calm intrepidity with which ſhe ſubmitted to her cruel fate, made a deep impreſſion on all who beheld the affecting ſcene, and they went away convinced that this unfortunate lady had fallen a ſacrifice to the king's implacable hatred to her family. How much ſhould princes guard againſt implacability? Her huſband was killed in attempting to eſcape from the caſtle. Her ſon lord Glamis was detained in priſon till after the king's death. The old prieſt, being as contemptible as he was innocent, was ſet at liberty. Lyon, the author of all this miſery, was ſoon after ſeized with remorſe, and confeſſed the falſehood of his accuſation, for which he was baniſhed. A puniſhment as much too ſlight as the other was too ſevere *. A. D. 1537.

James did not continue long a widower. When he was in France he had ſeen and admired Mary of Lorrain, daughter of René duke of Guiſe, and widow of the duke of Longueville; and about three months after the death of his queen, he ſent his natural brother, the earl of Moray, and his favourite, David Beaton, (who had lately been made a cardinal,) to the French court, to demand that lady in marriage. The propoſal was agreeable to the king, the lady, and her family, and the marriage was ſolemnized by proxy January 10th A. D. 1538 at Paris, in preſence of the whole court. The lord Maxwell was ſent with a fleet to bring home the new queen, who landed at Cryle in Fife in the beginning of June, was conducted to St. Andrews, and there married to the king in perſon by the archbiſhop James Beaton †. Several months after this marriage were ſpent in viſiting the principal towns of the kingdom, into which the queen was welcomed, and entertained with pageants, maſkings, and other amuſements uſual in thoſe times; and ſhe rendered herſelf very popular by her affability, and the high ſatisfaction ſhe expreſſed at the manner of her reception ‡. 1538. The king's ſecond marriage.

Scotland at this time enjoyed both external and internal quiet, which in thoſe days was not very common. The pleaſure which 1539. Birth of a prince.

* Leſly, p. 446. † Buchan. p. 277. Drum. p. 315. ‡ Leſly, p. 447, 448.

A. D. 1539. this gave, both to the king and his ſubjects, was much increaſed by the birth of a prince at St. Andrews April 10th. The prince at his baptiſm was named James, and proclaimed prince of Scotland and duke of Rotheſay *. James Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, died ſoon after he had performed this ceremony, and was ſucceeded by his nephew cardinal David Beaton, biſhop of Merepoix in France, and abbot of Arbroath in Scotland, the king's great confident and prime miniſter †.

1540. Embaſſy from England. Henry VIII. was at this time in no little perplexity. The pope had at length publiſhed the dreaded ſentence of excommunication againſt him; exhorting and commanding all Chriſtian princes to make war upon him, as a rebel againſt God and his vicar upon earth. An interview had taken place between the pope, the emperor, and the king of France, at Nice, that gave him great alarm. He knew that many of his own ſubjects were diſcontented, and that cardinal Pole and others fomented thoſe diſcontents. He was anxious, therefore, to diſcover the ſentiments and ſecure the friendſhip of his neareſt relation and neighbour the king of Scots. In order to effect this, he diſpatched ſir Ralph Sadler as his ambaſſador to the court of Scotland; and to procure him a favourable reception, ſent with him a preſent of fine horſes, of which he knew James was exceedingly fond. He was furniſhed alſo with very particular inſtructions: 1. To diſcover how James ſtood affected towards his uncle. 2. Whether he had ſaid, "That whatever the emperor and the king "of France did againſt Henry, he would do the ſame?" 3. To endeavour to raiſe ſuſpicions in his mind againſt cardinal Beaton. 4. To perſuade him to enrich the crown with the ſpoils of the monaſteries. 5. To prevail upon him to have an interview with his uncle. The ambaſſador was admitted to a private audience in February, ſoon after his arrival; in which he very artfully introduced all the ſubjects in his inſtructions. James expreſſed his eſteem and affection for his uncle the king of England, and his deſire to cultivate his friendſhip, in very ſtrong terms. He denied, with many

* Leſly, p. 449, 450. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 449, 450.

oaths,

oaths, that he had ever uſed the expreſſions imputed to him, and declared he was not to be influenced by the perſuaſions or example of other princes. But when the ambaſſador introduced the ſubject of cardinal Beaton, he found his confidence and attachment to him was too ſtrong to be ſhaken, and was glad to change the converſation. He was equally inflexible as to the monaſteries. They were ancient eſtabliſhments, he ſaid, for the worſhip of God; that it was unjuſt to puniſh the whole, for the faults of a few; that he would do nothing contrary to his conſcience, to pleaſe any man; and that he was under no neceſſity to ſeize their revenues, becauſe they were always ready to give him whatever he demanded of them. He expreſſed no averſion to an interview with his uncle, but propoſed that the king of France ſhould alſo be preſent. When the ambaſſador repreſented the inconveniency with which that would be attended, he put an end to the converſation, by ſaying he would talk with him more fully on that ſubject at another time. The ambaſſador had an audience of the king when he took his leave, in which, it is probable, the ſubject of the interview was diſcuſſed and ſettled *. A. D. 1540.

The queen was delivered of a prince at Stirling in the ſummer, who was named Arthur, but died on the eighth day after his birth. On the ſame day his elder brother, prince James, died at St. Andrews. The king's mind received ſo violent a ſhock by the loſs of his two only ſons in one day, that he never recovered his former cheerfulneſs, and ſometimes ſunk into deep dejection. To divert his melancholy, the court made a progreſs into the north after the queen's recovery. They were attended by the noblemen and gentlemen of the country through which they paſſed, and entertained in the moſt reſpectful and affectionate manner. At Aberdeen they ſpent fifteen days; and the city, the univerſity, and the clergy, made the greateſt efforts to procure them a variety of amuſements. They ſpent ſome days at Dundee and Falkland, and then returned to Edinburgh †. Death of the two princes.

A conſtant intercourſe was kept up during all this year between the two Britiſh courts, for regulating the time, place, and other cir- Interview agreed upon.

* Sadler's Letters, p. 1—64. † Leſly, p. 451.

A. D. 1540 cumſtances of the intended interview; and Henry afterwards complained that he had been ſhamefully impoſed upon by the fair ſpeeches of the Scots ambaſſadors, and the friendly affectionate ſtrain of king James's letters *. Upon the whole, there ſeems to be ſufficient evidence, that king James had actually agreed and promiſed to meet his uncle at York, and that he really intended to do it, though he was afterwards prevailed upon to change his mind.

Parliament. A parliament met at Edinburgh December 3d this year, in which the revocation that had been made by the king at Rouen was ratified and confirmed; and all the great eſtates of the Douglaſſes, and of all who had followed their fortunes, were annexed to the crown †. Beſides theſe, the iſles of Orkney and Shetland, ſeveral of the weſtern iſles, the earldom of Bothwell, the lordſhips of Glamis and Avondale, and many other eſtates, were alſo annexed to the crown by the ſame parliament. This was probably done by the ſuperior influence of the clergy in the parliaments of thoſe times, to ſave their own poſſeſſions, and to gratify the king's rapacity, (which was become very great,) at the expence of the laity.

1541. Intrigues. The court of Scotland was at this time full of factions and intrigues about the approaching interview with the king of England. The nobility in general, and more particularly ſuch of them as ſecretly favoured the reformation of the church, (which were not a few,) and hated the clergy for their pride and cruelty, and envied them for their wealth, wiſhed for the interview, and endeavoured to perſuade the king to keep his appointment with his uncle, by repreſenting how much a good underſtanding between them would redound to his own advantage, and to the peace and proſperity of both kingdoms. On the other hand, there was nothing the clergy dreaded ſo much as this interview with an excommunicated heretic, who had renounced the authority of the pope, demoliſhed the monaſteries, and laid his unhallowed hands on the ſacred patrimony of the church; eſpecially as they well knew that Henry had ſolicited this interview ſo earneſtly, in order to perſuade his nephew to imitate his example: they endea-

* Hollingſh. p. 323. † Black Acts, James V. f. 77, &c.

voured

voured therefore by every poſſible means to diſſuade and deter James from keeping the appointment: they repreſented to him the extreme danger of venturing his perſon ſo far into the dominions of a prince ſo powerful and ambitious as Henry; and did not neglect to put him in mind of the diſhonourable detention and long impriſonment of his anceſtor James I., and to deſire him to reflect, that this interview might endanger his ſalvation as well as his liberty, by infecting him with the infernal poiſon of hereſy, and expoſe him to the dreadful ſentence of excommunication. Theſe arguments were well adapted to influence a prince who was abundantly ſuperſtitious, and knew nothing of the controverſy. But they uſed a ſtill more powerful argument, which they knew he could not reſiſt: they promiſed to advance a great ſum of money immediately, to add fifty thouſand crowns a year to his revenue, and that if a war enſued, they would ſupport him with all their wealth. Theſe promiſes turned the ſcale, and James reſolved not to attend the interview *. A. D. 1541.

As Henry knew nothing of this reſolution, he directed great preparations to be made at York for the entertainment of the king of Scotland, and came to that city in Auguſt with a numerous and ſplendid retinue. After waiting ſome days, a meſſenger arrived with letters from James, containing the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of reſpect and affection to his uncle, but excuſing himſelf from attending the interview, becauſe he was engaged in ſome affairs of importance, which made it improper for him to leave his kingdom, and that he would ſoon ſend an ambaſſador to explain his reaſons more fully. Henry, who was naturally proud and paſſionate, was exceedingly enraged at this affront. His anger was much inflamed by the intelligence he ſoon after received, that a party of Scots had made an incurſion into Northumberland, and plundered the country. He determined therefore to be revenged on the king and kingdom of Scotland, for the inſults he had received. But on his arrival at Weſtminſter in September, the diſcovery of the incontinence of his beloved queen Catherine Interview prevented.

* Herbert, p. 327. Leſly, p. 453-4. Buchan. p. 278.

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War. As the borderers knew that there was a miſunderſtanding between the two kings, they paid little or no regard to theſe orders. A conſiderable body of Scots entered England July 4th, and committed great depredations. King James, ſtill wiſhing to prevent a war, diſpatched ſir James Learmont of Dearſy to the court of England, to apologiſe for this outrage, and offer reparation of all injuries that had been done. But while the ambaſſador was ſoothing Henry with promiſes of the moſt ample reparation, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of future peace, the Scots borderers made another incurſion into England, no leſs deſtructive than the former. Henry's patience was now exhauſted. He ſent a fleet into the Forth, which captured twenty-eight merchant ſhips; and he commanded ſir Robert Bowes, captain of Norham caſtle, and warden of the eaſt marches, to invade Scotland with all the forces he could raiſe, to retaliate the late injuries. Sir Robert, accompanied by the earl of Angus, his brother ſir George Douglas, the gentlemen of Northumberland and Durham, with their

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A. D. 1542. put an end to the conferences in which they had loſt ſo much time *.

Francis I. who was at this time at variance with Henry VIII. ſent an ambaſſador to king James, with a ſupply of military ſtores, and aſſurances of effectual ſupport in a war with England. Encouraged by theſe aſſurances, and his late ſucceſs at Hadden-rig, and ſpirited up by his clergy, he reſolved on war, and ſummoned his nobles and barons to a rendezvous at Falamuir, with all their followers in arms, to repel the Engliſh, who intended to invade the kingdom †.

Manifeſto. As ſoon as the conferences at York broke up, Henry commanded the duke of Norfolk to proceed with his army to the invaſion of Scotland; and at the ſame time publiſhed a very long manifeſto of the reaſons of the war. In the firſt part of this curious publication, he magnifies his own great humanity and tenderneſs in not cruſhing his nephew in his infancy, and conquering his kingdom, when it was in ſuch confuſion that it could have made little reſiſtance. He then diſplays in ſtrong colours James's ingratitude for this extraordinary kindneſs, his receiving Engliſh rebels, his refuſing to ranſom Engliſh priſoners, his defeating an Engliſh army that had been ſent to plunder his country, his refuſing to reſign a certain diſtrict on the borders, his permitting his ſubjects to make incurſions into England, and his breach of faith in not attending the interview at York. In the laſt part he inſiſts at great length on the ſuperiority of the kings of England over the kingdom of Scotland, which he derives from his illuſtrious predeceſſor Brute the Trojan. He concludes with a declaration, that he did not make war to eſtabliſh that ſuperiority, but to puniſh the ingratitude and unkindneſs of his nephew king James, in whoſe veins the royal blood of England was chilled by the cold air of Scotland ‡.

Invaſion. The duke of Norfolk had been ſo long detained with his army at York, that they did not enter Scotland till October 1ſt, or penetrate above two miles into the country. The people had removed their cattle and corn from the borders; and the earl of

* Hollingſh. p. 324. † Leſly, p. 456. ‡ Hollingſh. p. 322–328.

Huntley,

Huntley, the lord Hume, and other chieftains, hovering about them, A. D. 1542.
prevented their foraging, and haraſſed them by frequent ſkirmiſhes. The duke, conſidering that the ſeaſon was too far advanced, the enemy too well prepared, and that proviſions were becoming ſcarce, repaſſed the Tweed in a few days, with no little precipitation, and conſiderable loſs of men and horſes *.

King James, who lay at this time in Etrick foreſt with an army of thirty thouſand men, called a council of war, and propoſed to purſue the enemy, and invade England; on which he left them to deliberate. But the members of the council were almoſt unanimous in their oppoſition to this propoſal, the deplorable diſaſter of Flodden-field being ſtill freſh in their memories. They repreſented therefore to the king, by their general the earl of Moray, his natural brother, that he had done enough for his own honour, and the protection of his ſubjects, by compelling the enemy to retire, without having done any miſchief; that though they had retired, they had not diſbanded, and would ſoon be reinforced; that the ſeaſon of the year was too far advanced; that it would be exceedingly imprudent to expoſe his royal perſon to danger, when he had no iſſue to ſucceed him; and finally, they put him in mind of the untimely fate of his heroic father on a ſimilar occaſion. This remonſtrance threw James into a moſt violent rage and perturbation. He exclaimed againſt his nobles as traitors and poltroons, and threatened them with the ſevereſt vengeance, declaring that he would execute what they had not the courage to attempt †. The army diſbanded, and the king returned to Edinburgh.

James did not remain long at Edinburgh. The lord Maxwell, a Expedition.
brave and loyal nobleman, warden of the weſt marches, deſirous of diſſipating the chagrin and appeaſing the anger of his ſovereign, propoſed to make an attempt upon Cumberland, if a competent force could be collected with ſecrecy and expedition. Cardinal Beaton and the clergy (who were the real authors and fomenters of this war)

* Leſly, p. 457. † Buchan. and Leſly, ibid. Drummond, p. 341.

exerted

A. D. 1542. exerted themſelves with great diligence, by ſending meſſengers and writing letters to their dependants and friends, to go immediately with their followers in arms into Annandale, where they would be informed of the ſervice in which they were to be employed. Several noblemen engaged in this expedition, and an army of ten thouſand men was aſſembled with great ſecrecy in a very ſhort time. The king rode privately with a few attendants to Lochmaben, where the troops rendezvouſed: from thence they marched (with a train of artillery for beſieging Carliſle) towards England.

The ſudden unexpected approach of ſo great an army, cauſed a prodigious alarm in Cumberland. The warden lord Wharton, and the gentlemen of the country, immediately flew to arms, and with about five hundred horſe advanced to the banks of the Eſk, to retard the paſſage of the enemy, and give time to the country to arm; but when they reached the riſing grounds above Netherby, and had a full view of the Scots army, they obſerved that all was in confuſion and diſorder, and ſaw great bodies of men retiring, or rather flying, different ways. This ſtrange appearance was owing to the following cauſe:—The clergy, and particularly cardinal Beaton, had inſpired king James (who was naturally of a ſuſpicious temper) with a violent jealouſy of and animoſity againſt his nobility, as ſecret favourers of hereſy, and friends to England. This animoſity was greatly inflamed by their late refuſal to invade that kingdom. Though he permitted therefore the lord Maxwell, who had planned this expedition, to conduct the army to the border, he ſecretly gave a commiſſion to Oliver Sinclair, one of his moſt hated minions, to be general and commander in chief as ſoon as they entered England. Oliver, proud of his elevation, when the army was preparing to paſs the Eſk November 25th, produced his commiſſion, and cauſed himſelf to be raiſed on the ſhoulders of two tall men and proclaimed general. It is impoſſible to conceive the conſternation and confuſion this produced. The noblemen and principal gentlemen reſolved to give themſelves up priſoners to the Engliſh, rather than fight under the banner of ſuch a con-

A. D. 1542.

a contemptible leader, or expoſe themſelves to the fury of their infatuated ſovereign. The common people, ſeeing all ſubordination at an end, went off in companies, and returned to their own homes. The Engliſh, perceiving the diſorder of their enemies increaſing, and their army diſbanding, paſſed the river, and made as many priſoners as they pleaſed, without loſing or drawing one drop of blood. Among the priſoners were, two earls, Caſſilis and Glencairn; five lords, Maxwell, Somervile, Gray, Oliphant, and Fleming; with the maſter of Erſkine, Oliver Sinclair, and about two hundred other gentlemen *.

The news of this moſt diſgraceful affair threw king James into a perturbation and depreſſion of ſpirits, from which he never recovered. Next day he returned to Edinburgh, from whence he went to Falkland, where, excluding all company except a few of his favourite domeſtics, through want of ſleep and anguiſh of mind he was ſoon confined to his bed. When in this condition, the news arrived that his queen was delivered of a princeſs at Linlithgow. But this gave him no comfort. "The Engliſh," ſaid he, "will either conquer the kingdom in her minority, or will acquire it by marriage." After languiſhing a few days longer, he expired December 13th A. D. 1542, in the thirty-firſt year of his age, and the thirtieth of his reign †.

* Leſly, p. 458. Buchan. p. 279.

† Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 157.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. II. SECT. I.

Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England from the Acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, *to the Acceſſion of Henry VIII.* A. D. 1509.

THE eccleſiaſtical tranſactions in the reign of Henry VII. that merit a place in hiſtory, were not many, and ſhall be related in as few words as poſſible. Cent. XV.

Cardinal Bourchier, who had been archbiſhop of Canterbury thirty-two years, died in January A. D. 1486, and was ſucceeded by John Morton, biſhop of Ely, who had contributed greatly to the elevation of Henry to the throne. This primate convened a ſynod of the prelates and clergy of his province February 13th A. D. 1487 at St. Paul's, for the reformation of the manners of the clergy. Complaints were made to the ſynod, that the preachers of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem, in their ſermons at Paul's croſs, inveighed againſt the vices of the clergy in the hearing of the laity, who all, ſaid they, hate the clergy, and delight to hear their vices expoſed. The prior of St. John was called, and appeared before the ſynod, and promiſed to correct this great abuſe. The invectives of theſe preachers, however, Convocation.

Cent. XV.

ever, do not ſeem to have been without foundation; for many of the London clergy were accuſed in this convocation, of ſpending their whole time in taverns and ale-houſes, of concealing their tonſure, and allowing their hair to grow long, and of imitating the laity in their dreſs. They were ſeverely reprimanded for theſe enormities. This convocation granted a tenth of their benefices for one year to the king, and inſtituted a new holy-day to commemorate the tranſfiguration of Chriſt, to be obſerved every year on the ſeventh of Auguſt *.

Paſtoral letter.

Immediately after the convocation was diſmiſſed, the primate publiſhed a paſtoral letter for the reformation of the lives and habits of the clergy. In this letter the good primate doth not trouble his clergy with recommending a ſingle virtue, or reproving a ſingle vice; but he charges them, with great ſolemnity, not to wear ſhort liripoops of ſilk, nor gowns open before, nor ſwords, nor daggers, nor embroidered girdles; to be very careful of their tonſure, and to keep their hair always ſo ſhort that all the world may ſee their ears; and he threatens them with very ſevere cenſures, if they do not obſerve theſe injunctions. He recommends reſidence on their benefices to all rectors and vicars who have only one living, and no diſpenſation, nor canonical impediment, nor lawful excuſe for non-reſidence, that they may preſerve their flocks from that rapacious wolf the devil †.

Papal bull.

The diſſolute manners of the clergy, eſpecially of the regulars, made a mighty noiſe at this time, and gave great offence to the laity, who were provoked to ſee the immenſe poſſeſſions beſtowed upon the church by the miſtaken piety of their anceſtors, ſo ſhamefully abuſed. The court of Rome became apprehenſive that this diſcontent of the laity might produce diſagreeable effects. Pope Innocent VIII. ſent a bull to archbiſhop Morton in March 1490, in which he acquaints him, that he had heard with great grief from perſons worthy of credit, that the monks of all the different orders in England had grievouſly degenerated; "and that giving themſelves

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 618. † Ibid. p. 620.

"up

" up to a reprobate ſenſe, they led lewd and diſſolute lives, by which " they brought ruin upon their own ſouls, ſet an ill example to " others, and gave great offence and ſcandal to many." His holineſs then directed the primate to admoniſh the abbots and priors of all the convents in his province, to reform themſelves, and thoſe under them; and if any of them did not obey that admonition, he gave him authority to viſit and reform them by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to cut off incurable members by deprivation, and to call the ſecular arm to his aſſiſtance when it was neceſſary *. Cent. XV.

In obedience to this bull the primate ſent monitory letters to the ſuperiors of all the convents and religious houſes in his province, admoniſhing and commanding them, by the authority he had received from the pope, to reform themſelves, and their ſubjects, from certain vices, of which they were ſaid to be guilty, and of which he accuſed them. The monitory letter that was ſent on this occaſion to the abbot of St. Alban's, hath been publiſhed. If that abbot and his monks were ſtained with all the odious vices, of which the primate ſays in his letter they were notoriouſly guilty, they were a moſt execrable crew, and ſtood much in need of reformation. Some of theſe vices are ſo deteſtable, that they cannot be ſo much as named in hiſtory. " You are infamous, (ſays he to the abbot,) for ſimony, uſury, and " ſquandering away the poſſeſſions of your monaſtery, beſides other " enormous crimes mentioned below." One of theſe crimes was, that he had turned all the modeſt women out of the two nunneries of Pray and Sapwell, (over which he pretended to have a juriſdiction,) and filled them with proſtitutes; that they were eſteemed no better than brothels, and that he and his monks publicly frequented them as ſuch. His grace ſeems to have been well informed; for he names ſome of theſe infamous women and their gallants. The monks were at leaſt as profligate as their abbot: for beſides keeping concubines both within and without the monaſtery, he accuſes them of ſtealing the church plate and jewels, and even of picking the jewels out of the ſhrine of their patron St. Alban. He allows them ſixty days to Monitory letter.

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 630.

reform

Cent. XV.

reform from all their vices, eſpecially from cutting down the woods, and ſtealing the plate and jewels of the monaſtery; but if they did not reform in that time, and become very chaſte, honeſt, and good monks, he threatens them with a viſitation *. What effect this monitory letter had on the abbot and his monks, we are not informed: it is probable that it was not great. For we learn from the ſame letter, that they had been ſeveral times admoniſhed before to no purpoſe. When the monaſtics lived in idleneſs, wallowed in wealth and luxury, and were doomed to celibacy, the temptations to certain vices were too ſtrong to be overcome by monitory letters, which they probably conſidered as things of courſe.

Convocations.

The avarice of Henry VII. was ſoon diſcovered, and became univerſally known; and the clergy ſecured his favour by granting him money from time to time. Both the convocations of Canterbury and York met A. D. 1491, and each of them granted him a tenth of their livings for one year †.

Petition to the pope.

Henry VII. neglected no opportunity of depreſſing the houſe of York, and exalting that of Lancaſter, from which he pretended to derive his title to the throne. Henry VI. the laſt king of the houſe of Lancaſter, had been buried firſt in the abbey of Chertſey, to which there was a prodigious concourſe of people to behold the miracles that were ſaid to be wrought at his tomb. To put a ſtop to this, Richard III. removed the body from Chertſey, and interred it in the collegiate church in the caſtle of Windſor, to which the people had not ſuch eaſy acceſs. Henry preſented a petition to the pope A. D. 1494, for his permiſſion to tranſlate the ſacred remains of that pious king from Windſor to Weſtminſter, a place of much greater celebrity, where many of the kings and queens of England lay intombed, though the dean and chapter of Windſor oppoſed the tranſlation ‡. A mighty king applies to a foreign prieſt to overcome the reſiſtance of his own chaplains; ſo ſmall was the authority of kings, and ſo great the authority of popes, over the eccleſiaſtics of thoſe times!

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 632. † Ibid. p. 634, 635. ‡ Ibid. p. 635.

Still

Still further to aggrandiſe the houſe of Lancaſter, Henry, in the ſame year 1494, petitioned the pope to canoniſe Henry VI. and tranſmitted a long liſt of the wonderful miracles wrought by that pious prince, both in his life-time and after his death; particularly that he had given ſight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, ſtrength to the lame, and had cured all other diſeaſes. The pope granted a commiſſion to the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the biſhop of Durham to examine into the ſanctity of this royal candidate for canoniſation, and into the reality of his miracles *. This affair, however, was never accompliſhed, and Henry was never canoniſed, being as unfortunate after his death as he had been during his life; nor are we informed what put a ſtop to this pious project. The moſt probable conjecture is, that Henry VII. found that the canoniſation of a king would coſt more money than he had imagined, or was diſpoſed to expend. Cent. XV.

Archbiſhop Morton died A.D. 1500, and was ſucceeded by Henry Dean, biſhop of Saliſbury. This being the year of jubilee, prodigious multitudes crowded to Rome from all chriſtian countries, to partake of the pardons and indulgences that were then diſpenſed in great profuſion. But as many good catholics, who lived in diſtant countries, wiſhed to ſhare in thoſe benefits, but were not able to bear the fatigue or the expence of ſo long a journey, the pope Alexander V., to accommodate them, and to diſpoſe of the ſpiritual treaſures of the church, which are inexhauſtible, ſent agents into every country, furniſhed with ſufficient quantities of theſe ſacred commodities, which they ſold to all who choſe to buy them. One Jaſper Pons, a Spaniard, was ſent into England on this occaſion, who managed this traffic with ſo much addreſs, that he collected and carried off a great maſs of money, without giving much ſcandal †. Jubilee.

One of the arts employed by the nuncio to get money and avoid ſcandal was this: He gave out, that all the money he received for pardons, indulgences, &c. was to be expended on an expedition againſt the Turks. To procure credit to this aſſertion, he brought a Bull.

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 640. † Antiq. Britan. p. 332.

Cent. XV. bull from the pope to the king, in which his holineſs acquainted him, that he and his brethren the cardinals, in a ſolemn conclave, had reſolved upon an expedition againſt the Turks, thoſe cruel enemies of the chriſtian faith; that they had ſettled the plan of operations, and wanted nothing but money, fleets, and armies, for which they depended on the religious zeal of chriſtian princes and ſtates. He acquainted him with the plan of operations; that the kings of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia were to invade Romania; the French and Spaniards to attack the Turks in Greece; and the Engliſh, Venetians, and other maritime powers, to make an attempt on Conſtantinople with a ſtrong fleet and army. He concluded with conjuring the king, in the moſt earneſt manner, to engage with all his power in this moſt holy and pious undertaking. To this bull Henry returned a civil but evaſive anſwer; the nuncio conveyed his money to Rome, and the expedition againſt the Turks was no more mentioned *.

Cent. XVI. Henry Dean, archbiſhop of Canterbury, died A. D. 1502, and was ſucceeded by William Warham, biſhop of London. The diſciples of Wickliff, then commonly called Lollards, had been ſo long and ſo cruelly perſecuted, that their numbers were much diminiſhed; and many who had imbibed thoſe dangerous opinions, carefully concealed them. It appears alſo, that the Lollards at this time were not in general ſo ambitious of the crown of martyrdom as they had been formerly; for many of them, when they were accuſed of hereſy, and threatened with the cruel death inflicted on heretics, recanted, and burnt their faggot, to preſerve themſelves from burning. The fires, however, in which heretics were conſumed, were not extinguiſhed. Many, both men and women, were reduced to aſhes for the crime of hereſy in the laſt years of Henry VII.; of whoſe ſufferings thoſe readers who take pleaſure in peruſing ſuch ſhocking relations will find a full account in the work quoted below †.

* Bacon, ad an. 1500. † Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. i. p. 710—715.

CHAP. II. SECT. II.

Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England from the Acceſſion of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509, *to the Acceſſion of Edward VI.* A. D. 1547.

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The church reformed by the ſtate.

THAT the ſtate of religion and of the church of England underwent great changes in the reign of Henry VIII. is univerſally known. But it is neceſſary to remark, that theſe changes were brought about by the ſtate, and not by the church, and that therefore the hiſtory of them belongs to civil rather than to eccleſiaſtical hiſtory; for this reaſon, the occaſions, cauſes, and other circumſtances of the moſt important of theſe changes, have been related in their proper places, in the firſt chapter of this book; and it only now remains to give a brief account of the tranſactions of this period that were more ſtrictly eccleſiaſtical, which may be compriſed within moderate limits.

The Engliſh attached to Rome.

Few nations in Europe ſeemed to be more firmly attached to the court and church of Rome, than the Engliſh at the acceſſion of Henry VIII. The clergy, both ſecular and regular, were univerſally devoted to the papacy, and more the ſubjects of the pope than of their native ſovereign. They defended all the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the church with much zeal, and perſecuted all who preſumed to call any of theſe in queſtion with unrelenting cruelty. The laity, indeed, ſometimes railed at the vices, and repined at the riches of their ſpiritual guides; but the far greateſt number of them entertained no doubts of the infallibility of the pope, or of the truth of any of the tenets of the church. The king had been inſpired by his inſtructors with the higheſt veneration for his holy father at Rome, and with the moſt violent hatred to hereſy and heretics. This attachment of the king and the clergy to the ſee of Rome continued unabated during the firſt nineteen years of this reign. The tranſactions therefore of that period were of the ſame kind with thoſe of former periods, and do not merit a minute inveſtigation.

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Conſecrated roſe.

The popes of the times we are delineating ſeldom neglected to preſent ſome conſecrated trinket that was much valued, and that coſt them little, to thoſe princes at their acceſſion, from whom they expected ſubſtantial favours. Julius II. ſent a conſecrated roſe of gold, dipped in chriſm, and perfumed with muſk, to archbiſhop Warham April 5th A. D. 1510, to be preſented to the king at high-maſs, with his apoſtolical benediction. Henry received the precious roſe, and more precious benediction, with profound reverence and exceſſive joy *.

Subſidy.

The convocation of the province of Canterbury met at St. Paul's February 6th A. D. 1511, and made the king a more valuable preſent, by granting him a ſubſidy of 25,000l. †

Diſpute between the primate and his ſuffragans.

Great profits accrued in thoſe times to the archbiſhops and biſhops, and the officers of their courts, from the regiſtration and probation of teſtaments, the adminiſtration of the goods of inteſtates, and the trial of cauſes in their ſeveral courts; and violent diſputes aroſe about the diviſion of theſe profits. In former times the teſtaments of all perſons were proved and regiſtered in the court of the dioceſe wherein he had reſided and died, and the ſeveral biſhops and their officials had the adminiſtration of the goods of thoſe who died inteſtate within their dioceſes. Cauſes were alſo tried in the court of the dioceſe in which the parties reſided, though an appeal lay to the archbiſhop's court. This arrangement had been eſtabliſhed by a conſtitution of the papal legate Ottabon, and confirmed by uniform practice. But the late archbiſhop Morton, being a cardinal, chancellor of the kingdom, and prime miniſter, had great power, which he employed in making encroachments on the privileges and emoluments of his ſuffragans and their courts. He pretended that the teſtaments of all perſons, who had effects in different dioceſes, or who died poſſeſſed of *bona notabilia*, ſhould be proved and regiſtered in the archbiſhop's court, and that the goods of inteſtates in theſe circumſtances ſhould be adminiſtered by his officials. Beſides this, he brought almoſt all litigations into his own court (to which he

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 652. † Ibid.

gave

gave the new name of the prerogative court) by prohibitions, advocations, and admitting appeals before ſentence. Theſe innovations were oppoſed by his ſuffragans, and by none ſo keenly as by William Warham, who acted as advocate to Richard Hill, biſhop of London, who appealed to the pope againſt them. But when Warham was advanced to the primacy, he changed his mind, and carried theſe encroachments farther than his predeceſſor cardinal Morton had done, and rejected all the propoſals of his ſuffragans for an accommodation *. This conteſt continued long, and was conducted with great violence and rancour; which is one proof, among many others, that the celibacy of the clergy did not diminiſh their love of money, or make them more indifferent about amaſſing wealth. Cent. XVI.

Diviſions and diſputes prevailed among the regular, as well as among the ſecular clergy of England in this period, particularly between the Franciſcans, or gray friars, and the Dominicans, or black friars, about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, maintained by the former, and denied by the latter. This queſtion was agitated ſeveral years with great warmth, and appeared to be of ſuch importance, that it engaged the attention of the whole chriſtian world. At length, however, an end was put to this controverſy by a decree of the pope in favour of the Franciſcans; a new feſtival was inſtituted to commemorate the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin, and all who denied it were declared to be heretics †. Diviſions among the regulars.

If the clergy at this time were at variance among themſelves, they were at ſtill greater variance with the laity about the immunities of the church; that is, of the clergy, and their exemption from the juriſdiction of the civil courts and civil magiſtrates. This had been a bone of contention between the clergy and laity for ſeveral centuries, and had ſometimes involved both in very great diſtreſs. This controverſy was revived and inflamed by an act of parliament A. D. 1512, by which all who were accuſed of murder or robbery were to be tried in the civil courts, except biſhops, prieſts, and deacons; and if found guilty, were to be denied the benefit of Diſputations.

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 653—659. † Fox, vol. ii. p. 732.

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clergy *. This act was exclaimed againſt by the great body of the clergy as a moſt impious invaſion of the immunities of the church, becauſe ſubdeacons, acolyths, exorciſts, &c. were thereby ſubjected to be tried for murder or robbery by laymen, and to be hanged if they were found guilty. The pulpits every where rung with declamations againſt this act; and the abbot of Winchelcomb, in a ſermon at Paul's croſs, declared, that all perſons, whether ſpiritual or temporal, who had aſſented to that infamous act, had incurred the cenſures of the church. This zealous abbot alſo publiſhed a book, to prove that the perſons of clerks, in the lower as well as the higher orders, were ſacred, and that they could not be tried or puniſhed by the laity for any crimes †. The temporal lords, and the houſe of commons, exaſperated at this attempt of the clergy to emancipate themſelves from the reſtraints of law, and from puniſhment for the greateſt crimes, petitioned the king to repreſs their inſolence, and compel them to retract their opinion. The matter was debated before the king in council, the judges, and a numerous audience, both of the clergy and laity. The abbot of Winchelcomb was advocate for the immunities which the church and clergy claimed; and doctor Standiſh, one of the king's ſpiritual council, pleaded againſt them. After a long debate, the audience in general being convinced that doctor Standiſh had the better of the argument, requeſted the biſhops to command the abbot to recant his opinion. But this they poſitively refuſed; declaring, that it was their own opinion, and the doctrine of holy church ‡.

Richard Hunne's affair.

When things were in this ſtate, an event happened that inflamed the animoſity between the clergy and the laity, eſpecially in London. One Richard Hunne, a reſpectable citizen, was ſued by the prieſt of his pariſh, in the legate's court, for a mortuary, which he pretended to be due to him for the burial of a child of his only five weeks old. Hunne, by the advice of his council, ſued the prieſt in the king's bench, in a premunire, for bringing him before a foreign court.

* Statutes, 4 Henry VIII. cap. 2.

† Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. i. p. 12, 13. ‡ Ibid. p. 13.

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The clergy, to extricate the prieſt, accuſed Hunne of hereſy, and impriſoned him in the Lollard's tower at St. Paul's, where he was found hanged December 4th A. D. 1514. The clergy gave out, that he had hanged himſelf. But this was not believed, and the coroner's inqueſt, after a careful examination of the body, the poſture in which it was found, and other circumſtances, brought in their verdict, wilful murder by thoſe who had the charge of the priſon. Many witneſſes were examined, whoſe evidence tended to criminate the biſhops, Sumner, and the bell-ringer; and Sumner afterwards confeſſed, that the chancellor doctor Horſey, himſelf, and the bell-ringer, had firſt murdered Hunne, and then hung up his body againſt the wall *.

Burnt for hereſy after his death.

This affair made a prodigious noiſe in London, and excited violent outcries againſt the clergy, which were rendered more vehement by the method that was taken to ſilence them. Fitz-James, biſhop of London, and other prelates with whom he conſulted, imagined, that if Hunne was convicted of hereſy, the people would no longer eſpouſe his cauſe, or lament his fate. That biſhop therefore, attended by the biſhops of Durham and Lincoln, twenty-five abbots, priors, and doctors, ſix notaries, and great multitudes of the ſecular and regular clergy, held a court at St. Paul's December 16th for the trial of one who had been ten days in his grave. At that court Richard Hunne was accuſed of various hereſies contained in the preface to Wickliff's bible, which had been found in his houſe, and was eſteemed a ſufficient proof that he had held all theſe hereſies. Proclamation was made, that if any one choſe to anſwer for the accuſed he ſhould appear immediately. No counſel choſe to plead the cauſe of ſuch a client before ſuch a court. Hunne was pronounced a heretic, his body was taken up December 20th, and burnt in Smithfield †. The people were ſhocked at this horrid ſpectacle, and greatly diſguſted with their ſpiritual guides.

His children reſtored.

The diſcontent excited by theſe acts of cruelty was not confined to the people of London. The parliament that met February 5th

* Burnet's Hiſt. Reform. vol. i. p. 14. Fox, vol. ii. p. 739—744. † Ibid.

A. D.

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A. D. 1515, reſtored the children of Richard Hunne to all their father's effects; and the houſe of commons ſent up a bill to the houſe of peers April 3d, for bringing his murderers, particularly doctor Horſey, to juſtice. But the clergy were too numerous in that houſe for ſuch a bill to paſs. The biſhop of London made a violent declamation againſt it; in which he affirmed, that Hunne had hanged himſelf; that the coroner and his jury were perjured caitiffs; and that if the bill paſſed, the heretics would become ſo bold, that he would not be ſafe in his own houſe. The bill was thrown out after the firſt reading *.

Dr. Standiſh queſtioned.

The clergy were greatly offended with doctor Standiſh, for his pleading againſt their immunities; and the convocation, which ſat at the ſame time with the parliament, brought him before them, and threatened him with the ſevereſt cenſures. Expecting neither mercy nor juſtice from his enraged brethren, he implored the king to protect him from the danger he had incurred by acting in the capacity of his ſpiritual counſel. The clergy aſſured the king, that they did not intend to queſtion doctor Standiſh for any thing he had ſaid in the late conference, but for certain lectures at Paul's croſs; in which he had advanced many things contrary to the law of God and the liberties of holy church, which they were bound to maintain. On the other hand, the temporal lords, the judges, and the houſe of commons, petitioned the king to preſerve the undoubted rights of his crown, and his temporal juriſdiction over all his ſubjects, and to protect doctor Standiſh from the malice of his enemies †.

Conferences and diſputes.

Theſe petitions threw the king into great perplexity. He had a great veneration for the church and clergy, but he was alſo fond of power, and tenacious of his rights. On this occaſion he conſulted doctor Veyſey, dean of his chapel, (of whoſe learning and probity he entertained a good opinion,) and charged him, upon his allegiance, to give him his real ſentiments on this important queſtion. Having taken ſome time to conſider, the doctor declared to the king, upon his faith and conſcience, that the trial of clerks by the ſecular

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 14. Fox, vol. ii. p. 739—744. † Burnet, p. 15.

judges, for crimes committed againſt the laws of the land, was neither contrary to the law of God, nor inconſiſtent with the true liberties of the church. This opinion, and the arguments with which it was ſupported, gave Henry great ſatisfaction. Two very ſolemn conferences were held before him, and many of the prelates, lords, judges, and principal men, both of the clergy and laity, in which this queſtion was debated at great length, and with no little warmth, by doctor Standiſh and doctor Veyſey on one ſide, and the champions for the immunities of the church on the other. At the laſt of theſe conferences, when the greateſt part of the audience ſeemed ready to adopt the opinion of the two doctors, cardinal Wolſey fell upon his knees before the king, and moſt earneſtly intreated him to refer the matter in diſpute to the pope, to avoid his incurring the cenſures of the church. On which the king ſaid, that he thought doctor Standiſh and others of his council had anſwered all their arguments fully. The lord chief juſtice Fineux obſerved, that biſhops could not try clerks for capital offences; and if they were not amenable to the civil courts, they might commit the greateſt crimes with impunity. The king then, addreſſing himſelf to the clergy, ſaid, "Know you well, that we will maintain the right of our "crown and our temporal juriſdiction, as well in this as in all other "points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have "done before our time." The archbiſhop of Canterbury, alarmed at this declaration, fell on his knees and begged that the final determination of this queſtion might be delayed till they had time to conſult the court of Rome. But to this no anſwer was given; the king retired, and the conference ended *. Cent. XVI.

A warrant being iſſued for apprehending doctor Horſey, the biſhop of London's chancellor, in order to his being tried in the king's bench for the murder of Richard Hunne, he abſconded, and was concealed in the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth. At laſt, when this affair threatened very ſerious conſequences, it was terminated by a compromiſe, moſt probably ſuggeſted by the clergy. It was Compromiſe.

* Burnet, from Keilwey's Reports.

agreed,

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agreed, that the convocation ſhould drop all proceedings againſt doctor Standiſh; that doctor Horſey ſhould appear in the court of king's bench, and plead not guilty; and that the attorney-general ſhould acknowledge the truth of his plea, to prevent a trial. All this was accordingly done; and in thoſe days it was thought no ſmall triumph, that a great king had brought a clerk to the bar, though he did not, or durſt not, bring him to trial *.

Perſecution.

Though the clergy in this period were divided among themſelves, and at variance with the laity, there was one thing in which they agreed too well, and were too well ſeconded by the ſecular arm; the perſecution of the unhappy Lollards. The infernal ſpirit of perſecution, which had languiſhed in ſome degree in the preceding reign, raged with great violence in the firſt nineteen years of the preſent reign: for though Henry VIII. was tenacious of the rights of his crown, he had no regard to the rights of conſcience, and no mercy on thoſe who preſumed to judge for themſelves in matters of religion, or to diſſent in the leaſt from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of belief and worſhip. To give a minute detail of all the horrid cruelties that were inflicted on thoſe who were condemned as heretics for reading the ſcriptures, for denying tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, the worſhip of images, the invocation of ſaints, the infallibility of the pope, or any other tenet of the church, would not only ſwell this ſection to a moſt inconvenient ſize, but would greatly diſtreſs every reader of feeling and humanity. It is ſufficient to remark, that all who were convicted of what was then called hereſy, both women and men, old and young, and adhered to their opinions, were condemned as obſtinate heretics, delivered to the ſecular arm, and burnt to aſhes, without mercy, and without exception. The number of thoſe unhappy victims was conſiderable, particularly in the dioceſe of Lincoln, under biſhop Langland, the king's confeſſor, and a moſt cruel perſecutor †. Thoſe who, through fear of the painful death with which they were threatened, abjured or renounced their opinions, (which were very many,) had various penances preſcribed

* Burnet, from Keilwey's Reports. † Fox, p. 744—750.

to

to them, and various puniſhments inflicted upon them, of which ſome were very ſevere and ignominious *. Some of the Engliſh prelates at leaſt ſeem to have reſolved to extinguiſh hereſy, by the total extirpation of heretics. But in this they did not ſucceed. On the contrary, the more fiercely perſecution raged, the more hereſy and heretics increaſed; the greater was the compaſſion of the people for the ſufferers, and their indignation againſt the perſecutors. Cent. XVI.

Henry VIII. was not only a moſt dutiful ſon, but a moſt zealous champion of the church of Rome in the firſt half of his reign, and fought the battles of the pope, both by his ſword and by his pen. With this laſt inſtrument he took the field againſt Martin Luther, by his book, *de Septem Sacramentis*, of the Seven Sacraments. A ſplendid copy of this royal performance was preſented to the pope in full conſiſtory in October A. D. 1521, by doctor John Clark, dean of Windſor, the king's ambaſſador at Rome, and received with great reſpect and ceremony. The pope aſſured the ambaſſador, that he would recommend the book to all Chriſtian princes, and publiſh it with as honourable a teſtimony from the holy ſee as ever was given to the works of St. Auſtin and St. Jerome; and that he would immediately adorn the king with ſome honourable title, as a reward for his religious zeal and learned labours. Accordingly, his holineſs, by a bull, in the ſame month beſtowed on Henry the title of Defender of the Faith; and in the ſame bull he extolled his book, as a moſt wonderful performance, ſprinkled with the dew of divine grace; and returned immenſe thanks to Almighty God, who had been graciouſly pleaſed to inſpire his majeſty's excellent mind, always inclined to that which was good, with ſo much grace from Heaven †. Henry was now the greateſt favourite of the court of Rome; and if he had died at this time, would probably have been canonized. Henry writes againſt Luther.

Few authors have had the pleaſure of receiving ſuch extravagant praiſes for their works, as Henry received for this performance. But neither the luſtre of his crown, nor the acclamations of his admirers, Luther replies.

* Fox, p. 450, &c. † Collier, Records, vol. ii. No. iv.

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intimidated his antagoniſt. Luther, irritated at ſome contemptuous expreſſions that the king had uſed, publiſhed an anſwer to his book; in which he treated him with unbecoming aſperity, or rather ſcurrility, of which he afterwards repented. Of this it will be ſufficient to give one example. "If he had erred like other men, he might "have been forgiven; but when he knowingly and wittingly invents "lies againſt the majeſty of my King in heaven, I have a right to "beſpatter his Engliſh majeſty with mire, and to trample the crown "of this blaſphemer againſt Chriſt under my feet *." When Luther's paſſion ſubſided, he became ſenſible of the error he had committed, and wrote a long letter of apology, dated September 1ſt A. D. 1525; in which he moſt earneſtly implored forgiveneſs for the intemperate language of his book, to which, he ſays, he had been excited by his majeſty's enemies, and not by his own inclination †. But the king was not to be appeaſed. To expoſe Luther he publiſhed his letter, and an anſwer to it, "to ſhew the world that he was not ſo "weak as to be enſnared by the flattery of a little fooliſh friar, nor "ſo fickle as to retract what he had written, and what he knew to "be right ‡."

Luther's books prohibited.

This controverſy between the king and Luther, and the title of defender of the faith, which he had received from the pope, of which he was exceedingly vain, inflamed his zeal for the church of Rome, and his hatred of the reformers in Germany, and of thoſe who inclined to their opinions in England. Luther had alſo irritated his great favourite, cardinal Wolſey, by calling him, in his apologetical letter to the king, "that plague of your kingdom, that "monſter, hated by God and man, the cardinal of York." Luther's perſon being out of the reach both of the king and cardinal, who were equally incenſed againſt him, they ſpent their reſentment upon his works, and on thoſe who read them. The cardinal, by virtue of his legantine commiſſion, ſent a mandate to all the biſhops, abbots, and priors, in England, enjoining them to cauſe an order to

* Collier, Records, vol. ii. No. iii. † Ibid. No. v.
‡ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 59.

be

be read in all the churches under their jurisdiction, in the time of divine service, commanding all persons, both of the clergy and laity, who had any books written by that pestilent heretic Martin Luther, to deliver them to their ordinary within fifteen days, under the pain of being reputed and punished as heretics. With this mandate he sent a paper to be affixed to the door of every church, containing forty-two propositions, extracted from the works of Luther, which had been condemned by the pope as damnable heresies *. But all these precautions did not prevent the importation of Luther's works, or their being translated into English, but rather increased the curiosity of the people to be acquainted with them. Cent. XVI.

A misunderstanding had prevailed for some time between cardinal Wolsey and Warham archbishop of Canterbury. The cardinal, by his legantine power, his place of chancellor, his immense revenues, and his high favour with the king, quite eclipsed the archbishop, by drawing almost all causes into his courts, and disposing of almost all preferments, both in church and state. But great as his power was, he sometimes stretched it too far. Archbishop Warham had summoned a convocation of the prelates and clergy of his province to meet at St. Paul's April 20th A. D. 1523, and the cardinal had summoned a convocation of his province of York to meet at Westminster at the same time. But as soon as the convocation of Canterbury met, and were about to proceed to business, the cardinal summoned them to attend him April 22d, in a legantine council at Westminster. This extraordinary step gave great offence to the prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury. They obeyed the summons: but when they came to treat of business, the proctors for the clergy observed, that their commissions gave them no authority to treat or vote but in convocation. This objection proved unanswerable, and the cardinal, to his great mortification, was obliged to dismiss his legantine council. The convocation of Canterbury returned to St. Paul's, and granted the king one half of all their benefices for one year, to be paid in five years. The reasons they as- Convocations.

* Strype, p. 37—40. Records, No. ix.

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ſigned for granting this extraordinary ſubſidy were theſe: "That "their moſt pious king had prevented a ſchiſm in the papacy; that "by a great army, and a moſt expenſive war, he had preſerved "Italy and Rome from being conquered by the French; and that "he had lately defeated and confounded all the Lutheran heretics, "raging like madmen againſt the church and ſacraments, by his "moſt learned book, which it was impoſſible to praiſe ſufficiently *." The convocation of the province of York ſat at the ſame time at Weſtminſter, and granted the king the ſame ſubſidy †.

National council.

Though cardinal Wolſey had been conſtrained to diſmiſs his legantine or national council, on account of the irregular manner in which it had been called, he was determined to hold ſuch a council, and to ſhine at the head of all the clergy of England. He therefore ſummoned all the prelates, both of the regulars and ſeculars, and the repreſentatives of the inferior clergy, to appear before him June 2d at Weſtminſter. The pretence for calling this council was to reform the manners of the clergy, which the cardinal ſaid had been recommended to him by the pope; and in doing it, he declared he was determined to employ all the power and wiſdom that God had given him ‡. What was done in this council for the reformation of the clergy we are not informed; but there is ſufficient evidence that no remarkable reformation took place at this time, and that the cardinal, who appeared ſo zealous for reforming others, had not the wiſdom to reform himſelf. The truth is, that a vicious corrupt clergy, though they may talk and flouriſh about reformation and purity of manners in their ſynods and councils, are not likely to be either very zealous or very ſucceſsful in promoting the real reformation of themſelves or others.

Perſecution.

There was one vice, indeed, which the clergy moſt zealouſly endeavoured to extirpate. This was what they called the damnable vice of hereſy; which conſiſted in reading the New Teſtament in Engliſh, the works of Wickliff and Luther, and of others of that learning, in denying the infallibility of the pope, tranſubſtantiation,

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 699. † Ibid. p. 698. ‡ Ibid.

purgatory,

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purgatory, praying to ſaints, worſhipping images, &c. &c. Notwithſtanding the cruel puniſhments that had been inflicted on thoſe who entertained theſe opinions, their number was ſtill conſiderable; particularly in London, and in Colcheſter, and other parts of Eſſex. They called themſelves *the Brethren in Chriſt*, and met together with great ſecrecy in one another's houſes, to read the New Teſtament and other books, and to converſe on religious ſubjects. Many of them were apprehended and brought before Cuthbert Tunſtal biſhop of London, and doctor Wharton his chancellor. But biſhop Tunſtal being a prelate of uncommon learning and eloquence, and of great humanity, he generally prevailed upon them to renounce, or rather to diſſemble, their opinions, by which they eſcaped a painful death, but incurred the painful reproaches of their own minds *. This perſecution was conducted with much greater ſeverity in the dioceſes of Lincoln and Coventry †.

Wolſey's greatneſs.

Cardinal Wolſey was now, A. D. 1527, in the zenith of his power and greatneſs. The pope being detained in priſon by the emperor, conſtituted Wolſey his vicar-general; inveſting him with all the power of the papacy. Having thus obtained the power, though not the name, of pope, he ruled the church with the moſt deſpotic ſway, and encroached on the moſt undiſputed rights of the other biſhops, as well as of the laity. Among other encroachments, he eſtabliſhed a court in his own houſe, called York-houſe, for all teſtamentary matters, which almoſt annihilated both the buſineſs and emoluments of the prerogative court of the archbiſhop of Canterbury. Againſt this innovation the archbiſhop remonſtrated again and again, in very ſtrong but decent and reſpectful terms. But to theſe remonſtrances the haughty vicar-general paid no regard, till he received a meſſage from the king, of whom alone he ſtood in ſome awe ‡.

Great changes.

Such were the principal tranſactions, and ſuch the ſtate of the church of England, in the firſt nineteen years of the reign of

* Strype, b. i. ch. 7, 8. † Fox, p. 896, &c. ‡ Strype, b. i. ch. 6.

Henry

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Henry VIII. In that period the king was the moſt zealous champion of the court and church of Rome, and fought the battles of four ſucceſſive popes by his ſword his purſe, and his pen. In conſequence of this, he was the greateſt favourite of the court of Rome, loaded with the moſt extravagant praiſes, adorned with the title of defender of the faith, and honoured with the precious preſents of conſecrated ſwords, capes, and roſes. But the laſt nineteen years of this reign preſent us with a very different ſtate of things. In that period the king broke off all ſubjection to, and connexion with, the pope and court of Rome; became their moſt violent enemy, and laboured to induce other princes to ſhake off their yoke. He aſſumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England; was acknowledged ſuch by his parliament, by the clergy, by almoſt all his ſubjects, and perſecuted thoſe to death who refuſed to acknowledge his ſupremacy and renounce the pope. By this conduct he cancelled all his former merits with the pope, the cardinals, and all the zealous ſons of the church of Rome, who loaded him with curſes inſtead of praiſes, and repreſented him as worſe than Judas, Caiphas, or Pilate, and the greateſt enemy to God and holy church that had ever appeared. At laſt his holineſs thundered out againſt him the dreaded ſentence of excommunication; gave him to the devil, abſolved his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanded them to depoſe him. He enjoined all Chriſtian princes to declare war againſt him, and to ſeize all his dominions and every thing that belonged to him, to which he gave them a right *. Theſe great and ſurpriſing changes were not brought about at once, but by various ſteps, which we ſhall now endeavour to trace.

Inſtability of the church.

Though the authority of the pope, and the tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome, ſeemed to be firmly eſtabliſhed in England in the firſt part of this reign, the foundations on which they reſted were in ſome degree undermined, and the fabric was not ſo firm as it appeared. The revival of learning, and the invention of the art of printing, made books more attainable, and ſome degree of know-

* Strype, b. i. ch. 43. Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 792.

ledge

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ledge more general, than they had been in former times. This alſo gave an opportunity to perſons of different opinions to communicate their ſentiments to the public. A great number of ſmall books againſt the authority of the pope, tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, images, pardons, pilgrimages, &c. were publiſhed in England, and many of Luther's works were imported and tranſlated. All theſe were circulated with great ſecrecy, and peruſed with great avidity by the people; which rendered great multitudes of them ſecretly diſaffected to the church. The clergy were very ſenſible of their danger from this quarter, and exerted all their power to prevent the circulation of theſe books, eſpecially of the New Teſtament in Engliſh, which they repreſented as perfect poiſon to the ſouls of Chriſtians. But all their efforts were ineffectual. The nobility and principal gentlemen hated the clergy, on account of their exorbitant power and riches, their pomp and pride, their rapacity, luxury, and other vices, and the laity in general wiſhed to ſee them humbled. In a word, the zealous attachment and great power of the king ſeem to have been the chief ſupport of the papal power and popiſh church in England at this time; and when theſe ſupports were withdrawn, the ponderous fabric could no longer ſtand. How theſe ſupports came to be withdrawn, is now to be narrated.

Henry's doubts about his marriage.

Henry VIII. lived in great conjugal harmony with his queen Catherine of Spain, his brother's widow, about eighteen years. When he firſt began to entertain doubts of the legality of his marriage cannot be aſcertained: but it was not till A. D. 1527 that he began to diſcloſe theſe doubts to his confeſſor Longlands, biſhop of Lincoln, to his favourite cardinal Wolſey, and to ſome others. Having ſtudied this queſtion with great attention, and conſulted many of the moſt learned men in his dominions, he came to be fully convinced that his marriage was inceſtuous, and contrary to the laws of God and nature; and that the pope could not diſpenſe with theſe laws. This conviction, and perhaps ſome other conſiderations, made him ardently deſirous of obtaining a divorce, that he might be at liberty

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to contract a more unexceptionable marriage; and he reſolved to apply to the pope for that purpoſe.

Hiſtory of the divorce already related.

From the time that Henry applied to the court of Rome (A. D. 1526) for a divorce, that affair influenced all his councils and negociations, and directed all his civil and political tranſactions for ſeveral years. It was impoſſible therefore to give a clear, diſtinct, intelligible account of theſe tranſactions, without relating his negociations at the court of Rome for obtaining that divorce, the delays, artifices, and double-dealing of that court, which at length provoked him to withdraw his obedience to the pope, and aſſume the ſupremacy in his own dominions, which made way for the many important changes that followed in the church and ſtate of England. For theſe reaſons, the hiſtory of the king's divorce from queen Catherine, and of its immediate conſequences, hath been already given in the ſecond ſection of the firſt chapter of this book, to which the reader is referred. We ſhall now proceed to relate ſuch tranſactions as were purely eccleſiaſtical, and that ſeem to merit a place in hiſtory.

Perſecutions.

While Henry was negociating his divorce at the court of Rome, he encouraged his prelates and clergy to perſecute all heretics without mercy; and iſſued a proclamation, commanding his chancellor, the judges of both benches, the juſtices of the peace, and all other civil officers and magiſtrates, to aſſiſt the biſhops in extirpating all hereſies and heretics *. Thus inſtigated and ſupported, ſome of the Engliſh prelates were exceedingly zealous and active in the cruel buſineſs of perſecution. Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur of Cambridge were men of learning; and having imbibed the principles of Luther and the other reformers of Germany, they propagated theſe principles in the univerſity, and other places, with ability and ſucceſs, by their writings, their preaching, and their converſation. They were both apprehended and impriſoned A. D. 1527; and after ſuffering a long impriſonment and many hardſhips, they were prevailed upon by

* Fox, p. 930.

the

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the importunity of their friends, and the dread of a painful death, to abjure their opinions. But Bilney was ſoon after ſeized with the moſt excruciating remorſe for his hypocriſy, and could enjoy no peace of mind till he returned to the profeſſion of his real principles. He was again impriſoned, and ſoon after burnt at Norwich as a relapſed heretic, and endured the flames with great compoſure and fortitude *. About the ſame time (1530) Thomas Hilton, a prieſt, after a long and ſevere impriſonment, was burnt at Maidſtone †. Doctor John Stokeſley, biſhop of London, was a more cruel perſecutor than any of the other Engliſh prelates of this time. By him Richard Bayfield, a prieſt and monk of St. Edmondſbury, was tried and convicted of hereſy, for importing, reading, and circulating, a great number of books written by Luther, Occolumpadius, Zuinglius, and others of that damnable ſect. When the ſentence was ready to be paſſed, the biſhop ſent a letter to the mayor and ſheriffs of London, requiring them, in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, to be preſent at paſſing the ſentence, and to take the priſoner into their cuſtody, and burn him to aſhes ‡. Soon after this, James Bainham, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, eminent for piety, virtue, and learning, was apprehended by an order of the chancellor ſir Thomas More, and conducted to his houſe at Chelſea, where he treated him for ſome time with great kindneſs, and endeavoured to perſuade him to renounce his opinions. But finding all his efforts ineffectual, he commanded him to be tied to a tree in his garden, called the Tree of Truth, and whipped him with his own hand. He then committed him to the Tower, and put him to the rack, to extort from him the names of his friends in the Temple, who entertained the ſame opinions. All his goods were confiſcated, and his wife was committed to priſon, becauſe ſhe would not diſcover where her huſband's books were concealed. Bainham bore all theſe ſufferings with fortitude, without betraying his friends, or abandoning his principles; and the chancellor, deſpairing of making any impreſſion upon him, ſent him to biſhop Stokeſley to be tried for hereſy. He was accordingly tried before

* Fox, p. 910—924. † Ibid. p. 910. ‡ Ibid. p. 933.

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before the biſhop December 15th A. D. 1531, in ſir Thomas More's houſe at Chelſea, and returned ſuch pointed anſwers, moſtly in ſcripture language, to a great number of interrogatories, as diſcover him to have been a man of learning, good ſenſe, and great integrity. He was found guilty of hereſy; and the biſhop and chancellor having aſſailed him with earneſt intreaties and perſuaſions, to ſave himſelf from an exquiſitely painful death, before the irrevocable ſentence was pronounced, his courage failed him, and, with great anguiſh and agitation of mind, he ſubſcribed his abjuration. But he ſoon and bitterly repented of what he had done, and wrote a letter to the biſhop, expreſſing his ſorrow for his abjuration, on which he was apprehended and condemned as a relapſed heretic, and burnt in Smithfield *. Several other perſons, in different parts of England, at this time, ſhared the ſame fate, and were committed to the flames for hereſy.

Cardinal Wolſey ſelected from both univerſities ſeveral perſons who were moſt eminent for genius and learning, to adorn the new and magnificent college he founded at Oxford; and among others, he made choice of John Frith of Cambridge. But it was ſoon diſcovered that Frith and ſeveral others of this ſelect ſociety were infected with hereſy, and they were caſt into priſon and very harſhly treated. The cardinal, who to his honour was averſe to perſecution, being informed of this, commanded them to be ſet at liberty, thinking they had ſuffered ſufficiently for their imprudence in diſcovering their opinions. Soon after Frith recovered his liberty, he went to the continent, where he remained about two years, and then returned to England. His return was not long a ſecret; and ſo much diligence was uſed by ſir Thomas More and biſhop Stokeſley in ſearching for him, that he was at laſt diſcovered and apprehended, and committed to the Tower. When he was in the Tower he was engaged in a controverſy with ſir Thomas More on tranſubſtantiation, contending that the belief of that doctrine was not neceſſary to ſalvation, which ſir Thomas aſſerted. He had alſo a diſpute with the chancellor and

* Fox, p. 937—939.

his

his ſon-in-law Mr. Raſtal, and Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, on purgatory. He was drawn into both theſe controverſies much againſt his will, and managed them with great modeſty, as well as learning. But his antagoniſts had a more effectual way of ſilencing him than by their writings. They brought him to trial for hereſy, and pronounced him guilty, becauſe he denied that the belief of tranſubſtantiation and purgatory was neceſſary to ſalvation. For that crime, this amiable, virtuous, and learned man, (for ſuch he appears to have been,) was burnt in Smithfield July 4th A. D. 1533; and in his company one Andrew Hewel, a young man who had been inſtructed by him, and ſeemed ambitious to ſhare his ſufferings *. Though Mr. Frith behaved with the moſt undaunted firmneſs after he was apprehended, he had neglected no means of eſcaping from his purſuers, and had ſuffered great hardſhips for ſeveral months in wandering about under different diſguiſes, in hopes of getting beyond ſeas. But the ports were ſtrictly guarded, that he could not eſcape. Cent. XVI.

So ardent was the zeal of ſome of the Engliſh prelates at this time againſt what they call hereſy, that they not only wrecked their vengeance on the living, but on the aſhes of dead heretics, by committing them to the flames. William Tracee, a gentleman in Glouceſterſhire, in his laſt will, declared, that he did not think it neceſſary to pray to ſaints, or to celebrate maſſes for the ſouls of the dead, and therefore he left no money for that purpoſe. When this teſtament was produced in court to be proved, it was challenged as heretical, and carried to archbiſhop Warham. Tracee was tried and found guilty of hereſy A. D. 1532, and a ſentence was pronounced, that his body ſhould be taken out of the grave and burnt. The execution of this ſentence was committed to doctor Parker, chancellor of Worceſter, by whom it was executed. Though Henry was ſufficiently fierce againſt hereſy and heretics, he was ſhocked at this tranſaction when it came to his knowledge. Doctor Parker was queſtioned for burning Tracee's body without a writ *de heretico comburendo*, (which Tracee's teſtament.

* Fox, p. 941—946.

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he did not think neceſſary in burning a dead heretic,) and compounded for his delinquency by paying 300l. to the king *.

Many abjured.

Beſides thoſe above mentioned, a great multitude of men and women in different parts of England were cruelly perſecuted at this time for denying tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, the worſhip of images, praying to ſaints, and other peculiar tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome. But the far greateſt part of theſe ſufferers, after enduring impriſonment and other hardſhips, were prevailed upon, by the importunity of their friends and the fear of death, outwardly to renounce opinions which they inwardly believed, and to become hypocrites rather than martyrs. Enough hath been ſaid on this unpleaſant ſubject at preſent, to ſhew the cruel intolerant ſpirit of the king and clergy of England, immediately before their ſeparation from the church of Rome; and to preſerve the memory of thoſe good, pious, and brave men, who preferred death to diſſimulation, and reſigned their lives rather than their principles, which they thereby more effectually recommended, than they could have done by any other means.

Henry reſolves to break with the pope.

When the patience of Henry VIII. was worn out by the dilatory deluſive conduct of the court of Rome, and he almoſt deſpaired of obtaining what he thought juſtice from that court, in the affair of his divorce, the ardour of his attachment to Rome began to abate: he could then bear to hear that the power of the pope was not unlimited; that he could not diſpenſe with the laws of God; and even that the authority which the biſhops of Rome had ſo long exerciſed over the univerſal church, was an uſurped authority, from which he at length determined to emancipate himſelf and his ſubjects. This he knew would ſave them no little labour and a great deal of money, and would bring a great acceſſion both of power and revenue to the crown. He was aware that he would meet with great oppoſition in the execution of this deſign, and that the court of Rome would move heaven and earth to raiſe him up enemies, both

* Fox, p. 951.

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at home and abroad. He reſolved therefore to proceed with caution, and to carry the parliament, the convocation, and his other ſubjects, along with him in every ſtep. Cent. XVI.

So early as A. D. 1529 Henry threw out a threatening, that if the pope did not do him juſtice without delay, he would withdraw himſelf and his ſubjects from all obedience to him, and connexion with him. This threatening was not, perhaps, ſincere; it is certain it was not believed. The pope and cardinals could not imagine that the great champion of the church, who had been ſo proud of the honours he had received for fighting their battles with his ſword, his purſe, and his pen, would ever forſake them: it had therefore no effect; and Henry, meeting with freſh delays and diſappointments, reſolved to execute, or at leaſt to ſhew the pope that he could execute, what he had threatened. The parliament that met for the firſt time November 5th A. D. 1529, proved very complying with the king's views, and was therefore continued about ſix years by various prorogations; and in its ſeveral ſeſſions made great changes in the ſtate of the church of England. In the very firſt ſeſſion, the houſe of commons diſcovered not a little diſſatisfaction with the conduct of the clergy, particularly with the exorbitant exactions of the ſpiritual court in the probates of wills, and of the pariſh prieſts in mortuaries; and laws were made for regulating and reſtraining theſe exactions *. When theſe bills were paſſing the houſe of commons, ſome of the members ſpoke with great warmth againſt the extortions of the ſpiritual courts, and others painted the cruelty of incumbents in demanding mortuaries in very ſtrong colours †. In a word, the clergy of England, immediately before the reformation, and at the opening of this parliament, were in very diſagreeable circumſtances: they were not only hated by all who ſecretly wiſhed for a reformation, for the cruelty with which they perſecuted thoſe whom they denominated heretics; but they were envied and diſliked, on ſeveral accounts, by the generality of the laity of all ranks; and they were alſo in a præmunire, and at the king's mercy, Parliament.

* Statutes, 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 5, 6.

† Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 739.

which

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which made them more tractable, and more feeble in their oppoſition to the great changes that ſoon after followed, than they would have been in better circumſtances.

In the next ſeſſion of this parliament, which commenced July 30th A. D. 1530, a bolder ſtep was taken. The houſe of lords wrote a very ſpirited letter to the pope, accuſing him, in very plain terms, of ingratitude and injuſtice in delaying and declining to grant their ſovereign the divorce which he ſolicited, which had been pronounced juſt and neceſſary by the moſt famous univerſities and moſt learned men in Europe. In concluſion, they declared, that if his holineſs refuſed or delayed to grant their juſt requeſt, they would ſeek and find relief ſome other way *. This famous letter was ſubſcribed by twenty-eight ſpiritual and forty-two temporal lords. It was evidently intended to alarm the pope, by ſhewing him, that if the king was provoked by further delays to withdraw his obedience to the ſee of Rome, he would not be deſerted by his ſubjects, nor even by his clergy. But it did not produce the deſired effect. His holineſs returned a ſmooth and artful anſwer, (September 27th A. D. 1530,) in which he beſtowed the higheſt commendations upon the king, expreſſed his own gratitude for his many great ſervices, and his earneſt deſire to oblige him as far as he could with juſtice, in the ſtrongeſt terms. But that when the queen ſuſpected the two cardinals appointed to try the cauſe in England of partiality, and appealed to the apoſtolical tribunal, he could not refuſe to admit her appeal without injuſtice. That all the ſubſequent delays had been owing to the king himſelf, who refuſed to ſend a proctor to Rome to plead his cauſe. He concluded with ſaying, "As for what you mention in the end of "your letter, that unleſs we grant your requeſt herein, you ſhall "imagine that the care of yourſelves is remitted into your own "hands, and that you are left at liberty to ſeek remedy herein elſe-"where: this is a reſolution neither worthy of your prudence, nor "becoming your chriſtianity; and we therefore, of our fatherly "love, exhort you to abſtain from any ſuch raſh attempt †."

* Herbert, p. 141. † Ibid. p. 145.

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The king now almoſt deſpaired of obtaining a divorce by a ſentence of the pope, and therefore he brought that affair before his parliament in its next ſeſſion, March 30th A. D. 1531, as hath been already related. He laid the ſame buſineſs alſo at the ſame time before the convocation, and produced the opinions of ſo many univerſities and learned men againſt the legality of his marriage, as convinced a great majority of both the upper and lower houſe, that the marriage was contrary to the laws of God and nature, and that the pope could not diſpenſe with theſe laws. The king being now confident of the concurrence both of the parliament and convocation in any ſteps he ſhould find it neceſſary to take againſt the pope, he boldly aſſumed the title of ſupreme head of the church of England. This title appeared for the firſt time in the petition of the convocation of the province of Canterbury to the king, for relief from the penalties of their præmunire, by a pardon. It did not paſs in the convocation without oppoſition; but being aſſured by Thomas Cromwell, and ſome others of the privy council, that their petition would be rejected if they gave not the king that title, the oppoſers ſilently acquieſed. Both the clergy and the laity in the north were more bigoted than thoſe in the ſouth; and the giving the king this title met with more oppoſition in the convocation of York than of Canterbury: but as they found that they could not obtain their pardon on any other terms, they at length ſubmitted *. Only Culbert Tunſtal, biſhop of Durham, proteſted againſt that title †.

The king ſupreme head of the church.

This was not deſigned to be an inſignificant empty title, but was intended to convey to the king, in his own dominions, all the powers and revenues which the popes had long poſſeſſed in England. To convince the court of Rome that this was his intention, and that he could accompliſh it, the next ſeſſion of parliament, A. D. 1532, tranſferred one conſiderable branch of revenue, the annats or firſt fruits, from the pope to the king ‡. This was a ſevere blow, as theſe annats amounted to no ſmall ſum, and as it was a prelude to ſimilar transfers of other branches of the papal revenues. This proceeding

Annats given to the king.

* Burnet, p. 112. † Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 745. ‡ Ibid. p. 117.

was

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was very diſagreeable to many of the Engliſh clergy, as they ſaw its tendency to a breach with Rome, and to ſubject them in all things to their own ſovereign, and the laws of their country, in common with the laity. Archbiſhop Warham, finding that the torrent began to run ſtrong againſt the pope and church, particularly in the houſe of commons, proteſted in the hands of a notary public before three witneſſes February 24th 1532, in his palace of Lambeth, againſt all the laws that had been made, or that ſhould thereafter be made, by the preſent parliament, in derogation of the authority of the pope, or the rights and immunities of the church *. The deſign of this private proteſt againſt thoſe laws, to which he had given his conſent in public, is not very obvious.

The commons complain of the clergy.

The houſe of commons in this ſeſſion preſented a petition to the king againſt the clergy, complaining that they haraſſed the laity by vexatious proſecutions in their ſpiritual courts; and that they made and executed laws and canons without the royal aſſent; and that ſome of theſe canons were contrary to the laws of the land. The king tranſmitted this complaint of the commons to the convocation that was then ſitting, and commanded them to return an anſwer. In their anſwer (which is written with uncommon art) they affirm, that they exerciſed their ſpiritual juriſdiction with the greateſt lenity, except "upon certain evil-diſpoſed perſons, infected and utterly "corrupt with the peſtilent poiſon of hereſy; and to have had peace "with ſuch, it had been againſt the goſpel of our Saviour Chriſt, "wherein he ſaith, *non veni mittere pacem, ſed gladium.*" In their anſwer to the ſecond article of complaint, they aſſert roundly, "We "repute and take our authority of making laws to be grounded "upon the ſcripture of God, and determination of holy church." They add, that as they derived their authority to make laws from God, "we may not ſubmit the execution of our charge and duty, "certainly preſcribed by God, to your highneſs's aſſent, although in "very deed the ſame be moſt worthy." With reſpect to the inconſiſtency which the commons pretended was between the laws of the

* Wilkin. p. 746.

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land, and the canons of the church, they obſerved, that as the canons were made by the authority, and were perfectly agreeable to the will of God, it would be proper for his grace and the parliament to change their laws, and bring them to a perfect conformity to thoſe of the church. This was a ſtrain rather too bold for the times, as they ſoon after found *. Cent. XVI.

The king was far from being pleaſed with this anſwer, and ſoon brought the clergy to lower their tone. He ſent them two propoſitions, to which he demanded their aſſent: "1. That no conſtitution or ordinance ſhall be hereafter by the clergy enacted, promulgated, or put in execution, unleſs the king's highneſs do approve the ſame by his high authority and royal aſſent. 2. That whereas divers of the conſtitutions provincial, which have been heretofore enacted, be thought not only much prejudicial to the king's prerogative, but alſo much onerous to his highneſs's ſubjects, it be committed to the examination and judgment of thirty-two perſons; whereof ſixteen to be of the upper and lower houſe of the temporality, and other ſixteen of the clergy; all to be appointed by the king's highneſs: ſo that, finally, whichſoever of the ſaid conſtitutions ſhall be thought and determined by the moſt part of the ſaid thirty-two perſons worthy to be abrogate and annulled, the ſame to be afterwards taken away, and to be of no force or ſtrength." Nothing could be more diſagreeable to the generality of the clergy than theſe two propoſitions, which tended to deprive them of the independent power of making and executing laws, which they pretended they had received from God, and to ſubject the ſacred canons of the church to be examined and repealed by laymen. The convocation held ſeveral meetings on this ſubject, and propoſed various emendations: in particular, they propoſed to ſubmit all their canons to the examination of the king alone: "Having (ſay they) eſpecial truſt and confidence in your moſt high and excellent wiſdom, your princely goodneſs, and fervent zeal to the promotion Convocation.

* Wilkin. p. 750.

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" of God's honour and the chriſtian religion, and eſpecially your in-
" comparable learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning
" of all other kings and princes that we have read of." But all this flattery was ineffectual. No alteration of the propoſitions would be admitted, and they were at laſt (May 16th A. D. 1532) obliged to give their aſſent to the propoſitions as they ſtood. But before they did this, they gave in a paper to the king, in which they declared, that they gave their aſſent to theſe propoſitions only in conſideration of his high wiſdom, great learning, and infinite goodneſs to them and the church; and aſſerted in the ſtrongeſt terms, their divine right to make and execute laws without the royal aſſent, " which (add
" they) your highneſs yourſelf, in your own book, moſt excellently
" written againſt Martin Luther, doth not only acknowledge and
" confeſs, but alſo with moſt vehement and inexpugnable reaſons
" and authorities doth defend, which we reckon, that of your
" honour you cannot, nor of your goodneſs you will not revoke."
This was a ſevere ſtroke, which was probably remembered to their diſadvantage *.

Death of archbiſhop Warham.

Archbiſhop Warham did not long ſurvive this mortifying tranſaction. He died in the month of Auguſt A. D. 1532. He was a man of learning, and poſſeſſed uncommon prudence and command of temper, which he had frequent opportunities of exerciſing. In the former part of his pontificate he was eclipſed and controlled by the overpowering influence of cardinal Wolſey, who, by his favour with the king, and his legantine commiſſion from the pope, ingroſſed almoſt all power, both in church and ſtate; and in the laſt part of it, he was much diſquieted by the miſunderſtanding between the king and the pope, by the attacks of the laity upon the church and clergy, and by the increaſe of thoſe opinions which he eſteemed heretical. His ſeverity in the proſecution of heretics was the greateſt blemiſh in his character; but it ſhould be conſidered, that in thoſe times mercy to thoſe who diſſented from the church was conſidered

* Wilkin. p. 748—755.

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as one of the greateſt crimes in a prelate, and perſecuting them to death as one of the greateſt virtues; ſo ſtrangely were the minds of men perverted by bigotry and ſuperſtition. Cent. XVI.

Doctor Cranmer primate

Henry having for ſome time entertained a very high opinion of the learning, prudence, and integrity of doctor Thomas Cranmer, reſolved to raiſe him to the primacy, and with that view recalled him from his embaſſy at the imperial court. Cranmer, who was neither covetous nor ambitious, was far from being delighted with the proſpect of this great promotion; on the contrary, foreſeeing the difficulties and dangers with which it would be attended, he declined it with much earneſtneſs and ſincerity. But the king was poſitive; and he complied, in hopes of promoting a reformation in the church, of which he was ſenſible of the neceſſity *.

conſecrated.

A difficulty ſoon occurred. Doctor Cranmer had ſtrong ſcruples about taking the oath of canonical obedience to the pope, both becauſe he thought it inconſiſtent with the oath he was to take to the king, and becauſe he apprehended that it would reſtrain him from promoting that reformation in the church which he intended; and for theſe ſcruples it is certain there was ſome ground. But as the king at this time entertained hopes of a reconciliation with the court of Rome, which he ſtill deſired; and as the pope had approved of the election of doctor Cranmer, and had ſent over all the bulls for his conſecration; it was thought neceſſary not to omit the oath which theſe bulls required. This queſtion was at length referred to certain canoniſts and caſuiſts, who propoſed the following ſalvo, that the primate elect, before he took the oath to the pope, ſhould make a formal proteſtation: "That he did not intend, by taking that oath, "to reſtrain himſelf from doing what he thought to be his duty to "God, to his king, and his country." This ſalvo, though liable to great objections, was adopted. He made the propoſed proteſtation before he took the oath of canonical obedience, and was conſecrated March 13th A. D. 1533, by the biſhops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Aſaph †. As both the parliament and convocation were then

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, ch. 4. † Burnet, p. 128.

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ſitting, the new primate was immediately engaged in very important tranſactions, which have been already related, viz. the diſſolution of the king's marriage with his firſt queen Catherine of Spain, and the confirmation of his marriage with his ſecond queen Anne Boleyn *.

Breach between Rome and England.

Several efforts were made by Henry A. D. 1533, aided by his ally the king of France, to prevail upon the pope to diſſolve the marriage between him and queen Catherine, to prevent a total rupture between Rome and England, and to pave the way for a reconciliation. But all theſe efforts were unſucceſsful, and a raſh ſentence pronounced by the pope (under the influence, it is ſaid, of paſſion) in a full conſiſtory March 23 A. D. 1534, confirming the marriage between Henry and Catherine, and declaring it lawful, brought that tedious and perplexing affair to a criſis, and produced a total breach between the court and church of Rome and the court and church of England †: one of the moſt important and propitious events in the hiſtory of Great Britain.

Acts of parliament.

The breach being now made became daily wider and wider; mutual injuries were multiplied; and the Engliſh parliament made ſeveral acts, and the convocation ſeveral canons, which rendered a reconciliation almoſt impoſſible. The act that had been made in a former ſeſſion of this parliament againſt the payment of firſt fruits to the pope was confirmed, and many new clauſes added concerning the election and conſecration of prelates, without any application to Rome for bulls of any kind; and thoſe who violated this law were declared to be in a premunire ‡. By another act, all appeals to the pope and his courts at Rome were prohibited, under the ſame penalty; and the power of determining cauſes in the laſt reſort was in ſome caſes conferred on the primate, and in others on the king §. By another law, which is very long and particular, all payments to the pope, for Peter-pence, diſpenſations, procurations, proviſions, bulls, delegacies, reſcripts, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, rehabilita-

* See chap. i. ſect. ii.
† Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 769.
‡ Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20.
§ Ibid. cap. 19.

tions,

tions, abolitions, &c. &c. are prohibited *. By theſe laws the pope was deprived of all the power and all the revenues he had long poſſeſſed in England. This was a ſevere blow, which, it is probable, his holineſs did not expect. Theſe laws were firſt brought into the houſe of commons, and they treated the pope with little reſpect or ceremony, calling him and his predeceſſors impoſtors, who had long deceived the world by falſe pretences, and uſurpers of powers and prerogatives to which they had no title. If any perſon in England had uſed this language only a few years before, he would have been committed to the flames. The ſame parliament in its next ſeſſion, November A. D. 1534, granted to the king, as ſupreme head on earth of the church of England, and to his heirs and ſucceſſors, all the powers, prerogatives, and emoluments, they had taken from the pope, which brought a great acceſſion both of power and revenue to the crown †. Cent XVI.

Henry and his miniſters were at no little pains to reconcile the minds of his ſubjects of all ranks to this great change in the government of the church, and to eradicate their veneration for the pope, and their reſpect for his authority, to which they had been ſo long accuſtomed. With this view, he procured and publiſhed the opinions of the univerſities of Oxford and Cambridge: "That the biſhop of "Rome had no more authority in England by the word of God, "than any other foreign biſhop." All the Engliſh biſhops ſubſcribed and ſealed, and took a ſolemn oath to adhere to the ſame opinion. The name of the pope was ſtruck out of all the books that were uſed in the ſervice of the church. A very ſtrict injunction was iſſued, commanding all prelates to preach every Sunday and holiday in ſupport of the king's ſupremacy, and againſt the authority of the biſhop of Rome, and to command their clergy to do the ſame. Inſtructions were ſent to all the ſheriffs to keep a watchful eye on the clergy in their ſeveral counties, and to ſend up the names of ſuch as did not preach againſt the pope's authority, and in vindication of the king's ſupremacy; or did it in a deluſory ſuperficial manner. Precautions.

* Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 21. † Statutes, 26 Hen. VIII. cap 1. and 3.

Even

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Even ſchoolmaſters were enjoined to give proper inſtructions to their ſcholars on theſe ſubjects. Several books were written and circulated with great induſtry, to convince the world, that the dominion which the biſhop of Rome claimed and exerciſed over the chriſtian church, as Chriſt's vicar upon earth, was an uſurpation, and had no foundation in ſcripture *. Spies were ſent into all parts of the country, and even into Scotland, to hear and report the obſervations that were made upon the late tranſactions †. Theſe prudent precautions were neither unneceſſary, nor without effect: they were not unneceſſary, becauſe ſeveral of the clergy, particularly of the friars, travelled up and down the country preaching with vehemence in ſupport of the papal pretenſions, and inflaming the minds of the people againſt the king for aſſuming the ſupremacy. They were not without effect, becauſe they put a ſtop to the inflammatory declamations of thoſe dangerous incendiaries; and encouraged ſuch of the clergy as wiſhed for a reformation, and even ſome who had nothing at heart but their own promotion, to endeavour by their preaching and writings to convince the people, that the claim of the biſhop of Rome to the government of the whole church was not well founded; and that the king had an undoubted right to the ſupremacy in his own dominions, by which the peace of the kingdom was at this time preſerved ‡.

Still further to ſecure the public tranquillity, the ſentence of divorce that had been pronounced by the archbiſhop of Canterbury between the king and his firſt queen Catherine, and the ſentence of the ſame prelate confirming the king's marriage with his ſecond queen Anne Boleyn, were confirmed by parliament; and by the ſame act the ſucceſſion to the crown was ſettled on the king's iſſue male by queen Anne, or any future queen; and failing them, on the princeſs Elizabeth and her iſſue, by which the princeſs Mary was excluded as illegitimate. This act was to be publiſhed in every county of the kingdom before the firſt of May A. D. 1534; and if any perſon, after that

* Wilkin. p. 771—776. † Strype's Mem. ch. 21.
‡ Strype, ch. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

day,

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day, did any thing, by act or writing, to diſparage the king's preſent marriage, or to defeat the ſucceſſion as then ſettled, he was to be puniſhed as a traitor; and all ſubjects above the age of twenty-one were appointed to take a ſolemn oath, acknowledging the legality of the king's marriage with queen Anne, and engaging to ſupport the ſucceſſion *. Fiſher biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſir Thomas More, (as hath been before narrated,) fell ſacrifices to this law; and the execution of two perſons ſo eminent for their rank, and ſo renowned for their piety, virtue, and learning, ſtruck terror into all others. The oath was taken not only by the laity of all ranks, but by all the clergy both regular and ſecular, though it contained a clauſe acknowledging the king's ſupremacy; and declaring, that the biſhop of Rome had no more authority in England than any other foreign biſhop †. The pope therefore appeared now to have loſt all his influence, and all his partiſans in England. But this was a fallacious appearance. Great multitudes took this oath only to ſave their lives, and with a reſolution to break it as ſoon as they could do it with ſafety.

Proclamation.

Though the church of England was now ſeparated from the church of Rome, it ſtill retained all the doctrines and ceremonies, together with the odious perſecuting ſpirit, of that church. The king, in the beginning of 1535, iſſued a proclamation, threatening death without mercy to all who denied or diſputed the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, or any of the other doctrines of holy church, or who contemned or violated any of the laudable rites and ceremonies heretofore uſed; as holy bread, holy water, proceſſion, kneeling, and creeping to the croſs on Good Friday, &c. &c. By this proclamation ſuch of the clergy as had married were deprived of their orders and benefices, and declared to be laymen; and ſuch as preſumed to marry afterwards were not only to be deprived, but alſo impriſoned and puniſhed as the king pleaſed ‡. Several anabaptiſts, who had fled from perſecution in Germany, and had taken ſhelter in England about this time, were apprehended and put to death, not only for

* Statutes, 25 Hen. cap. 22.

† Wilkin. Concil. tom. iij. p. 774. 780, 781, 782. ‡ Ibid. p. 778.

their

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their doctrine concerning baptiſm, but chiefly for denying tranſubſtantiation *. In a word, no idea was yet entertained of the right of private judgment in matters of religion. Henry was the pope of England; hereſy was ſtill accounted the greateſt of all crimes, and ſubjected thoſe who were convicted of it to the moſt cruel of all puniſhments.

Cromwell vicegerent.

The king being now fully inveſted with the title of ſupreme head of the church of England, and with all the powers annexed to that title, reſolved to exerciſe theſe powers in their full extent. To accompliſh this, he appointed Thomas Cromwell, then ſecretary of ſtate, his vicar-general and vicegerent, with authority to viſit all eccleſiaſtical perſons and communities in his dominions, to rectify and correct all abuſes, and, in a word, to do every thing that he himſelf could do as ſupreme head of the church of England. He granted him alſo a power to give commiſſions under the great ſeal to ſuch perſons as he ſhould think proper, to aſſiſt him in performing the duties of that high and arduous office. Cromwell accordingly gave commiſſions to doctors Leighton, Lee, London, and many other perſons, containing very ample powers to viſit all churches, metrapolitical, cathedral, and collegiate; all monaſteries and priories, both of men and women; to inquire into the conduct of archbiſhops, biſhops, and dignitaries; of abbots and priors, abbeſſes, prioreſſes, monks, and nuns, both as to ſpirituals and temporals; and to cenſure and puniſh ſuch as were found delinquents, according to their demerits †.

Viſitation of monaſteries.

Though theſe commiſſioners were authoriſed to viſit the ſecular clergy, even of the higheſt dignity, this, it is probable, was not deſigned to be executed, but only to exhibit an appearance of impartiality, and to conceal from the monaſtics the dreadful blow that was intended to be given them. It is certain the inſtructions that were given to theſe viſitors relate only to convents, and bore the following title: "Articles to be inquired into in this royal viſitation of "monaſtics, eſpecially of thoſe who are exempt from the juriſdic-"tion of their dioceſan, who are now at laſt ſubjected to the juriſ-

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 779. † Ibid. p. 784, 785.

"diction

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"diction of his majeſty." Theſe inſtructions are very particular, and conſiſt of no fewer than eighty-ſix articles: many of them relate to the ſtate and management of their revenues, their relics, jewels, plate, furniture, corn, cattle, and goods of every kind. Several of them ſeem to intimate a ſuſpicion, that the monks and nuns did not obſerve their vows of chaſtity very ſtrictly, and ſuggeſt the inquiries to be made on that ſubject. They were to inquire, whether the monks of any monaſtery were defamed for incontinency; whether women were obſerved to reſort to it by back-ways; and whether boys and young men frequently ſlept with the abbot, or the monks. With reſpect to nunneries, they were directed to examine very carefully the height of the outward wall, the ſtrength of the doors and windows, and of their bars and bolts; to ſearch very diligently for dark and ſecret paſſages; to inquire whether the gates and doors were kept ſhut, and whether the keys were ever committed to the keeping of any of the young nuns, &c. &c. *

Henry had various reaſons to diſlike the monks: he was provoked by their declamations, both public and private, againſt his divorce: he ſuſpected them of conveying intelligence to his enemies abroad, and of fomenting diſaffection among his ſubjects at home. Though they had lately taken a ſolemn oath to ſupport his ſupremacy, he knew they were ſtill devoted to the pope, his greateſt enemy. Their ſpoils alſo preſented a tempting bait to a prince who was at once profuſe and covetous. It was evidently hazardous to attempt to overturn an eſtabliſhment ſo ancient, ſo opulent, and which had long been eſteemed ſacred. But ſeveral circumſtances now concurred to render ſuch an attempt leſs dangerous than formerly. The monks were hated by the ſecular clergy, had loſt the favour of the laity of all ranks by their vices, and could expect no protection from their great patron at Rome. Henry was encouraged to attack them by Cranmer and Cromwell, who thought their revenues might be employed to better purpoſes; and the preſent viſitation was intended to

Henry diſlikes the monks.

* Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 786—789.

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pave the way for their ſuppreſſion, by detecting and expoſing their ſecret enormities and vices.

Reports of the viſitors.

The viſitors, having received their commiſſions and inſtructions, were diſpatched into different parts of the kingdom at the ſame time, that the monks might have as little warning of their approach as poſſible. They executed their commiſſions with zeal and diligence, and made ſome curious diſcoveries almoſt in every houſe, not much to the honour of its inhabitants. In making theſe diſcoveries they were greatly indebted to the violent factions and animoſities which reigned among the monks and nuns, who informed againſt one another, and againſt their ſuperiors. Accounts of their proceedings were tranſmitted by the viſitors to the vicar-general, and contained ſufficient materials to render the monaſtics completely infamous, and the objects of univerſal deteſtation, for their groſs abſurd ſuperſtition and idolatry, their infernal cruelty, their ſhameful impoſitions on the credulity of the people, their abandoned unnatural incontinency, their drunkenneſs, gluttony, and other vices. Some of the old abbots and friars did not attempt to conceal their amours, which they knew to be impoſſible. The holy father, the prior of Maiden-Bradley, aſſured the viſitors, that he had only married ſix of his ſons and one of his daughters out of the goods of his priory as yet; but that ſeveral more of his children were now grown up, and would ſoon be marriageable. He produced a diſpenſation from the pope permitting him to keep a miſtreſs; and he acquainted them, that he took none but young maidens to be his miſtreſſes, the handſomeſt that he could procure; and when he was diſpoſed to change, he got them good huſbands *. But the page of hiſtory muſt not be ſtained with the abominations contained in the reports of theſe viſitors. It may be ſufficient to lay before the reader, a ſhort deſcription of their contents in the preamble to the act of parliament which they produced: "Foraſmuch as manifeſt "ſin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living, is daily uſed and com-"mitted in abbies, priories, and other religious houſes of monks,

* Strype, ch. 34, 35.

"canons,

" canons, and nuns; and albeit, many continual viſitations hath been " heretofore had by the ſpace of two hundred years and more, for an " honeſt charitable reformation of ſuch unthrifty, carnal, and abo- " minable living, yet nevertheleſs little or none amendment is hither- " to had, but their vicious living ſhamefully increaſeth and aug- " menteth, &c.*" It is but juſt to notice, that though the corruption of the monaſtics in England at this time was very general, it was not univerſal: ſome in almoſt every monaſtery were regular in their conduct, and at their own deſire were ſet at liberty. A few convents were found to be well governed, and unexceptionable: and for the preſervation of theſe, the viſitors pleaded with great earneſtneſs †. This affords a preſumptive proof, that the complaints of the delinquent monks, of the extreme ſeverity of the viſitors, were not well founded. Cent. XVI.

Having received ample information of the ſtate of the convents, and the manners of their inhabitants, it was debated in council what was proper to be done; and on this ſubject ſeveral ſchemes were propoſed ‡. It was believed to be dangerous to attempt the diſſolution of all the religious houſes in the kingdom at once; it was therefore very prudently reſolved to begin with the ſmaller monaſteries, which were ſaid to be the moſt corrupt, and were certainly the weakeſt. The reports of the viſitors were laid before parliament, which furniſhed the enemies of the monaſtics with materials for declaiming againſt them, and almoſt ſtopped the mouths of their friends. By the laſt act of the long parliament in April 1536, all the houſes of monks, canons, and nuns, that had not above 200l. of yearly revenue, and did not contain above twelve members, were diſſolved, and all their lands and goods granted to the king. By the ſame act, all the reſignations that had been made of religious houſes by their ſuperiors to the king were confirmed §. The number of religious houſes diſſolved by this act was three hundred and ſeventy-ſix, and their former poſſeſſors were removed into the greater convents of the Small monaſteries diſſolved.

* Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28.
† Strype, p. 255.
‡ Ibid. p. 271, &c.
§ Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28.

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ſame order. The annual revenues ariſing from their lands was computed to be 32,000l.; and their jewels, plate, and furniture, with their corn, cattle, and other goods, were eſtimated at 100,000l.: but both theſe computations were much below their real value.

Tranſlation of the bible.

Several ſevere proclamations had been iſſued by the king, at the requiſition of the clergy, againſt all who read, or kept by them, Tindal's Tranſlation of the New Teſtament into Engliſh. A copy of this book found in the poſſeſſion of any perſon was ſufficient to convict him of hereſy, and ſubject him to the flames. The biſhops were at incredible pains to prevent the importation of thoſe dangerous volumes, to ſeize them after their importation, and to puniſh the importers and purchaſers. They pretended that Tindal's Tranſlation was full of errors, and hereſies; and they promiſed to prepare and publiſh a more faithful tranſlation: but they were in no haſte to perform their promiſe. In the mean time, thoſe of the people of all ranks who ſuſpected that many errors prevailed in the church, and wiſhed for a reformation, became more and more importunate and impatient to have the uſe of the ſcriptures in their native language. At length archbiſhop Cranmer, wiſhing to gratify this laudable deſire of the people, obtained the king's permiſſion to prepare a tranſlation of the Bible, to be publiſhed by authority. To accompliſh this work, Cranmer divided the New Teſtament into nine parts, choſe nine of the beſt Greek ſcholars he could find, and committed the tranſlating of one of theſe parts to each. When they were all tranſlated and returned to him, he ſent one of theſe parts to one of the moſt learned of his brethren the biſhops, to be corrected, and returned with their obſervations. Eight of the nine biſhops complied with this requiſition; but Stokeſley, biſhop of London, returned his part (the Acts of the Apoſtles) with a ſurly meſſage: That he diſapproved the allowing the uſe of the ſcriptures to the people, which would betray them into damnable errors, and diſturb the peace of the church. The primate expreſſing ſome ſurpriſe at this meſſage, one of the company obſerved, that doctor Stokeſley would give himſelf no trouble about any teſtament in which he had no legacy; and beſides,

(ſaid

(ſaid he,) the apoſtles were ſo poor that they are quite below the notice of my lord of London. This tranſlation was not publiſhed till about three years after the order for preparing it was granted *. Cent. XVI.

In a convocation of the province of Canterbury at St. Paul's June 21ſt A. D. 1536, the lord Cromwell took his ſeat above the archbiſhop as the king's vicegerent. In the fourth ſeſſion, June 23d, doctor Gwent, prolocutor of the lower houſe, brought up a complaint to the higher houſe, that many dangerous errors and damnable hereſies were now publicly preached in all parts of England; and produced a ſchedule of no fewer than ſixty-ſeven of thoſe abuſes, errors, and hereſies, and required that they ſhould be reformed. Many of theſe pretended errors and abuſes are now the eſtabliſhed doctrines and practices of the church of England; ſuch as preaching againſt tranſubſtantiation, purgatory, extreme unction, auricular confeſſion, penances, pardons, indulgences, praying to ſaints, worſhipping images, and relics; pilgrimages, holy water, hallowed oil, bread, candles, aſhes, and palms; and in a word, againſt all doctrines that have no foundation in ſcripture, and all ceremonies that are merely of human invention. Againſt all theſe, the clergy of the lower houſe of convocation complained, that ſome heretical preachers declaimed, and many of the people talked, with impunity†. This is a ſufficient proof, that the principles and ſpirit of the reformation had at this time made no great progreſs among the clergy of the province of Canterbury. Though they had, with extreme reluctance, renounced the ſupremacy of the pope, they ſtill retained their attachment to all the tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome. Convocation.

The clergy of the province of York were ſtill more averſe to all reformation, than their brethren in the ſouth. The vicegerent had ſent ten interrogatories to them, to which he required their anſwers. We may gueſs at the queſtions by the anſwers. To the firſt they anſwered—That all who preached againſt purgatory, worſhipping of ſaints, pilgrimages, images, &c. ſhould be committed to the flames York convocation.

* Burnet, p. 195. † Wilkin. p. 805.

as

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as heretics. To the ſecond—That neither the king, nor any temporal man, could be ſupreme head of the church by the laws of God. To the third—That they were not ſufficiently inſtructed in the fact to return any anſwer. To the fourth—That no clerk ought to be put to death without degradation. To the fifth—That no man ought to be drawn out of ſanctuary, but in certain caſes expreſſed in the laws of the church. To the ſixth—That the clergy in the north had not granted the tenths and firſt-fruits to the king in convocation; and by the laws of the church, they can make no ſuch grant; and that they had not given their conſent to the act of parliament. They think, that by the laws of God no temporal man can claim ſuch tenths and firſt-fruits. To the ſeventh—That lands given to God, the church, or religious men, may not be taken away, and put to profane uſes, by the laws of God. To the eighth—We think diſpenſations lawfully granted by the pope to be good; and pardons have been allowed by general councils, and the laws of the church. To the ninth—We think, that by the law of the church, general councils, interpretations of approved doctors, and conſent of chriſtian people, the pope of Rome hath been taken for the head of the church, and vicar of Chriſt; and ſo ought to be taken. This was a very extraordinary anſwer from men who had lately renounced the ſupremacy of the pope, and acknowledged the ſupremacy of the king by a ſolemn oath. They had probably obtained a diſpenſation from Rome. To the tenth they anſwered—We think that the examination and correction of deadly ſin belongeth to the miniſters of the church, by God's law *. Beſides theſe anſwers, they boldly demanded the reſtoration of the monaſteries, and the repeal of ſeveral acts of parliament. In theſe anſwers and demands we diſcover the ſeeds of that formidable rebellion, called the pilgrimage of grace, that broke out in the north in October A. D. 1536, about two months after this convocation. The demands of the inſurgents were in the ſame ſpirit, and almoſt in the ſame words, with the anſwers of the convocation.

* Strype's Appendix, No. lxxiv.

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England was at this time a ſcene of great anxiety and agitation, of violent animoſities and diſputes between the friends and enemies of reformation. The biſhops were equally divided. Cranmer of Canterbury, Goodrich of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worceſter, Fox of Hereford, Hilſley of Rocheſter, and Barlow of Saint David's, favoured, and endeavoured to promote, a reformation both in the doctrines and ceremonies of the church; which was oppoſed with equal zeal by Lee of York, Stokeſley of London, Tunſtall of Durham, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Sherborne of Chicheſter, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carliſle *. The dignitaries in the ſeveral ſees generally co-operated with their biſhops; the inferior clergy, and the laity of all ranks, were no leſs divided, and as warmly engaged in this controverſy. Many books were publiſhed on both ſides, and paſſionate altercations raged in cities, towns, and villages, between the two parties. The king, deſirous to allay this ferment, which threatened the moſt dangerous commotions, gave a commiſſion to the biſhops and ſome other learned men to draw up certain articles of union, to be publiſhed by royal authority, as the creed and ritual of the church of England, in which all the ſubjects were to be commanded to acquieſce. After many meetings and much altercation, the commiſſioners finiſhed their work; each party relinquiſhing ſome of their peculiar opinions, in order to preſerve others. It conſiſted of two parts: the firſt contained the doctrines neceſſary to be believed; and the ſecond, the ceremonies proper to be retained to promote devotion. In the firſt part, the people were commanded to believe every thing contained in the ſcriptures and three creeds; that called the Apoſtle's, the Nicene, and the Athanaſian. The three ſacraments, of baptiſm, of penance, and of the altar, are explained, and declared to be neceſſary to ſalvation. In the explanation of baptiſm, the neceſſity of baptiſing infants is aſſerted, and rebaptiſm is declared to be a damnable hereſy. In the explanation of penance, auricular confeſſion to a prieſt is made neceſſary; and the people were to be taught to give no leſs faith and credence to the

* Fuller, p. 212.

words

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words "of abſolution pronounced by the miniſters of the church, "than they would give unto the very voice and words of God "himſelf, if he ſhould ſpeak unto us out of heaven." This moſt impious and pernicious doctrine was too honourable and advantageous to the clergy to be ſoon relinquiſhed. In the explanation of the ſacrament of the altar, tranſubſtantiation is aſſerted in the ſtrongeſt terms that could be deviſed. This firſt part concludes with an explanation of the doctrine of juſtification, nearly the ſame with that which hath been adopted by all proteſtant churches. In the ſecond part, concerning ceremonies, images were to be continued in churches, and the people were to be permitted to preſent offerings to them, to kneel, and to burn incenſe before them; but they were to be taught that this was not done to the images themſelves, but to the honour of God; "for elſe there might fortune of idolatry to "enſue, which God forbid." This doth not ſeem to have been the moſt effectual way to prevent idolatry. Saints were to be honoured, but not with that confidence and honour that are only due unto God: that it was proper to pray to them to be our interceſſors, and to pray for us to Almighty God. The people were to be inſtructed, "to pray for ſouls departed, and to commit them in our "prayers to God's mercy, and alſo to cauſe others to pray for them "in maſſes and exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for "them; whereby they may be relieved and holpen of ſome part of "their pain." By this the emoluments of the clergy were ſecured under the name of alms. The people were to be enjoined and exhorted to obſerve almoſt all the former ceremonies; but they were to be taught, "that none of theſe ceremonies have power to remit ſin, "but only to ſtir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only "our ſins be forgiven *." Theſe articles were publiſhed by the king, and all his ſubjects were commanded to receive and obey them. The friends of reformation ſeem to have gained ſome advantage on this occaſion. The ſcriptures and the three ancient creeds were made the ſtandards of doctrine, without any mention of tradition.

* Fuller, p. 215, &c.

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Four of the ſeven ſacraments were omitted; purgatory was left doubtful, pilgrimages were not enjoined, and ſeveral other things were explained and ſoftened. Both parties, however, were diſcontented. The papiſts complained that too much of the former ſyſtem was given up; and the reformers, that too much of it was retained. Theſe articles were ſubſcribed by all the members of both houſes of convocation *. Cent. XVI.

Thomas lord Cromwell, the king's vicar-general, publiſhed injunctions from time to time, directing the clergy what doctrines they were to preach, and inſtructing them, in an authoritative manner, how to perform the various duties of their ſacred office. This was humiliating to the clergy, but it was neceſſary. Many of the pariſh prieſts never preached, and others of them preached only on ſuch ſubjects as tended to inflame the bigotry and ſuperſtition of the people. The vicar-general, therefore, in his injunctions, commanded all rectors, vicars, and curates to preach one ſermon in each quarter of the year: "Wherein," ſays he, "ye ſhall purely and ſincerely declare the very goſpel of Chriſt, and in the ſame exhort "your hearers to works of charity, mercy, and faith, ſpecially "preſcribed and commanded in ſcripture, and not to repoſe their "truſt and affiance in any other works deviſed by men's fantaſies, "beſides ſcripture; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, to images or relics, or kiſſing or licking the "ſame. If ye have heretofore declared to your pariſhioners any "thing to the extolling or ſetting forth pilgrimages, feigned relics, "or images, or any ſuch ſuperſtition, ye ſhall now openly before "the ſame recant and reprove the ſame; ſhewing them, as the truth "is, that ye did the ſame upon no ground of ſcripture, but as one "led and ſeduced by a common error and abuſe crept into the "church, through the ſufferance and avarice of ſuch as felt profit "by the ſame †." Theſe and ſeveral other injunctions in the ſame ſtrain and ſpirit, that were publiſhed by the vicar-general A. D. 1536-7, were drawn up by archbiſhop Cranmer: but they were Injunctions.

* Wilkin. p. 817. † Ibid. p. 816.

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Viſitation. Henry VIII. became more and more tenacious of his new title of ſupreme head of the church of England, when he found that it brought him a very great acceſſion both of power and revenue. At the ſame time he knew that the monaſtics of all the different orders in his dominions were ſecret enemies to his ſupremacy, and devoted to the pope. He determined, therefore, firſt to diſgrace them, by expoſing their vices and impoſtures, and then to ruin them, and enrich the crown with their ſpoils. In order to this, he appointed a new viſitation A. D. 1537, of all the remaining religious houſes in the kingdom; and the commiſſioners were inſtructed to make ſtrict inquiry into the vices, the ſuperſtitious practices, and the cheats of the religious of both ſexes, by which they deceived the people and nouriſhed ſuperſtition to enrich themſelves. Many of the monks were ſo much alarmed at the report of this viſitation, that they ſurrendered their houſes and poſſeſſions to the king, without waiting the arrival of the viſitors. Theſe ſurrenders were made on various pretences; but the principal motives that influenced the ſurrenderers were, to prevent the publication and puniſhment of their vices, crimes, and impoſtures, and to procure better treatment and more liberal penſions. The chief employment of the viſitors, in this and the two following years, ſeems to have been ſettling the ſurrenders of monaſteries, and the penſions of the abbots, priors, and monks; making ſurveys of their eſtates; taking poſſeſſion of their relics, jewels, and plate (which in ſome houſes was of great value); ſelling their furniture; pulling down their churches, and ſuch of their other buildings as were only ſuited and uſeful to monaſtics; diſpoſing of their bells, lead, and other materials. It is almoſt incredible how many mag-

* Strype's Cranmer, p. 70.

nificent

nificent churches, cloiſters, dormitories, libraries, and other buildings, which had been erected at an immenſe expence of money and labour, were unroofed and ruined, in the ſhort ſpace of three or four years. To this dreadful havoc Henry and his courtiers were prompted, partly by their avarice, and partly to prevent the re-eſtabliſhment of the monaſtics *. Cent. XVI.

To finiſh this great affair, a parliament was called, which met at Weſtminſter April 28th A. D. 1540. On the 13th of May a bill was brought into the houſe of peers for granting to the king, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, all the houſes, lands, and goods of all the abbies, priories, nunneries, chantries, hoſpitals, and religious houſes, that had already been ſurrendered or ſuppreſſed, or that ſhould hereafter be ſurrendered or ſuppreſſed. The journals take no notice of any oppoſition to this bill in the houſe of peers: but it certainly met with oppoſition. There were no fewer than twenty abbots in that houſe, who could not all be ſilent on that occaſion †. Beſides, we are informed that Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, and ſeveral other prelates that favoured the new learning, (as the reformation was then called,) pleaded earneſtly for the preſervation of three or four houſes in every county, to be converted into ſchools for the education of youth, and hoſpitals for the relief of the poor; and that by their oppoſition to his favourite bill, they incurred the king's diſpleaſure, which he ſoon after made them feel ‡. Great art was uſed to perſuade the temporal peers and the gentlemen of the houſe of commons to paſs this bill, againſt which they had many objections. They were aſſured, "That if the monaſteries were ſuppreſſed, and their houſes, lands, "and goods granted to their king, there ſhould be created forty "earls, ſixty barons, three thouſand knights, and forty thouſand "ſoldiers, with ſkilful captains, and competent maintenance for "them all; and that no more loans or ſubſidies ſhould ever be de-"manded §." This bill accordingly paſſed both houſes with much Monaſteries ſuppreſſed.

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 235, &c.
† Journals, Dugdale, p. 501.
‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 72.
§ Coke's 4 Inſtitute, f. 44.

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leſs oppoſition than might have been expected; and in conſequence of it, all the poſſeſſions of ſix hundred and forty-five convents, ninety colleges, two thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four chantries and free chapels, and an hundred and ten hoſpitals, were annexed to the crown. The yearly rent of their lands was eſtimated at 160,000l.; which (if we may rely on the opinion of a right reverend and well-informed hiſtorian) was not one tenth of their real value *. The jewels, plate, furniture, and other goods, which had belonged to all theſe houſes, muſt have amounted to a prodigious ſum, of which no computation can now be made. In many of the richer monaſteries their veſtments were of cloth of gold, ſilk and velvet, richly embroidered; their crucifixes, images, candleſticks, and other utenſils, and ornaments of their churches, were of gold, ſilver gilt, and ſilver †. The gold taken from the ſhrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, filled, it is ſaid, two cheſts, which eight ſtrong men could hardly carry. Much of the jewels and plate in ſome monaſteries was conveyed away before their diſſolution, and ſome of it was probably ſecreted by thoſe who had it in charge; but after all, immenſe quantities came into the treaſury, where it did not long continue.

The abolition of all the monaſtic orders in England, and the alienation of their property, was a very bold meaſure, and affords a ſtriking proof of the great power and awful determined character of the king, and of the ſuperior abilities, courage, and wiſdom of his miniſter and vicegerent Cromwell. It contributed greatly to promote the permanent proſperity of the kingdom in many reſpects, as well as the reformation of religion, which could not have been accompliſhed while thoſe nurſeries of idleneſs, vice, and ſuperſtition remained.

Lambert burnt.

Though Henry had now emancipated himſelf and his ſubjects from the dominion of the pope, he ſtill continued as much attached as ever to ſome of the moſt abſurd tenets of the church of Rome, particularly tranſubſtantiation; and perſecuted thoſe who preſumed to

* Burnet, p. 269. † See Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. xvi.

call that doctrine in queſtion with the moſt unrelenting cruelty. A remarkable example of this occurred A. D. 1538. One John Nicolſon, who taught a ſchool in London, and to conceal himſelf from his former perſecutors, had aſſumed the name of Lambert, being brought before archbiſhop Cranmer, and accuſed of hereſy, for denying the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the euchariſt, appealed to the king, as ſupreme head of the church of England. Henry, vain of his theological learning, and inſtigated by Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, the moſt artful of men and the greateſt of flatterers, determined to bring Lambert to a ſolemn trial before himſelf in Weſtminſter-hall. Letters were written to all the prelates and principal nobility to attend this trial. When the appointed day arrived, the king appeared in great ſtate, clothed in white, and ſeated under a canopy of the ſame colour, to denote the purity of his faith. The ſpiritual lords were ſeated on his right hand, and the temporal peers on his left; and the hall was crowded with ſpectators, attracted from all parts of the kingdom by the news of this extraordinary trial. When the priſoner was brought into the court, he appeared to be greatly amazed and diſconcerted at the ſight of the auguſt aſſembly, and the ſtern countenance of the king, who, ſtanding, commanded one of the biſhops to declare the occaſion of the meeting. This being done, the king, after railing at the priſoner with great vehemence for having changed his name, aſked him, "Doſt thou believe the real corporal preſence "of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar?" "I believe," ſaid Lambert, "with St. Auguſtine, the preſence of "Chriſt in the ſacrament in a certain manner." The king, in a paſſionate tone, commanded him to give a direct anſwer to the queſtion. Lambert fell upon his knees, and began to praiſe the king for his goodneſs, in condeſcending to hear one of the humbleſt of his ſubjects; but Henry interrupted him, ſaying, he came not there to hear his own praiſes; and commanded him inſtantly to anſwer his queſtion; which he did, by acknowledging that he did not believe the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. Ten biſhops had been appointed to manage this debate, of which Cranmer

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Cranmer was the firſt; who, addreſſing the priſoner with great mildneſs, attempted to prove, from our Saviour's appearing to Paul at his converſion, that a body might be in more places than one at theſame time. But Gardiner thinking that he uſed too much gentleneſs, broke in and urged the ſame argument with great aſperity of language. He was followed by Tonſtal of Durham, Stokeſley of London, and other ſix prelates, who in ſucceſſion argued for the corporal preſence from various topics. Lambert, who was a man of good ſenſe and learning, and had made this controverſy very much his ſtudy, anſwered all his opponents in their turns, with great acuteneſs and ſtrength of argument, though he was often interrupted, inſulted, and ridiculed. At length, worn out with the fatigue of ſtanding five hours, and diſputing with ſo many antagoniſts, he remained ſilent. The king then aſked him, "Will you live, or die?" "I "commit my ſoul," ſaid he, "to the mercy of God, and my body "to the mercy of your majeſty."--"I will have no mercy," ſaid Henry, "on heretics;" and commanded Cromwell to read the ſentence, which condemned the priſoner to be burnt as an obſtinate heretic. This cruel ſentence was executed with circumſtances of uncommon cruelty *. It is impoſſible to contemplate this pompous diſplay of barbarous inhuman bigotry without ſurpriſe and horror. May God preſerve this happy iſland from the return of that infernal ſpirit! Some have imagined that Cranmer, on this occaſion, argued againſt the conviction of his own mind. But this is a miſtake; there is ſufficient evidence that at this time, and for ſome years after, he was a firm believer of the corporal preſence †.

Many holidays aboliſhed.

While Henry was thus ſacrificing his innocent ſubjects to his bigoted attachment to the tenets of the church of Rome, he was doing ſome things which contributed not a little to reformation. The Romiſh calendar was crowded with ſaints; and the prodigious number of holidays greatly impeded induſtry, and promoted riot and debauchery. He iſſued a proclamation A. D. 1536, aboliſhing all the holidays in harveſt, from July 1ſt to September 29th, except

* Fox, p. 1024. † Strype's Cranmer, ch. 18. p. 66.

three,

three, commanding the feaſts of the dedication of all the churches in England, commonly called wakes, to be kept on one day, the firſt Sunday in October, and prohibiting the obſervation of the feaſts of the patrons of churches *. This act and proclamation was ſent to all the biſhops, with a letter from the king, commanding them ſtrictly to ſee it put in execution in their reſpective dioceſes; and it was enforced in ſubſequent injunctions. By this, many days were reſcued from riot, to be employed in uſeful labour. Cent. XVI.

There was nothing the friends of the old learning (as the tenets of popery were then called) more dreaded and deprecated, than the tranſlation of the ſcriptures into Engliſh, and granting the uſe of them to the people; nor was there any thing that the friends of reformation more ardently laboured to procure. This was a long and violent ſtruggle between the two parties. Archbiſhop Warham ſent a paſtoral letter to all the prelates of his province A. D. 1526, acquainting them that certain children of iniquity, blinded by malice, had tranſlated the New Teſtament into Engliſh, to ſpread hereſy, and ruin men's ſouls; and that ſome of theſe pernicious books had been brought into England. He directed them, therefore, to command all perſons within their dioceſes, who had any of theſe dangerous books, to deliver them up to their biſhop, or his commiſſary, within thirty days, under the pain of excommunication, and of being puniſhed as heretics †. Four years after this, the cry for a tranſlation of the Bible, and the oppoſition to it ſtill continuing, the king publiſhed a proclamation; in which he told his ſubjects, that he had conſulted the two primates, and ſeveral other biſhops and learned men; "and that, by all thoſe virtuous, diſcreet, and well-learned "perſonages in divinity, it is thought that it is not neceſſary the "ſcriptures be in the Engliſh tongue, and in the hands of the com-"mon people. And that having reſpect to the malignity of this "preſent time, with the inclinations of the people to erroneous opi-"nions, the tranſlation of the New Teſtament and the Old into the "the vulgar tongue of the Engliſh, ſhould rather be the occaſion of Bible tranſlated.

* Wilkin. tom. iii. p. 823. † Wilkin. p. 706.

"continu-

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" continuance or increaſe of errors among the ſaid people, than any " benefice or commodity towards the weale of their ſouls *." Such were the ſentiments of the king and prelates of England on this ſubject at that time. But after Henry began to quarrel with the pope, and Cranmer was advanced to the primacy, he changed his opinion, and began to liſten to the opinions of his ſubjects, to have the ſcriptures in a language they underſtood. When doctor Cranmer was advanced to the primacy, he ſtood in the higheſt degree of favour with the king, which was the cauſe of his unexpected promotion. This gave him ſo much influence and authority in the church, that the convocation of his province, December 9th A. D. 1534, conſented and agreed that he ſhould make application to the king, to name and appoint certain honeſt and learned men to tranſlate the ſcriptures into Engliſh, to be put into the hands of the people, for their inſtruction †. Cranmer applied to the king accordingly, and obtained a commiſſion to himſelf and ſome other learned men, to prepare a tranſlation of the Bible, for the inſtruction of his ſubjects. For expedition in this work, which he had much at heart, he divided the Bible into ſeveral parts, and gave one to each tranſlator. When the tranſlation was finiſhed, the printing of it was committed to Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, who obtained permiſſion from Francis to print it at Paris ‡. But on a complaint from the French clergy, the part that was then printed was ſeized. The printers, however, were permitted to retire with their types and preſſes, and finiſhed their work in London. When Cranmer received ſome copies of this Bible, he ſaid it gave him more joy than if he had received a preſent of 10,000l. The king, by proclamation A. D. 1537, commanded one of theſe Bibles, at the equal expence of the incumbent and the pariſhioners, to be depoſited in every pariſh-church, to be read by all who pleaſed; and as ſome towns and pariſhes did not obey this firſt proclamation, it was enforced in a ſecond, with ſevere penalties §. At laſt Cromwell procured permiſſion, A. D. 1539,

* Wilkin. p. 741.
† Ibid. p. 776.
‡ Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. xxxi.
§ Wilkin. p. 856.

to

to all the ſubjects, to purchaſe copies of this Engliſh Bible for the uſe of themſelves and their families *. By ſuch ſlow ſteps, the people of England obtained the ineſtimable privilege of peruſing the word of God in their own language, which had been long denied them. This privilege was not obtained without much difficulty and oppoſition from the popiſh party. Cent. XVI.

Beſides this tranſlation of the Bible, ſome other books were publiſhed about this time, by the king's authority, for the inſtruction of his ſubjects; as the King's Primer A. D. 1535, which was a collection of twenty-nine ſmall tracts, conſiſting of explanations of the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and ſeveral pſalms and prayers for different occaſions; the Biſhops' Book A. D. 1537, or the godly and pious Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, which was drawn up by a committee of biſhops, and reviſed and corrected by the king †. Though theſe books contained too many of the peculiar tenets and ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the church of Rome, they contributed not a little to diffuſe a ſpirit of inquiry among the people, and thereby promoted the reformation. The Biſhops' Book, or the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man, was ſubſcribed by the two archbiſhops and nineteen biſhops, and confirmed by an act of parliament. The publication of the Engliſh Bible, and of theſe books, gave great joy to the friends of the reformation. Other books.

The images and relics of ſaints had long been the chief objects of the ſuperſtitious veneration of the people of England, and of all the other nations of Europe in communion with the church of Rome. This kind of devotion was very much encouraged by the clergy, eſpecially by the monaſtics, who had the cuſtody of thoſe images and relics, and were enriched by the offerings of their deluded worſhippers. To increaſe their gains, they publiſhed accounts of miraculous cures pretended to be wrought by certain images, and were guilty of many other deceits and impoſitions. Some of theſe were diſcovered and expoſed at the diſſolution of the monaſteries, which Images removed.

* Strype's Cranmer, ch. 17. Append. No. xxv.
† Strype's Mem. ch. 31. Cranmer, ch. 13.

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gave a check to that ſpecies of ſuperſtition *. But many images and relics ſtill remained in cathedrals and other churches, that were the objects of popular veneration, and attracted crowds of pilgrims. The king therefore ſent inſtructions to all the biſhops A. D. 1538, directing them to command their clergy to teach the people in their ſermons, "not to repoſe their truſt and affiance on works deviſed by "men's fantaſies, as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, "candles, or tapers, to feigned relics or images, or kiſſing or licking "the ſame, or ſuch like ſuperſtition." They were further inſtructed, that if they knew of any ſuch feigned images in any of their dioceſes, that were abuſed with pilgrimages or offerings, to take them down without delay, for avoiding that moſt deteſtable offence of idolatry †. Beſides theſe general inſtructions, particular injunctions were given for pulling down ſome of the richeſt and moſt frequented ſhrines, as that of St. Richard at Colcheſter, and of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury ‡. But as Becket had long been eſteemed the greateſt of ſaints, attracted the greateſt crowds of pilgrims, and received the moſt valuable of offerings, he was treated with greater ceremony. He was ſolemnly tried before the king in council, and found to be neither a ſaint, nor a martyr. Not a ſaint, becauſe he had rebelled againſt his ſovereign; not a martyr, becauſe he had fallen in a fray, in which he was the aggreſſor. He was therefore condemned as a traitor, all the rich ornaments of his altar and ſhrine confiſcated, his feſtival aboliſhed, and all his images thrown down §.

Thus far had the reformation of the church of England proceeded before the meeting of the parliament in April 1539, when an effectual ſtop was put to its further progreſs, though much remained to be reformed. As the changes that had been made were chiefly owing to the influence of archbiſhop Cranmer and lord

* A crucifix at Boxley in Kent, which moved its head, arms, and legs, by ſprings and wheels concealed in the body of it, was managed by a prieſt. The blood of Chriſt at Hales in Glouceſterſhire, as it was pretended, was diſcovered to be the blood of a duck renewed weekly. Burnet, p. 242.

† Fox, p. 1002. ‡ Wilkin. p. 840. § Ibid. p. 835. 847.

Cromwell

Cromwell with the king, ſo the ſtop that was now put to any further changes was partly owing to the decline of that influence, and partly to the inſinuating arts and perſuaſions of the popiſh party. Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, repreſented to the king, that the emperor and the kings of France and Scotland, at the inſtigation of the pope, were meditating an invaſion of his dominions; that many of his own ſubjects were ſo much offended with the late innovations in religion, and ſo much diſquieted by their fears of greater innovations, that they were ripe for rebellion; and that the only way to avert all theſe dangers, would be to convince the world by ſome ſignal act, that though he had withdrawn from the obedience of the pope, he had not renounced the catholic faith. Some of the reformers alſo contributed not a little to alienate the king's mind from them, by declaiming with too much vehemence againſt certain doctrines of the church of Rome, to which he was ſtill attached. Cent. XVI.

Influenced by theſe, and perhaps by other motives with which we are unacquainted, Henry reſolved to proceed no farther in the road of reformation, and to ſecure the remaining tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome by a law, with the moſt intimidating ſanctions.

The parliament met April 28th, and the lord chancellor Audley May 5th preſented the following meſſage from the king to the houſe of peers: "That it was his majeſty's deſire, above all things, that the "diverſities of opinions concerning the chriſtian religion, in his "kingdom, ſhould be with all poſſible expedition plucked up and "extirpated: and therefore ſince this affair was of ſo extraordinary "a nature, that it could not well be determined in a ſhort time, con-"ſidering their various ſentiments, by the whole houſe, the king "thought it neceſſary, if it ſeemed good unto them, that they "ſhould chuſe a committee of themſelves to examine into theſe dif-"ferent opinions; and whatever they decreed concerning them, "might be, with all convenient ſpeed, communicated to the whole "parliament." The houſe complied with this meſſage, and choſe a committee of ten members, five of the old and five of the new Parliament.

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learning, which was thought to be moſt equitable *. But it did not contribute to expedition: for after eleven meetings and many warm debates, they could agree upon nothing; nor was there any probability that they ever would agree, which made it neceſſary to adopt ſome other method.

The duke of Norfolk, who was at the head of the popiſh party, and in high favour with the king, acquainted the peers May 16th, that their committee could come to no agreement. He there laid before the houſe the ſix following articles, to be examined by the whole parliament; and that their determination upon them ſhould be formed into a law, to which all the ſubjects ſhould be compelled to conform by certain penalties:

1. Whether the ſacrament of the altar be the real body of our Lord, without tranſubſtantiation, or not †?

2. Whether that ſacrament ſhould be given to the laity in both kinds, or not?

3. Whether vows of chaſtity made by men or women ought to be obſerved by the law of God, or not?

4. Whether private maſſes ought to be retained by the law of God, or not?

5. Whether prieſts may marry by the law of God, or not?

6. Whether auricular confeſſion to a prieſt be neceſſary by the law of God, or not?

Theſe were the queſtions that were the great ſubjects of thoſe violent diſputes between the friends and enemies of the reformation, that diſturbed the peace of the kingdom; and it was to put an end to theſe diſputes, by giving victory to the one party, and impoſing ſilence on the other, that a parliamentary deciſion of them was now required. The popiſh party poſſeſſed deciſive advantages in the diſcuſſion of theſe queſtions in this parliament. The king ardently

* Parliament. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 140.

† Provided the corporal preſence was acknowledged, the popiſh party was willing to give up this word.

deſired

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desired them to be determined in favour of that party, and his influence was irresistible. The parliamentary abbots had not yet resigned their seals, and twenty of them were actually present in the house of peers*. The other party, however, did not tamely yield the victory; but having scripture, reason, and the most ancient fathers on their side, they supported their opinions with great spirit, and protracted their proceedings to a great length. Archbishop Cranmer, it is said maintained the tenets of the reformers no less than three days, with such dignity, eloquence, and learning, as compelled the admiration of his greatest enemies †. Numbers at length prevailed. All the six questions were determined in conformity to the doctrines of the church of Rome; and the lord chancellor reported to the house May 30th, "that it was his majesty's pleasure, that some penal statute should be "enacted, to compel all his subjects, who were any way dissenters or "contradictors of these articles, to obey them." The house appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely and St. Asaph, with doctor Petre, a master in chancery, to prepare one bill; and the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Winchester, with doctor Trigonnell, also a master in chancery, to prepare another. Both bills were communicated to the king on Sunday June 1st, and he preferred that prepared by the archbishop of York and his committee, who were all zealous for the old learning; and there is good evidence, that a great part of that bill was drawn by the king himself ‡. To make it pass more easily, the lord Cromwell, by the king's direction, laid the above six questions before the lower house of convocation June 2d, and obtained answers to them agreeable to the tenets of the church of Rome, expressed in very strong terms; to convince parliament, that these were the sentiments of the clergy §. At last this famous bill was brought into the house of peers June 7th, and passed June 10th; on which day the king sent a message to archbishop Cranmer, desiring him not to come to the house, since he could not give his assent. But he returned for

* Dugdale's Summons to Parl. p. 501.
† Herbert, p. 219.
‡ Wilkin. p. 848.
§ Ibid. p. 845.

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an anſwer, that he thought it his duty to attend, and declare his diſſent *. A very bold anſwer, conſidering to whom it was made. This bill paſſed the houſe of commons on June 16th, and received the royal aſſent on the 28th, the laſt day of the ſeſſion.

Act of the ſix articles.

By this act, commonly called the bloody act, if any perſon by word, writing, printing, or any other way, denied or diſputed the real preſence of the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, conceived by the Virgin Mary, in the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar, after the conſecration, under the form of bread and wine; or that in the fleſh under the form of bread, is not the very blood of Chriſt; or that with the blood under the form of wine, is not the very fleſh of Chriſt, he was to be adjudged an heretic, and to ſuffer death by burning; and all his lands, goods, and chattels, were to be forfeited to the king, as in the caſe of high treaſon. If any affirmed or taught that communion in both kinds was neceſſary; or that prieſts might marry; or that vows of chaſtity were not perpetually binding; or that private maſſes were not lawful and laudable; or that auricular confeſſion to a prieſt was not neceſſary; they were to ſuffer death as felons †. Commiſſioners were appointed in every county to diſcover and apprehend all offenders againſt any part of this act, that none who were guilty might eſcape.

Cruelty of that act.

The atrocious cruelty of this act is too obvious to need any illuſtration. Could any thing be more barbarous than to conſign to the flames all who had the courage and honeſty to acknowledge, that they could not renounce their reaſon, and diſbelieve the united teſtimony of all their ſenſes? To condemn the clergy to celibacy, was ſufficiently cruel; but to puniſh a perſon with death for ſaying ſo, was the extreme of cruelty. But cruel as this act was, nothing could exceed the joy and exultation of the popiſh party on its paſſing, except the terror and dejection of the friends of the reformation. A member of the houſe of peers wrote thus in a letter ſtill extant: "And alſo news here, I aſſure you never prince ſhewed himſelf ſo "wiſe a man, ſo well learned, and ſo catholic, as the king hath done

* Fox, p. 1037. † Statutes 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14.

"in

" in this parliament. With my pen I cannot expreſs his marvellous " goodneſs, which is come to ſuch effect, that we ſhall have an act " of parliament ſo ſpiritual, that I think none ſhall dare to ſay, in the " bleſſed ſacrament of the altar doth remain either bread or wine " after the conſecration; nor that a prieſt may have a wife; nor that " it is neceſſary to receive our Maker in both kinds; nor that pri- " vate maſſes ſhould not be ſaid as they have been; nor that it is not " neceſſary to have auricular confeſſion. Finally, all in England have " cauſe to thank God, and moſt heartily to rejoice of the king's moſt " godly proceedings *." On the other hand, many of the reformers fled to the continent to ſave their lives. Shaxton biſhop of Saliſbury, and Latimer biſhop of Worceſter, reſigned their ſees, and retired to a private ſtation †. Archbiſhop Cranmer was greatly dejected, and ſent away his wife to her friends in Germany. The king, however, had ſtill ſo great a regard for him, that he ſent the duke of Norfolk and lord Cromwell to dine with him, and to aſſure him of his unchangeable eſteem and favour ‡. Cent. XVI.

The king and the friends of Rome overacted their part on this occaſion, by making this act ſo ſanguinary that it could not be executed without rendering the kingdom a ſcene of unexampled horror and bloodſhed. This ſoon appeared. The commiſſioners appointed to put it in execution in London, in fourteen days committed and indicted no fewer than five hundred perſons; among whom were Shaxton and Latimer, and all the reforming preachers. The lord chancellor Audley waited upon the king, and repreſented the fatal effects of theſe violent proceedings in ſuch ſtrong colours, that Henry relented, and commanded the priſoners to be liberated §. This gave a check to the too forward zeal of the commiſſioners in London, and in other parts of the kingdom; and while the lord Cromwell retained his office of the execution of this terrible act, it was in a manner ſuſpended. Melancthon, one of the moſt learned and moderate of the German reformers, who was much reſpected by the king, wrote Too cruel to be executed.

* Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. xxvi.
† Rym. p. 641. 643.
‡ Strype's Cranmer, ch. 19.
§ Hall, f. 234.

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him a long and pathetic letter, expoſtulating with him on the ſeverity of this law, expoſing the artifices of Gardiner its chief promoter, and conjuring him to purſue milder meaſures, as more conſiſtent with the ſpirit of chriſtianity. "O impudent and wicked Wincheſter! (ſaid "he,) who, under theſe colourable fetches, thinketh to deceive the "eyes of Chriſt, and the judgments of all the godly in the world. "Theſe things have I written that you may underſtand the crafty "ſlights, and ſo judge of the purpoſe and policy of theſe biſhops*." This letter, it is probable, made ſome impreſſion on the king's mind. However that may be, the ſtorm did not fall ſo ſuddenly on the reformers as they dreaded, and their enemies deſired, though it afterwards fell very heavy.

New biſhoprics.

As the greater monaſteries were ſurrendered in this and the following year, and a great maſs of wealth in lands, money, and goods, had already come into the king's hands, it was now thought to be time to perform ſome of the pompous promiſes that had been made to procure the diſſolution of the religious houſes. The lord Cromwell brought a bill into the houſe of peers May 23d, to empower the king to erect new biſhoprics, deanries, and colleges, by letters patent, and endow them out of the revenues of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries. This bill was ſo univerſally acceptable that it paſſed that houſe the ſame day; and was ſent to the commons, by whom it was paſſed with the ſame alacrity. A draught of the preamble of this bill, written in the king's own hand, is ſtill extant; to which is annexed, in the ſame hand, a ſcheme of eighteen new biſhoprics, as many deanries, and ſeveral colleges, the places where they were to be ſeated, and the monaſteries out of which they were to be endowed †. This is a proof that Henry intended great things. But before he proceeded to execute them, he had granted away ſo many of the lands, and ſquandered away ſo much of the money, that he could not perform what he had projected. In virtue of the above act, he erected only ſix new biſhoprics, at the following places, viz. Weſtminſter, Oxford, Peterborough, Briſtol, Cheſter, and Glouceſter. Theſe ſees were all

* Fox, p. 1070. † Burnet, p. 262. Strype's Mem. Append. No. cvii.

founded

founded in the courſe of the years 1540, 1541, and 1542 *. This was one of the greateſt advantages the nation derived from the ſuppreſſion of the religious houſes. Before this, ſeveral of the dioceſes were (and perhaps ſtill are) too extenſive. Cent. XVI.

The parliament, after two prorogations, met again April 12th A. D. 1540. The king had been long engaged in the irrational and hopeleſs project of compelling all his ſubjects to entertain exactly the ſame religious opinions, and to change theſe opinions as often as he changed his own. With this view the cruel act of the ſix articles had been lately made, to burn or hang all who diſſented from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem. The title of that act was: For aboliſhing diverſity of opinions concerning the chriſtian religion. But with all its terrors it did not accompliſh that end. Religious controverſies and diverſity of opinions ſtill continued. The lord Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in ſpirituals, made a long ſpeech to both houſes, in which he acquainted them, that the king was grieved at the diſcord and diſſenſion that prevailed among his ſubjects in religion; and that he earneſtly deſired to bring them all to a perfect agreement in their religious principles, and a perfect uniformity in their religious worſhip. That in order to this, he had appointed one committee of biſhops and learned men to prepare a ſyſtem of the chriſtian doctrines, which all his ſubjects ſhould be compelled to believe; and another committee to ſettle the religious rites and ceremonies, which all ſhould be compelled to obſerve in worſhip. He told them further, that his majeſty, who was a true chriſtian and a moſt learned divine, would aſſiſt both theſe committees. The parliament unanimouſly approved of the deſign, and appointed the committees to meet every Monday, Wedneſday, and Friday, in the forenoon, and every day, except Sunday, in the afternoon, on that buſineſs. The committees laboured with great diligence in this arduous, or rather impracticable work, as appears from many of their papers that are ſtill extant †. But as Parliament.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 795, &c.

† Strype's Mem. Append. No. lxxxviii. Burnet, book iii. Records, No. xxi.

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they were compoſed of an almoſt equal number of members of the old and new learning, they proceeded very ſlowly, and could not finiſh their work in time to be preſented to parliament before its diſſolution. This was foreſeen, and the parliament near the end of the ſeſſion made a very extraordinary law, to oblige all the ſubjects of the kingdom to believe a ſyſtem of doctrines that was not yet compoſed, and to obſerve a ſyſtem of ceremonies that was not yet prepared. By this law it was enacted, "That whatſoever was determined by the "archbiſhops and biſhops, and other divines now commiſſionated "for that effect; or by any other appointed by the king, and pub-"liſhed by the king's authority, concerning the chriſtian faith, or "the ceremonies of the church, ſhould be believed and obeyed by "all the king's ſubjects, as well as if the particulars ſo ſet forth had "been enumerated in this act*." This ſeems to be the utmoſt bounds to which ſubmiſſion, not to ſay ſeverity, could be carried.

Perſecution.

Thomas lord Cromwell, knight of the garter, lord privy ſeal, lord chamberlain, and lord vicegerent, was created earl of Eſſex April 14th; and to all theſe honours and great offices he had been raiſed from a very humble ſtation by the king's favour. But his fall was as ſudden as his riſe was great. When he was ſitting in council June 10th, not conſcious of any guilt, or apprehenſive of any danger, he was ſeized and committed to the Tower. He was attainted by an act of parliament for hereſy and high treaſon, without being heard, and beheaded on Tower-hill July 28th. The friends of the reformation ſoon found that they had ſuſtained a mighty loſs by the fall of this great man; for he was hardly laid in his grave, when three of the moſt learned and zealous preachers of the new learning, doctor Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, were burnt July 30th in Smithfield for hereſy, on the act of the ſix articles†. Three papiſts, Powel, Fatherſtone, and Abell, who had been found guilty of treaſon for denying the king's ſupremacy, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the ſame time and place; which made a

* Burnet, p. 283. † Fox, p. 1095.

foreigner,

foreigner, who was a ſpectator of this horrid ſcene, cry out, "Good "God! how unhappy are the people of this country, who are "hanged for being papiſts, or burnt for being enemies to popery*." Cent. XVI.

Doctor Edmund Bonar had been a moſt active agent for the king in his conteſt with the court of Rome, and a zealous advocate for his ſupremacy, which recommended him to Cromwell and Cranmer; and by their influence he was promoted to the ſee of Hereford, and ſoon after tranſlated to that of London. But they were deceived by appearances, and knew not his real character. He was a bold, ambitious, unprincipled, and cruel man. Perceiving that the popiſh party prevailed at court, and being placed at the head of the commiſſioners for executing the act of the ſix articles in London, he acted with great violence and cruelty in that capacity. Of his cruelty at this time, we ſhall only give one example, as too many of the ſame kind will afterwards occur. One Richard Mekins, a young man, or rather a boy, not above fifteen years of age, had been heard to ſay, that the ſacrament was only a ceremony, or a ſignification. For this he was impriſoned and brought to trial. Bonar, in his charge to the grand jury, exhorted them to have no mercy on heretics of any age or condition. Two witneſſes were produced; the one declared that he heard the priſoner ſay, that the ſacrament was only a ceremony; and the other, that he heard him ſay, that it was only a ſignification. The jury gave in their verdict, that they found nothing. On this Bonar ſtormed, and ſent them back to reconſider the matter. They gave the ſame verdict a ſecond time, which threw the biſhop into a violent rage, and made him pour out a torrent of threats and curſes. The jury being aſked, on what they founded their verdict; anſwered, On the inconſiſtency of the evidence. Being told by the recorder, that as the court ſuſtained the evidence of theſe witneſſes, that was a ſufficient reaſon for them to ſuſtain it; they found the bill, and the petty jury found the priſoner guilty of ſpeaking againſt the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. This unhappy youth was quite illiterate, and profeſſed his willingneſs

* Fox, p. 1096.

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to believe any thing they pleaſed to dictate, to ſave his life; but in vain. He was committed to the flames, and reduced to aſhes *. A ſtrain of cruelty that is almoſt incredible, but is too well atteſted to be doubted. Several others were burnt in different parts of England; and multitudes were impriſoned, and involved in great diſtreſs, by the commiſſioners for executing the act of the ſix articles.

The king unſteady.

From this period Henry became very unſteady and fluctuating in his ſentiments and conduct with reſpect to religion, ſometimes forwarding, but more frequently reſtraining reformation, and even reſtoring ſome of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies that had been aboliſhed. He renewed, however, this year 1541, May 6, his injunctions to the clergy, to provide Engliſh Bibles of the largeſt volume, and depoſit them in their churches, for the uſe of their people; his former injunctions on that ſubject having been generally diſobeyed by thoſe who were enemies to reformation †. He alſo republiſhed, October 4th, his injunctions for removing out of cathedrals and other churches, all ſhrines and images to which pilgrimages had been made, and offerings had been preſented, with all tables recording pretended miracles, as his former injunctions for that purpoſe had been very imperfectly executed ‡. But about the ſame time he publiſhed a proclamation, commanding the feſtivals of ſeveral ſaints, which had been aboliſhed, to be reſtored and obſerved §.

Engliſh Bible.

He had been prevailed upon, chiefly by the importunities of Cromwell and Cranmer, to appoint an Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible to be made, and a copy of it to be depoſited in every church; and had even permitted private perſons to have copies of it in their houſes for the uſe of themſelves and their families. This was exceedingly diſagreeable to the great body of the clergy, who were enemies to all reformation. They made loud complaints, that the laity abuſed this privilege, by reading aloud to great crowds in the time of maſs, by commenting upon, and diſputing about the ſcriptures,

* Hall, f. 244. Fox, p. 1096.

† Wilkin. p. 856. ‡ Ibid. p. 857. § Ibid. p. 859.

which

which gave riſe to all the new opinions (which they called hereſies) that prevailed. They complained alſo, that the tranſlation was faulty in many places, and calculated to countenance hereſy. Theſe complaints at length had their effect. Henry was provoked that any of his ſubjects dared to entertain opinions different from thoſe he had dictated to them; and aſcribing this to the uſe of the ſcriptures in their own language, he determined to ſet limits to that liberty, or to take it entirely away. A convocation met at St. Paul's in January A. D. 1542, and archbiſhop Cranmer declared to both houſes, that it was the king's intention that the prelates and clergy ſhould conſult together about the unſettled ſtate of religion, and deliberate about the moſt proper remedies, and correct what they thought ſtood in need of correction, particularly the Engliſh tranſlation of the Old and New Teſtament. The primate directed the lower houſe to deliberate on theſe things, and report the reſult of their deliberations. In the third ſeſſion, February 3d, this queſtion was put, Whether the great Engliſh Bible ſhould continue to be uſed in the church or not? The majority were of opinion, that it could not be continued till it was reviſed and corrected. In a ſubſequent ſeſſion, one committee of biſhops and doctors was appointed to rv iſe and correct the Engliſh tranſlation of the New Teſtament, and another that of the Old Teſtament. The majority of both theſe committees were againſt any Engliſh tranſlation of the ſcriptures, and determined not to be in haſte to execute their commiſſion. To puzzle the matter, Gardiner biſhop of Wincheſter, who was at the head of the popiſh party, and one of the committee for reviſing the New Teſtament, produced a liſt of one hundred Latin and Greek words, which he pretended had a peculiar majeſty and ſignificancy in them, which could not be preſerved in Engliſh, and therefore propoſed that they ſhould be retained in the tranſlation. This abſurd propoſal was evidently deſigned to render the tranſlation almoſt uſeleſs. The archbiſhop perceiving the refractory temper of the clergy, obtained a mandate from the king to the convocation, commanding them to refer the reviſal

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of the Engliſh Bible to the two univerſities, which they reluctantly obeyed *.

The popiſh party, under the influence of the duke of Norfolk and the biſhop of Wincheſter, ſtill prevailing at court, the reformation rather declined than advanced. An act very unfavourable to it was made in the next ſeſſion of parliament, that began January 22d A. D. 1543. By that act the liberty of reading the Engliſh Bibles in the churches was taken away, and they were removed. None under the rank of gentlemen were to have Engliſh Bibles in their poſſeſſion, or to read them in private; and the ſubjects were commanded to regulate their faith and practice by the injunctions publiſhed, and to be publiſhed, by the king. The penalties by which that act was enforced, breathed that barbarous ſpirit with which the ſupporters of popery were then animated. For the firſt offence, they were to recant; for the ſecond, to bear a faggot; and for the third, they were to be burnt †.

The King's Book.

Henry having thus deprived his ſubjects of the uſe of the ſcriptures in their own language, made haſte to furniſh them with that perfect ſyſtem of the chriſtian doctrines that he had promiſed. The committee of biſhops and doctors appointed to prepare that ſyſtem had applied to it with great diligence for a conſiderable time, and it was publiſhed May 29th A. D. 1543, with this title: "A neceſſary "Doctrine and Erudition for any Chriſtian Man, ſet forth by the King's "Majeſty." It had a preface written by the king, or at leaſt in his name, commending it highly, and exhorting and commanding all his ſubjects to ſtudy it diligently, and to make it the rule of their faith and manners, to put an end to all diverſity of opinions in religion. The following paragraph in the preface to this once famous book, deſigned to ſupply the place of the Bible, gives a very diſtinct account of its method and contents: "For knowledge of the order of the matter in this book "contained. Foraſmuch as we know not perfectly God, but by "faith, the declaration of faith occupieth in this treatiſe the firſt

* Wilkin. p. 861. † Statutes, 34 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.

"place.

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" place. Whereunto is next adjoining, the declaration of the arti-
" cles of our creed, concerning what we ſhould believe. And in-
" continently after them followeth the explication of the ſeven ſacra-
" ments. Then followeth conveniently the declaration of the ten
" commandments, being by God ordained the highway wherein
" each man ſhould walk in this life; to finiſh fruitly his journey
" here, and afterwards to reſt eternally in joy with him; which be-
" cauſe we cannot do of ourſelves, but have need always of the grace
" of God, as without whom we can neither continue in this life, nor
" without his ſpecial grace do any thing to his pleaſure, whereby to
" attain the life to come, we have, after the declaration of the ten
" commandments, expounded the ſeven petitions of our Pater
" Noſter, wherein be contained requeſts and ſuits for all things ne-
" ceſſary to a chriſtian man in this preſent life; with declaration of
" the Ave Maria, as a prayer containing a joyful rehearſal and mag-
" nifying God in the work of the incarnation of Chriſt, which is
" the ground of our ſalvation, wherein the bleſſed Virgin our Lady,
" for the abundance of grace wherewith God endued her, is alſo
" with this remembrance honoured and worſhipped. And foraſ-
" much as the heads and ſenſes of our people have been imbuſied,
" and in theſe days travailed with the underſtanding of free-will,
" juſtification, good works, and praying for ſouls departed; we
" have, by the advice of our clergy, for the purgation of erroneous
" doctrines, declared and ſet forth openly, and without ambiguity
" of ſpeech, the mere and certain truth in them; ſo as we verily
" truſt, that to know God, and how to live after his pleaſure, to the
" attaining everlaſting life in the end, this book containeth a perfect
" and ſufficient doctrine, grounded and eſtabliſhed in holy ſcripture*."

Such were the contents of this royal publication, the eſtabliſhed ſtandard of truth and orthodoxy, by which all the people of England were to regulate their faith and practice, till the king thought proper to change his opinion; and then all his ſubjects were bound, by an act of parliament, to make a ſimilar change in their opinions. It is diffi-

* Strype's Mem. p. 379.

cult

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cult to conceive how tyranny in the king, and ſervility in the parliament, could be carried further.

The King's Primer.

Henry laboured this point of uniformity with uncommon ardour, and ſeems to have determined that none of his ſubjects ſhould think, ſpeak, or act, in public or in private, in matters of religion, but as he directed them. Not contented with dictating a ſyſtem of doctrines which they were to believe, and of the ceremonies they were to practiſe in the church, he publiſhed a manual of prayers, which he ſtrictly commanded all his ſubjects to uſe in their private devotions, prohibiting the uſe of any other prayers in their cloſets. This was called the King's Primer Book; and in his preface to it, he acquaints his loving ſubjects, "That foraſmuch as we have beſtowed right great "labour and diligence, about ſetling a perfect ſtay in the other parts "of our religion, we have thought good to beſtow our earneſt labour "in this part alſo, being a thing as fruitful as the beſt, that men may "know both what they pray, and alſo with what words, leſt things "ſpecial good and principal, being inwrapped in ignorance of the "words, ſhould not perfectly come to the mind and to the intelli-"gence of men; or elſe things being nothing to the purpoſe, nor "very meet to be offered unto God, ſhould have the leſs effect with "God, being the diſtributor of all gifts *." In a word, Henry was determined to reduce all his ſubjects to a moſt correct and perfect uniformity in all things, even the moſt trivial, that related to religion. Some of them, for example, kept St. Mark's day as a faſt, and others of them kept it as a feaſt. He was much offended at this, and publiſhed a royal injunction to all his loving ſubjects, to eat fleſh on St. Mark's day †. This was not one of his moſt diſagreeable injunctions.

Cranmer in danger.

After the fall of Cromwell earl of Eſſex, archbiſhop Cranmer was in a dangerous ſituation, and had a difficult part to act. As he knew the animoſity of the popiſh party againſt him, and their great influence at court, he was not ignorant of his danger, and endeavoured to guard againſt it, by acting with the greateſt caution, and by living as

* Wilkin. p. 873. † Ibid. p. 860.

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privately as his ſtation would permit. But all his caution and privacy would not have preſerved him, if the king had not entertained ſuch a ſtrong conviction of his integrity, and ſo grateful a ſenſe of his ſervices, as could not be ſhaken by all the efforts of his enemies. Of this it may not be improper to give one example. After ſeveral plots, equally artful and iniquitous againſt the archbiſhop, had miſcarried, the duke of Norfolk, the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the other popiſh members of the privy council, waited upon the king, and made a heavy complaint againſt the archbiſhop, "That he and "his learned men had ſo infected the whole realm with their unſa- "vory doctrine, that three parts of the land were become abominable "heretics; therefore they deſired that the archbiſhop might be com- "mitted to the Tower until this might be examined." When the king ſeemed unwilling to grant their deſire, they repreſented, "That "the archbiſhop being one of the privy council, no man dared to "object matter againſt him, unleſs he were firſt committed to "durance; which being done, men would be bold to tell the truth, "and ſay their conſciences. The king at length conſented that they "might bring the archbiſhop before the council next morning, and "examine him; and if they found cauſe, they might commit him to "the Tower." Henry, probably repenting of what he had done, ſent a meſſenger to the archbiſhop about midnight, deſiring him to come and ſpeak with him immediately. On his arriving, the king told him of the complaint that had been made, and the conſent that he had given, and aſked him, "What ſay you, my lord; have I done "well or ill?" The primate humbly thanked the king for giving him this warning, and declared he was content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, if he might have a fair trial, and hoped that his majeſty would take care to have him fairly tried. "O Lord God! (cried the king;) what fond ſimplicity have you to "permit yourſelf to be impriſoned, that every enemy of yours may "take advantage againſt you? Do you not know, that when they "have you once in priſon, three or four falſe knaves will ſoon be "procured to witneſs againſt you, and condemn you? No, not ſo,

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" my lord; I have a better regard to you than to ſuffer your enemies " to overthrow you. Appear before the council; require them to " produce your accuſers; and if they refuſe, ſhew them this ring, " (giving him a ring,) which they well know that I uſe for no other " purpoſe, but to call matters from the council into mine own " hands." He was ſent for by the council early next morning; and when he arrived, he was not admitted into the council chamber, but obliged to ſtand about an hour in the anti-chamber among ſervants. The king being informed of this by the phyſician, doctor Bulls, was much offended. " Have they ſerved my lord ſo? (ſaid he.) It is " well enough; I ſhall talk with them by and by." When the archbiſhop was called into the council, he was told, that complaints had been exhibited to the king and them, that he, and others by his permiſſion, had infected the whole realm with hereſy, and that it was the king's pleaſure that he ſhould be committed to the Tower in order to his trial. When Cranmer had required to ſee his accuſers face to face before he was committed, and was refuſed, he ſaid, " I am ſorry, " my lords, that you have compelled me to appeal from you to the " king, who by this token (preſenting the ring) hath taken this " matter into his own hands." This put a ſtop to their career. They waited in a body on the king to reſtore his ring, and reſign the cauſe into his hands. He received them with a ſtern countenance, reproved them ſeverely for their contemptuous treatment of the archbiſhop, and then added, " I would you ſhould well under- " ſtand, that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man to- " wards me, as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am " many ways beholden by the faith I owe unto God; (laying his " hand on his heart;) and whoever loveth me, will regard him on " that account." This gave ſuch a check to Cranmer's enemies, that they made no more attempts againſt him during this reign *.

Prayers in Engliſh.

This ſtriking proof of the ſteadineſs of the king's friendſhip encouraged Cranmer to attempt the reformation of ſome of the many abſurd ſuperſtitions that ſtill remained. He proceeded, however,

* Strype's Cranmer, ch. 28.

with

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with great prudence and caution, and never attempted any change till he had firſt convinced the king of its propriety, and obtained his permiſſion and command. He had long wiſhed to ſee the prayers of the church in Engliſh, that the people might pray to God in language they underſtood, and might know for what they prayed. The king was preparing to invade France in perſon A. D. 1544, and prayers and proceſſions were to be made as uſual for his ſucceſs; and the archbiſhop embraced this opportunity to convince him, that the people would join in theſe prayers with much greater fervency if they were in Engliſh, than they could do if they were in an unknown tongue. By the king's permiſſion, he compoſed a number of prayers in Engliſh, which he delivered to his majeſty for his peruſal, who, having approved of them, ſent them back to the primate, commanding him to cauſe them to be uſed in all the churches of his dioceſe, and to ſend copies of them to all the biſhops of his province with a ſimilar command. This royal injunction was probably compoſed by Cranmer, and is couched in very ſtrong expreſſive language. One reaſon aſſigned for this great innovation, of praying in their native tongue, is thus expreſſed: "That the people might feel "the godly taſte thereof, and godly and joyouſly with thanks re-"ceive, embrace, and frequent the ſame." This injunction was dated June 11th. About two months after, when the navy was ready to ſail, the council ſent a ſimilar injunction to the archbiſhop, commanding him to order prayers and proceſſions twice a week in all the churches of his province for ſucceſs and victory to his majeſty's arms, and that the prayers ſhould be in Engliſh *. Theſe injunctions gave great joy to the friends of the reformation, who began to hope, that they would ſoon ſee the whole ſervice of the church in Engliſh.

Ceremonies aboliſhed.

The king was prevailed upon at the ſame time to aboliſh ſome of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies which ſtill remained; ſuch as watching and ringing bells all night on the vigil of All-hallows, that the

* Strype's Cranmer, ch. 29.

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images in churches, and the croſs, ſhould not be covered with vails in the time of Lent, as they had been formerly; that none ſhould kneel or creep to the croſs on Palm Sunday, or any other time. The royal injunction for aboliſhing theſe ceremonies was procured by the application of the archbiſhop, with the biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter, and the execution of it, as uſual, was committed to the archbiſhop *.

Cranmer had for ſome time been engaged in another work for promoting the reformation and ſettlement of the church. This was the reviſal of the canon law, or rather forming a new code of eccleſiaſtical laws, for the government of the church of England. The canon law had long been eſteemed almoſt of divine authority, and far more excellent and obligatory than any other human laws. In that law, the authority and power of the pope was carried to a moſt extravagant and impious height; and the laws of kings and princes, that were contrary to the decrees and canons of the biſhop of Rome, were of no force. After the abrogation, therefore, of the papal power, and the many other changes that had been made contrary to the canons, the authority of the canon law could not be acknowledged in England; and it was not proper that the church ſhould remain long without a ſyſtem of laws ſuited to her circumſtances. Accordingly the king gave a commiſſion to thirty-two perſons, (A. D. 1543,) ſixteen of the ſpirituality, and ſixteen of the temporality, to examine all canons, conſtitutions, and ordinances; and to eſtabliſh all ſuch laws eccleſiaſtical as ſhall by the king and them be thought convenient to be uſed in all ſpiritual courts; and this commiſſion was confirmed by parliament †. This work was not finiſhed till A. D. 1545, when it was preſented to the king for his confirmation. But he either refuſed, or neglected to confirm it; and this ſyſtem of laws was not eſtabliſhed till the ſucceeding reign. Various reaſons have been aſſigned for this; but they are only conjectures.

* Strype's Cranmer, p. 134.

† Statutes 43 Hen. VIII. cap. 15.

No

Cent. XVI. Perſecution.

No further progreſs was made in the reformation of the church in the ſhort remainder of this reign. On the contrary, the perſecutions on the cruel act of the ſix articles were renewed, and ſeveral perſons were burnt A. D. 1546 for denying the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament. The moſt remarkable of theſe ſufferers was Mrs. Anne Aſkew, a lady of an opulent and ancient family in Lincolnſhire, and, which was much more to her honour, of very uncommon ingenuity, learning, piety, and virtue. She was unhappily married to a Mr. Kyme, againſt her own inclination, by her father's authority. Her huſband, who was a zealous papiſt, treated her ſo ill, that ſhe was obliged to leave his houſe, and went to London. Having expreſſed her diſbelief of the corporal preſence, ſhe was apprehended, impriſoned, and examined by the council. At her examination ſhe anſwered many queſtions with ſuch acuteneſs, as ſurpriſed her perſecutors. Sir Martin Bowes, lord mayor of London, thus addreſſed her: "Fooliſh woman, ſayeſt thou that "the prieſts cannot make the body of Chriſt?"—"I have read," ſaid ſhe, "that God made man, but I never read that man made "God."—"If a mouſe," aſked his lordſhip, "eat the bread after "it was conſecrated, what ſhall become of the mouſe? What ſayeſt "thou, fooliſh woman?"—"What ſhall become of her ſay you, "my lord."—"I ſay," replied he, "that that mouſe is damned."—"Alas!" ſaid ſhe, "Alas, poor mouſe!" His lordſhip did not think fit to aſk her any more queſtions. She was tried by the commiſſioners for executing the act of the ſix articles, found guilty, and condemned to the flames. After her condemnation it was diſcovered that ſhe had converſed with the ducheſs of Suffolk, the counteſs of Hertford, and ſome other ladies, who were ſuſpected of favouring the reformation, and againſt whom they wiſhed for evidence. She was therefore removed from Newgate to the Tower, and there interrogated concerning theſe ladies, but would diſcover nothing. She was then laid on the rack and tortured, in the preſence, and, as it is ſaid, by the hands of the chancellor, lord Wriotheſley, with ſo much ſeverity, that it deprived her of the uſe of her limbs, but extorted

no

Cent. XVI. no diſcovery. She was carried to Smithfield and placed at the ſtake in a chair, and there reduced to aſhes. She ſuffered with amazing cheerfulneſs; and one who was preſent at her execution ſays, ſhe had an angel's countenance and a ſmiling face. John Laſſels, a gentleman of a good family and fortune, who had a place at court; Nicholas Bellenian a prieſt, and John Adams a taylor, were burnt at the ſame place and time. The imaginary crime for which all theſe perſons ſuffered this cruel death, was denying the corporal preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar; a doctrine for which Henry continued to be a flaming zealot to his laſt moments, which were now approaching. He died January 6th A. D. 1547 *.

The reformation of the church of England hath no concern with the perſonal character of this prince, or the motives of his conduct. It muſt ſtand or fall by its own merits. It was left by Henry in a very imperfect ſtate, but was happily carried much farther in the ſhort reign of his amiable and virtuous ſon Edward VI.

CHAP. II. SECT. III.

The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Scotland from the Acceſſion of James IV. A. D. 1488, *to the Death of James* V. A. D. 1542.

Cent. XV. THE eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Scotland in the reign of James IV. contains very few events that merit a place in hiſtory, or at leaſt very few ſuch events have come to our knowledge. The truth is, that materials for a complete hiſtory of the church of Scotland before the reformation, either do not exiſt, or are ſo ſcattered and ſecreted that it is impoſſible to collect them. Nor have we much reaſon to regret this. The hiſtory of this church in thoſe benighted times, when ignorance, credulity, and ſuperſtition, with an abject ſubmiſſion to the imperious dictates of the biſhop of Rome, prevailed, could afford us but little rational inſtruction or entertainment.

* Strype's Mem. vol. i. ch. 51. Burnet, p. 341.

It

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It will not be neceſſary, therefore, to divide this period into two ſections, as the whole may be comprehended within moderate limits.

Shevez primate.

William Shevez was archbiſhop of St. Andrew's and primate of Scotland at the acceſſion of James IV. He appears to have acted a very bad part in the perſecution of his predeceſſor Patrick Graham, who had the merit to procure the erection of his ſee into an archbiſhopric, and thereby put an end to the pretenſions of the archbiſhops of York to the primacy of the church of Scotland, which had been very troubleſome. As the arts by which Shevez obtained his promotion were not very honourable, ſo we hear of no good that he did after he had obtained it. His pride engaged him in a violent conteſt with Walter Blackater, the firſt archbiſhop of Glaſgow, by his refuſing to acknowledge him in that character. This conteſt, after having diſturbed the peace of the country for ſome time, was at length compromiſed. Glaſgow was acknowledged to be an archbiſhopric; the biſhoprics of Galloway, Argyle, and the iſles, aſſigned for its province, and the primacy reſerved to St. Andrew's. Archbiſhop Shevez died, and was buried at St. Andrew's A. D. 1496 *.

The opinions of Wickliff were early introduced into Scotland, and in ſome places they took deep root and continued long. To eradicate theſe noxious weeds, (as they were then eſteemed,) archbiſhop Blackater held a provincial ſynod at Glaſgow A. D. 1494, at which the king and council were preſent. Before this ſynod, George Campbell of Ceſnock, Adam Read of Barſkining, John Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemac, Helen Chambers, lady Pokelly, Iſabel Chalmers, lady Stairs, with about twenty others of inferior rank, in the counties of Kyle and Cunningham, were arraigned for hereſy. The hereſies of which theſe perſons, who were commonly called the Lollards of Kyle, were accuſed, were the ſame with the doctrines of Wickliff, and nearly the ſame with thoſe of all the proteſtant churches, intermixed with a few abſurd opinions, which they had raſhly adopted, or which were falſely imputed to

* Spottiſwood, p. 60, 61.

them

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them by their enemies. Adam Read made a bold and ſpirited defence for himſelf and the others accuſed, which expoſed the malice and ignorance of their accuſers, and rendered them equally odious and ridiculous. This, however, would not have ſaved them, if the king, who had a friendſhip for ſome of the gentlemen, had not interpoſed, and put a ſtop to the proſecution *. It is much to the honour of James IV. that he was an enemy to perſecution, and that not ſo much as one perſon ſuffered for his religious opinions in his reign †.

Archbiſhops of St. Andrew's;

Archbiſhop Shevez was ſucceeded in the ſee of St. Andrew's by the king's brother, James Stewart, duke of Roſs, marquis of Ormond, earl of Ardmannak, lord of Brechen and Nevers, commendator of Dumfermline, and chancellor of the kingdom. Of this high-born prelate, who was loaded with ſo many honours, we know nothing, but that he died young A. D. 1503. He was ſucceeded in his archbiſhopric by Alexander Stewart, the king's natural ſon, a boy of about eight years of age. Though this nomination was contrary to ſeveral canons, the pope, for political reaſons, confirmed it; for which the king wrote him a letter of thanks, full of the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude; in which, among many other flattering things, he ſays, "We have often ſent our letters to you, moſt bleſſed "father, but never in vain. It was one ſtrong proof of your pa- "ternal affection to me, that ſoon after your exaltation to the "apoſtleſhip, you ſent me a full remiſſion of all my ſins; which "was the more valuable, becauſe the ſalvation of the ſoul was more "precious than all other things. But to that ineſtimable favour "you have now added another, by committing the charge of the "famous archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's to my ſon, though he is but "a child ‡." This was certainly intended for a compliment, though it was really a reproach. This youthful prelate, the pupil and favourite of Eraſmus, fell, with his royal father, in the fatal battle of Flodden, in the eighteenth year of his age.

* Knox, p. 2, &c. † Calderwood's Hiſt. MSS. vol. i. p. 41.

‡ Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 3.

Robert

Robert Blackater, the firſt archbiſhop of Glaſgow, died as he was going on a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem A. D. 1509, and was ſucceeded in that ſee by James Beaton, of the ancient family of the Beatons of Balfour in Fife. This prelate roſe rapidly in the church, was deeply engaged in all affairs of the ſtate, and ſhared in the good and bad fortune of the parties with whom he was connected *. Cent. XVI. of Glaſgow.

Another prelate flouriſhed in this and the preceding reign, who is well entitled to a place in hiſtory, on account of his talents, his virtues, and his ſervices and benefactions to his country. This was William Elphingſton biſhop of Aberdeen. He was of an opulent mercantile family in Glaſgow, and one of the firſt *eleves* of the univerſity of that city. From thence he went to Paris, where, after he had ſtudied ſeveral years, he read lectures on the civil and canon law to crowded audiences with great applauſe. On his return to his native country he was promoted in the church, and employed in ſeveral embaſſies both by James III. and James IV.; in which he acquitted himſelf with ability and ſucceſs. His firſt biſhopric was that of Roſs, from whence he was tranſlated to Aberdeen. In this city he founded an univerſity, in which he built, furniſhed, and endowed the firſt college. He alſo built the bridge over the river Dee †. Theſe were great, expenſive, and uſeful works, from which his country derived great and permanent advantages. He lived admired and beloved for his charity, hoſpitality, public ſpirit, and other virtues, to a very advanced age. He was ſo deeply affected with the deplorable diſaſter at Flodden, that he never recovered his wonted cheerfulneſs, and died the year after, A. D. 1514. To embalm the memory of great and good men, the benefactors and ornaments of their country, is the moſt pleaſant and uſeful province of the hiſtorian. Biſhop Elphingſton.

The popes, in the times we are now delineating, conſidered all the clergy in the Chriſtian world as their immediate ſubjects, and claimed and exerciſed the right of taxing them at their pleaſure. At this the clergy ſometimes murmured and remonſtrated, but were Aſſembly of the clergy.

* See Biograph. Britan. art. James Beaton. † Spottiſwood, p. 105.

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compelled to ſubmit and pay theſe papal taxes. The pope ſent a legate, named Bajomanus, into Scotland A. D. 1512, who held a ſynod of the clergy, both regular and ſecular, in the Dominican convent at Edinburgh, and demanded an annual tax of two ſhillings in the pound on every benefice of forty pounds a year and upwards. To this demand the ſynod conſented, but with much reluctance; and it continued to be levied till the reformation by the name of Bajomanus's tax *.

Competition for offices.

By the great ſlaughter of the nobility at Flodden, many of the principal offices, both in church and ſtate, became vacant, and the ſurviving clergy and nobles, inſtead of uniting together for the defence of their country, engaged in the moſt violent competitions for theſe vacant offices. For the archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's three powerful competitors appeared; Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, and afterwards biſhop of Dunkeld, was nominated by the queen regent, and ſupported by the Douglaſſes, who put him in poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Andrew's †. John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrew's, was elected by the convent, and ſupported by the Hepburns, a numerous and powerful clan. By his office of prior he was adminiſtrator of the ſee, and collected the rents of it during the vacancy; and by the aſſiſtance of the clergy and people he expelled the ſervants of his rival, the biſhop of Dunkeld, and got poſſeſſion of the caſtle of St. Andrew's, in which he placed a garriſon. The third competitor was Andrew Foreman, biſhop of Moray in Scotland, archbiſhop of Bourges in France, and commendator of ſeveral rich abbies. Foreman was in ſuch high favour with king James IV. that he obtained letters from him under the privy ſeal, permitting him to ſolicit the pope for any benefice that became vacant in Scotland, any law to the contrary notwithſtanding ‡. Of this permiſſion he now availed himſelf, and ſolicited ſo effectually at the court of Rome, that the pope Leo X. promoted him to the vacant archbiſhopric, and to all the abbies the late archbiſhop had poſſeſſed; and alſo appointed him his *legatus a latere* in Scotland. He was

* Leſly, p. 356. † Ibid. p. 374. ‡ Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 110.

then

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then on an embaſſy at the court of France; but as ſoon as he had received his bulls from Rome he returned to Scotland to proſecute his claims. It appears from an authentic letter of the queen regent to the pope, that ſhe had firſt nominated that excellent prelate William Elphingſton biſhop of Aberdeen to the archbiſhopric, and that he had conſented to accept of it; but his death prevented his promotion *. In another letter the arrangement that was firſt intended by the court is thus delineated: "That William biſhop of Aberdeen "ſhould be tranſlated to St. Andrew's; that George abbot of Holy-"rood-houſe ſhould be biſhop of Aberdeen; Patrick abbot of Cam-"buſkenneth ſhould be abbot of Holyrood-houſe; that the abbey "of Cambuſkenneth ſhould be given *in commendam* to Andrew "biſhop of Caithneſs; the abbey of Arbroath to Gavin Douglas; "Dumfermlin to JamesHepburn; Inchefferay to Alexander Stewart; "Glenluce to the biſhop of Liſmore; and Coldingham to David "Hume †." But this arrangement was diſconcerted by the death of the biſhop of Aberdeen, and the ſubſequent conteſt for the primacy.

Letters to the pope.

The queen regent and nobility were greatly intereſted in the diſpoſal of theſe benefices. This appears from ſeveral letters written by them to the pope and cardinals with uncommon warmth. In theſe letters they put the pope in mind, "that ſeveral of his predeceſſors "had granted this privilege to the kings of Scotland by their bulls; "that they and their ſucceſſors would never grant any vacant pre-"lacies in Scotland, till they had waited eight months for the royal "nomination, which they would confirm." They declare in the ſtrongeſt terms, "that they would not ſuffer their infant king to be "deprived of that privilege. They ſpeak of biſhop Foreman with "great aſperity, as an upſtart, and enemy to his king and country, "for which the parliament had juſtly deprived him of all his offices, "baniſhed him the kingdom, and would never ſuffer him to re-"turn ‡." But the pope paid no regard to all this warmth and threatening.

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 184. † Ibid. p. 199. ‡ Ibid. p. 200—211.

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Accommodation.

If the learned, virtuous, and amiable Gavin Douglas was ever a competitor for the primacy, as our hiſtorians affirm, he ſoon quitted the field to the other two competitors. When biſhop Foreman arrived in Scotland, both the court and the country were ſo much incenſed againſt him, that he could hardly find any of the nobles willing to eſpouſe his cauſe and publiſh his bulls. He was of the family of the Foremans of Hutton in the Merſe, who had long been partiſans of the Humes. He applied therefore to the lord, then one of the moſt powerful noblemen in the kingdom, and prevailed on him to publiſh his bulls at the croſs of Edinburgh. This produced a great change in his favour; and many, both of the clergy and laity, who had a high veneration for the authority of the pope, favoured his cauſe. Things were in this ſtate when John duke of Albany arrived in Scotland in June A. D. 1515. He found the nation divided into two parties, and ſo warmly engaged, that he dreaded a civil war. To prevent this, he propoſed an accommodation, which he at length accompliſhed. Biſhop Foreman, who was very rich, and fonder of power than of money, made great ſacrifices to his rival to reſign his pretenſions to the primacy. He reſigned the biſhopric of Moray, the abbies of Arbroath, Drybrough, and Kilwinning, which were divided among Hepburn's friends: he allowed Hepburn to retain all the rents of the archbiſhopric which he had collected, and gave him a penſion, it is ſaid, of three thouſand crowns a year *. To himſelf he reſerved only the archbiſhopric and the abbey of Dumfermline. The duke of Albany wrote an account of this accommodation to the pope; in which he beſtowed the higheſt praiſes on archbiſhop Foreman, for the generous ſacrifices he had made to preſerve the peace of his country, and earneſtly intreated his holineſs to make him a cardinal, which Julius II. his predeceſſor had promiſed to do, in a letter to James IV. †

The encroachments of the popes of thoſe times on the rights both of private and of royal patrons, were productive of many inconveniencies and quarrels. The conteſt about the archbiſhopric was

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 217. † Ibid.

hardly

hardly ended, when another of the ſame kind commenced, on the death of George Brown biſhop of Dunkeld. The chapter choſe Andrew Stewart, ſon to the earl of Athole, and put him in poſſeſſion of the caſtles, houſes, and lands belonging to the ſee. But Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, was appointed biſhop by the pope. Stewart, ſupported by his father, kept poſſeſſion of the lands and caſtles. The regent interpoſed, and with much difficulty brought about an accommodation. Douglas reſigned two benefices to Stewart, and obtained the biſhopric. The duke of Albany gave an account of this tranſaction to the pope, by a letter dated at Edinburgh September 8th A. D. 1516; deſiring him to ratify the contract of agreement, to prevent all doubts of its validity *. In all theſe conteſts the papal candidate prevailed. Cent. XVI.

Archbiſhop Foreman enjoyed the high ſtation, for which he had ſtruggled ſo hard and paid ſo dear, only about ſeven years. He was a prelate who poſſeſſed very uncommon talents for and dexterity in buſineſs, which gained him a high degree of favour with two ſucceſſive kings of Scotland, James III. and IV.; with two ſucceſſive popes, Julius II. and Leo X.; and with that wiſe prince, Lewis XII. of France; who all loaded him with benefices. Julius II. gave him the following character, in a letter to James IV.: "Your ambaſſador, Andrew biſhop of Moray, hath acted, and ſtill "continues to act, with ſo much fidelity, prudence, diligence, and "dexterity, that he hath given me the higheſt ſatisfaction; and I "think him worthy of a more eminent ſtation in the church. For "this reaſon, and to gratify your majeſty, I have requeſted the "pope to make him a cardinal at the next nomination of cardi-"nals †." The death of the pope prevented his obtaining that dignity. Like his royal maſter James IV. he was an enemy to perſecution, and none ſuffered for religion during his incumbency.

Almoſt every vacancy of the ſee of St. Andrew's produced a conteſt between the courts of Scotland and of Rome. The kings of Conteſt.

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 222. † Ibid. p. 138.

Scotland

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Scotland claimed a right to preſent to all the vacant prelacies in their dominions within eight months, and that the popes ſhould grant to their preſentees the bulls neceſſary to their inſtalment. But the popes frequently filled up the vacancies without waiting for the royal preſentation. This was a direct violation of the privilege of preſenting within eight months, that had been granted and confirmed to the kings of Scotland by many bulls. But the popes were now become ſo arbitrary, that they broke through every barrier that limited their power. On this occaſion two competitors for the primacy took the field: James Beaton archbiſhop of Glaſgow, chancellor of the kingdom, preſented by the regent; and Gavin Douglas biſhop of Dunkeld, who ſolicited and expected the papal appointment, by the great influence of Henry VIII. at the court of Rome. To counteract that influence great efforts were made. A letter was ſent to the pope, in the name of the king, the regent, and the three eſtates of the kingdom; acquainting him, that Gavin Douglas biſhop of Dunkeld had fled to their enemy the king of England; for which they had baniſhed him by an act of parliament, and earneſtly intreating his holineſs not to liſten to any application that might be made for appointing him archbiſhop of St. Andrew's *. His rival Beaton, in his capacity of chancellor, wrote a letter in the name of the privy council to Chriſtiern king of Denmark; requeſting him to give directions to his ambaſſador at the court of Rome, to oppoſe the elevation of the biſhop of Dunkeld to the archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's and abbey of Dumfermline †. How this conteſt would have ended is uncertain, if both competitors had lived to proſecute their claims. But it was terminated by the death of the biſhop of Dunkeld; and Beaton was tranſlated from Glaſgow to St. Andrew's A. D. 1523, without any further oppoſition.

Perſecution.

Soon after this, the cruel ſpirit of perſecution, which had been long reſtrained, revived, and raged with no little violence. The firſt who fell a ſacrifice to this infernal ſpirit was Mr. Patrick Hamilton, a youth of noble birth, and nearly related to the royal family, being

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 328. † Ibid. p. 333.

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nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother. Having early diſcovered a taſte for learning, the abbey of Ferne, and ſome other benefices, were given him, to enable him to proſecute his ſtudies. With this view he went to the univerſity of Marpurg in Germany, where he converſed with Francis Lambert, and became acquainted with the doctrines of Luther, which he cordially embraced, and haſtened home to communicate the knowledge of them to his countrymen. On his arrival the warmth of his zeal made him declaim with vehemence againſt the corruptions and errors of the church. His eloquence, his youth, and noble birth, attracted crowded audiences, who heard him with admiration, and greedily imbibed his principles. This alarmed the fears, and inflamed the rage of the clergy. Archbiſhop Beaton invited him to a friendly conference in St. Andrew's. At his arrival there he was committed to the care of a friar Campbell, for his inſtruction and converſion. He was much an overmatch for his inſtructor, whoſe real object was to diſcover and inform his enemies of his opinions. When this was accompliſhed, and the young king was ſent on a pilgrimage to St. Dulhacks in Roſs, they ſeized Mr. Hamilton in his bed at midnight, and carried him to the caſtle. Next forenoon, February 28th A. D. 1527, he was brought before the primate, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, three other biſhops, many abbots, priors, doctors, lawyers, profeſſors of the univerſity, and a prodigious crowd of ſpectators, in the cathedral, and accuſed of holding and propagating the damnable hereſies of Martin Luther. He did not deny the charge, but defended the doctrines he had taught with many arguments, which ſerved only to render his condemnation more certain. He was accordingly condemned as an obſtinate heretic, delivered to the ſecular magiſtrate, carried from the bar to the ſtake, and burnt with circumſtances of peculiar cruelty. Thus periſhed this learned, virtuous, and noble youth, in the twenty-third year of his age. The ſeverity of his ſufferings, and the fortitude with which he bore them, excited the pity and admiration of the great body of the ſpectators; but bigotry and ſelf-intereſt had ſo hardened the hearts

of

Cent. XVI. of many of the clergy, that they applauded this barbarous deed as a moſt meritorious diſplay of chriſtian zeal. The univerſity of Louvain alſo wrote a letter to the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's and his aſſeſſors, in which they loaded them with praiſes for burning ſo great a heretic; and exhorted them to perſevere, till they had extirpated all the heretics in their country *.

Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum.
To ſuch black deeds doth ſuperſtition prompt.

The clergy ſoon found that they had no reaſon to boaſt of the good policy, or good effects, of their ſeverity. The propoſitions for which Mr. Hamilton had been condemned to the flames became public, awakened curioſity, and were examined by many of the clergy and laity, by the youth at the univerſity, and even by the monks in their cells, who had never heard or thought of them before. The general reſult of this examination was, that they appeared neither ſo abſurd, nor ſo pernicious, as to merit ſo ſevere a puniſhment, and not a few were fully convinced of their truth, and cordially embraced them. This ſoon appeared even in the city of St. Andrew's. Friar Alexander Seaton, confeſſor to the king, preached ſeveral ſermons in that city in the Lent after Mr. Hamilton's execution. In theſe ſermons he inſiſted only on the neceſſity of repentance, faith, and holineſs of life, without ever mentioning purgatory, pilgrimages, miracles, worſhip of ſaints and images, the uſual ſubjects of the ſermons of thoſe times. He alſo uſed ſome expreſſions which ſeemed to reflect on the negligence and vices of the clergy. The uncommon ſtrain of theſe ſermons raiſed a ſuſpicion that he inclined to hereſy; and after he had left the city, another friar was ſet up to preach againſt his doctrines. When he heard this he returned, and in ſome other ſermons confirmed all he had advanced. He was then brought before the archbiſhop, who charged him with having ſaid, that biſhops ought to preach, and that thoſe who did not preach were dumb dogs. "Your informers, my lord, (ſaid Seaton,) muſt have been very igno-

* Fox, p. 888.

rant»

"rant perſons, who could not diſtinguiſh between the apoſtle Paul, "and the prophet Iſaiah, and friar Seaton. I ſaid, indeed, that Paul "exhorted biſhops to preach, and that Iſaiah called thoſe who did "not preach dumb dogs. But of myſelf, I ſaid nothing. If that is "hereſy, Paul and Iſaiah are the heretics." The primate was nettled at this ſmart reply; but he concealed his reſentment till he had alienated the king from his confeſſor, which was not a difficult taſk. That young prince had been debauched by thoſe who had the charge of his education, and unhappily indulged himſelf in vague amours; for which his confeſſor had reproved him ſharply. Father Seaton obſerving a change in the king's manner of receiving him, took the alarm, and made his eſcape to Berwick. From thence he wrote a long expoſtulatory letter to the king, in which he offered to return and vindicate his doctrines, if he might have a fair trial before impartial judges. Having received an anſwer to this letter, he proceeded to London, where he found an aſylum in the family of the duke of Suffolk *. Cent. XVI.

The death of Mr. Hamilton, and the flight of friar Seaton, did not deter others from adopting their opinions, and expoſing themſelves to the ſame dangers and ſufferings: on the contrary, it ſo much increaſed the number and boldneſs of their followers, that the church hiſtory of Scotland in the remainder of this reign conſiſts of little elſe but the trials and burnings of heretics. To give a minute detail of all thoſe ſcenes of horror, would be very painful to the writer, and could not be very pleaſant to the reader. It may be ſufficient therefore to ſay, that many, both of the clergy and laity, were committed to the flames for hereſy; that many others, eminent for their virtue and learning, abandoned their country to avoid the ſame fate; and that not a few wounded their conſciences by recanting their opinions, to preſerve their lives †.

James Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, had paid great attention to the education and promotion of his nephew David Beaton. Be- Cardinal Beaton.

* Spottiſwood, p. 65. † Ibid. Knox, p. 16, &c.

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ſides ſeveral benefices which he procured for him while he was ſtill a young man, he reſigned the rich abbey of Aberbrothock in his favour; and the pope, at the requiſition of the king, confirmed the tranſaction *. He was a great favourite of the duke of Albany during his regency, and afterwards a greater favourite of the young king, who appointed him lord privy ſeal A. D. 1528, from which time he was his chief confident and prime miniſter. He was ſent upon ſeveral embaſſies to the court of France, where he negociated both the kings marriages, and ingratiated himſelf ſo much with Francis, that he granted him ſome ſingular favours, and among others the rich biſhopric of Merepoix. His uncle becoming infirm in his old age, he appointed him his co-adjutor, and devolved upon him all his power; the pope created him a cardinal December 20th A. D. 1539. The old archbiſhop died A. D. 1539, and diſpoſed of all his benefices by his teſtament, and particularly of his archbiſhopric, to his nephew and co-adjutor. This deſtination in other circumſtances would have been diſregarded; but being perfectly agreeable both to the king and the pope, it was confirmed †. Such was the riſe of this aſpiring prelate to a power almoſt unlimited, which he employed to the moſt pernicious purpoſes.

Perſecution.

The pope had fixed his eyes on the younger Beaton ſometime before this, as a proper inſtrument to cruſh all heretics and hereſies in Scotland, and with that view had favoured his promotion. A more proper inſtrument could not have been choſen for ſuch a work. His uncle, the late primate, had been a cruel perſecutor; but it was ſuſpected that he felt ſome little reluctance to that horrid buſineſs. But the cardinal was liable to no ſuch weakneſs. He was a cool, deliberate, unrelenting tyrant, who took a pride and pleaſure in the moſt atrocious acts of cruelty. To render him ſtill more formidable, pope Paul III. appointed him his *legatus a latere* in Scotland. Being now armed with all the powers he was capable of receiving, he made haſte to apply them to the purpoſe for which they were deſigned;

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, p. 339.

† See Biograph. Britan. Art. D. Beaton.

and

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and he reſolved to do this in a way that would ſtrike thoſe who knew they were ſuſpected or obnoxious with the greateſt terror. In May A. D. 1540, he went from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's with a more numerous and ſplendid retinue than any former primate, attended by the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, by five other biſhops, by ſeveral abbots, priors, and principal clergymen; by the earls of Arran, Huntley, Marſhal, and Montroſe; and by many other lords and gentlemen. To all the great men of the clergy and laity aſſembled in the cathedral May 28th, the cardinal delivered an oration, in which he complained of the great increaſe of hereſy in all parts of the kingdom, and even in the king's court; repreſented the fatal conſequences with which this would be attended, and the neceſſity of inflicting the ſevereſt puniſhments on all who were found guilty of that greateſt of all crimes *.

The cardinal having thus publiſhed his ſcheme for the extirpation of hereſy, by burning all heretics, immediately proceeded to put it in execution. In the ſame aſſembly, ſir John Borthwick was accuſed of entertaining and propagating ſeveral heretical opinions, and diſperſing heretical books. The heretical opinions of which he was accuſed, were the ſame with thoſe that were profeſſed by the other reformers of thoſe times, which are well known, and need not be here enumerated. Among the heretical books, for the diſperſing of which he was accuſed, the New Teſtament in Engliſh was the firſt. Sir John, who was commonly called captain Borthwick, had concealed himſelf ſo carefully, that his enemies could not diſcover the place of his retreat; and as he did not appear in court to anſwer to the accuſation brought againſt him, he was declared an obſtinate heretic, and ſentenced to be burnt as ſoon as he could be apprehended; and all perſons were prohibited to entertain him, under the pain of excommunication. He was burnt in effigy in St. Andrew's the ſame day, and in Edinburgh about a week after. Thinking himſelf no longer ſafe in Scotland, he made his eſcape into England, where he publiſhed a defence of the doctrines for which he had been

* Buchan. lib. xiv. Spottiſwood, p. 69.

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condemned, in which he expoſed the cruelty and other vices of the cardinal and clergy of Scotland with great freedom *. He was well received by Henry VIII. and employed in his negociations with the proteſtant princes of Germany.

Dean Thomas Forreſt.

The cardinal was more ſucceſsful in his next attempt to burn heretics. Dean Thomas Forreſt, canon of St. Columbs, and vicar of Dollar, preached every Sunday on the epiſtle or goſpel of the day; for which, and ſome other ſingularities, he was accuſed of hereſy to his ordinary George Chrichton, biſhop of Dunkeld. The biſhop, when the dean appeared before him, addreſſed him in this manner: "My joy dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epiſtle "and goſpel every Sunday to your pariſhioners, and that you do not "take the beſt cow and the beſt cloth from them, which is very pre-"judicial to other churchmen; and therefore, my joy dean Thomas, "I would you to take your cow and your cloth as other churchmen "do. It is too much to preach every Sunday; for in ſo doing you "may make the people think that we ſhould preach likewiſe: it is "enough for you, when you find any good epiſtle, or good goſpel, "that ſetteth forth the liberties of holy church, to preach that, and "let the reſt alone." To this ſage admonition of his biſhop, dean Thomas made this anſwer: "I think, my lord, that none of my pa-"riſhioners will complain that I do not take the cow and the cloth; "but I know that they will gladly give me any thing that they have; "and they know that I will gladly give them any thing that I have. "There is no diſcord amongſt us. Your lordſhip ſayeth, it is too "much to preach every Sunday: I think it is too little; and I wiſh "that your lordſhip did the like." "Nay, nay, dean Thomas, (ſaid "the biſhop,)we were not ordained to preach." "Your lordſhip (ſaid "the dean) directs me, when I meet with a good epiſtle, or a good "goſpel, to preach upon it. I have read both the Old and New "Teſtament, and I have never met with a bad epiſtle, or a bad "goſpel: but if your lordſhip will ſhew me which are the good and "which are the bad, I will preach on the good, and let the bad alone."

* Fox, p. 1147, &c.

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"I thank my God, (ſaid the biſhop,) I know nothing of either the "Old or New Teſtament; therefore, dean Thomas, I will know "nothing but my portaſs and my pontifical. Go away, and lay "aſide all theſe fantaſies, or you will repent it when too late." Dean Thomas did not take the advice of his biſhop, but continued to preach every Sunday. He was ſoon after brought before the cardinal, together with two friars, Duncan Simpſon a prieſt, and Robert Foſter a gentleman, in Stirling. They were all condemned as obſtinate heretics, and burnt on the caſtle-hill of Edinburgh *.

Liſt of heretics.

All this was only a prelude to the horrors that were intended. A liſt of three hundred and ſixty perſons, who were to be tried for hereſy, was found in the king's pocket after his death. In this liſt were the names of about one hundred noblemen and gentlemen of fortune; and at the head of them, the earl of Arran, preſumptive heir to the crown. But the troubles in which the kingdom was involved in the two laſt years of James V. prevented the execution of this execrable ſcheme, by which the clergy propoſed to ſecure their own power and poſſeſſions, and enrich the crown, at the expence of ſo much innocent blood †.

Cardinal Beaton had gained ſo great an aſcendant over the mind of James V. that he devolved upon him the adminiſtration of all the affairs both in church and ſtate. This we learn from the cardinal himſelf in his letters to the pope, and his other friends at Rome, in which he acquaints them, that he was overwhelmed with buſineſs; that the king had laid the whole weight of his government upon him alone, and would not ſuffer him to depart from court one moment ‡. Theſe letters were dated May 4th A. D. 1540. Great efforts were made by Henry VIII. to weaken the attachment of the infatuated prince to his dangerous favourite §, but without effect. We may therefore, without heſitation, aſcribe all the calamities that befell the king and kingdom of Scotland in the laſt years of this reign, to the pernicious councils of cardinal Beaton. The objects of theſe councils

* Fox, p. 1153.
† Sadler's Letters, p. 101.
‡ Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. ii. p. 66.
§ See Sadler's Letters.

were

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were---to keep king James at a diſtance from, and at variance with, his uncle the king of England, who courted his friendſhip with great earneſtneſs; to extinguiſh that ſpirit of reformation that had ſpread from England into Scotland; and to preſerve himſelf and the reſt of the clergy from being deprived of their honours, their power, and their poſſeſſions. In purſuing theſe objects, he involved the nation in a war with England; the events of which proved ſo diſaſtrous, that they deprived the unhappy miſguided king, firſt of his reaſon, and ſoon after of his life.

All theſe diſaſters did not diſcourage this bold and hardened politician. He attended the prince whom he had ruined, and dictated a will for him in his laſt moments, when he was incapable of doing any deed that required the uſe of reaſon. By that will a council of regency was appointed, conſiſting of himſelf, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Huntley. He brought this will from Faulkland to Edinburgh, where he proclaimed it at the market croſs, and immediately took the reins of government into his hands *.

The cardinal did not long retain his ill-gotten power. A convention met December 28th A. D. 1542, only eight days after the king's death. In this convention no regard was paid to the pretended will, as the manner in which it had been fabricated was not unknown. The cardinal, irritated at this, made a moſt violent declamation againſt appointing any ſingle perſon, and particularly any of the name of Hamilton, regent. In this oration he gave the Hamiltons all the opprobrious names that language furniſhed. The earl of Arran, who was preſumptive heir to the crown after the infant queen and her iſſue, ſtood up and ſaid: "My lords, call me what names you pleaſe, "but deny me not my right to the regency. Whatever faults any of "my name may have committed, none of you can ſay I have done "him any injury. Neither am I minded to flatter any of my friends in "their evil doing; but by God's grace ſhall be as forward to correct "their enormities, as any within the realm can reaſonably require me. "Therefore yet again, my lords, in God's name I crave, that ye do

* Buchan. lib. xv.

"me

" me no wrong, nor defraud me of my juſt title, before you have ex- Cent. XVI.
" perience of my government." The whole aſſembly, the cardinal and a few of the clergy excepted, cried out, that the earl of Arran's claim was moſt juſt, and could not be diſputed. He was accordingly appointed guardian to the queen, and governor of the kingdom, and inveſted with all the powers, prerogatives, and poſſeſſions of the crown *. In a letter to the pope, dated at Edinburgh May 14th A. D. 1543, the earl of Arran informed his holineſs, that by his proximity of blood, and the law of nature, he had been raiſed to the regency, as well as by the aſſent of the people of Scotland †. He was at the ſame time declared to be the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, and next heir to the crown, after the infant queen and her iſſue.

The earl of Arran was very unfit for the ſtation to which he was Two parties.
raiſed, and the difficult part he had to act. Scotland was at this time divided into two parties, which might be called the French and the Engliſh parties. The firſt of theſe conſiſted of all the clergy, and ſuch of the nobility, gentry, and commons, as adhered to France and Rome, and were enemies to the reformation and to England. This party had the ancient prejudices of the nation in their favour, and cardinal Beaton at their head, than whom they could not have had a more able and artful leader. The other party conſiſted of all the nobles, gentlemen, and common people, who wiſhed for the reformation of the church, and an intimate union with England, by the marriage of the young queen to the prince of Wales. This party gained a great acceſſion of ſtrength by the return of the earl of Angus, and his brother ſir George Douglas, who had long been exiles; and of the earls of Glencairn and Caſſilis; the lords Maxwell, Somerville, and Fleming; with ſeveral gentlemen, who had been priſoners in England. All theſe, gained by Henry, were ſent into Scotland to promote his views. This party alſo derived great advantages from the vicinity, power, and wealth of England, and the extreme eagerneſs of

* Knox, p. 36. † Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. ii. p. 157.

Henry

Cent. XVI. Henry to accompliſh the marriage. But the moſt powerful party, without a proper head, is a rope of ſand. The regent Arran was at the head of this party, and by his weak unſteady conduct ruined his party, brought diſgrace upon himſelf, and many great calamities on his country *.

The impriſonment of the cardinal, the arts by which he recovered his liberty, brought over the governor to his party, attained as great a degree of power as he had ever poſſeſſed, and defeated all the ſchemes of Henry VIII., have been already related †. We ſhall now therefore confine our attention to the events which have an immediate relation to religion.

As ſoon as the cardinal had recovered his former power, he diſcovered that his pride, ambition, and cruelty, were not in the leaſt diminiſhed. The great ſeal was taken from the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and delivered in full parliament December 15th A. D. 1543 to the cardinal ‡. The ſame day the governor, who had abandoned his principles as well as his party, and was entirely under the direction of the cardinal, complained in parliament of the great increaſe of hereſy in all parts of the kingdom, when an act was made for its extirpation, commanding all biſhops and their officials to apprehend and bring to trial all who were ſuſpected of hereſy, and promiſing them the ſupport and ſecular arm in that pious work §.

Perſecution. This act was not ſuffered to lie long dormant. In January A. D. 1544, the cardinal viſited ſome parts of his province in great ſtate, accompanied by the governor, the earl of Argyle, juſtice-general, three biſhops, and ſeveral other lords and gentlemen. Many perſons ſuſpected of hereſy had been impriſoned in Perth, and were now tried and found guilty. Some of them were baniſhed, five men were hanged, and one woman was drowned ‖. Theſe five men and the woman were reſpectable burgeſſes of Perth, and much beloved by their neighbours, who earneſtly interceded with the governor and car-

* See Sadler's Letters.

† See ch. i. ſect. 2. towards the end.

‡ Regiſt. Parl. f. 121.

§ Regiſt. Parl. f. 123.

‖ Calderwood's MSS. Hiſt.

dinal

dinal to ſpare their lives. The governor, it is ſaid, would willingly have granted the requeſt; but the cardinal, who ruled all, was inflexible. This interceſſion, however, was probably the cauſe that they were not committed to the flames, the uſual puniſhment of heretics. Cent. XVI.

The governor and cardinal were prevented from proceeding in their progreſs for the extirpation of hereſy, by receiving intelligence of the great preparations that were making in England for a formidable invaſion of Scotland in the ſpring. That invaſion took place in the beginning of May this year 1544, and was moſt ruinous to the capital of Scotland, and the country between that and Berwick. The war between the two nations being thus kindled, it continued to rage with great violence all this and a great part of the next year; during which time the preachers and profeſſors of the new learning met with little or no moleſtation, and the number of both greatly increaſed.

The firſt preachers of the doctrines of the reformation in Scotland, two or three excepted, were more eminent for their zeal and piety, than for their learning. But one no leſs ſincere and pious than his predeceſſors, but more diſtinguiſhed for his abilities and learning, made his appearance in this interval. This was the famous Mr. George Wiſhart, a ſon of the family of Pitarrow in the Merns. Having paſſed through a courſe of education in his native country, he ſtudied ſome time at Cambridge, and viſited ſeveral countries on the continent for his further improvement. When he was in Germany he became acquainted with the doctrines of the reformed, which he ſtudied moſt carefully, and embraced moſt cordially. He then reſolved to return home, to communicate to his countrymen the knowledge he had obtained. Paſſing through England, he arrived in Scotland A. D. 1544; and having viſited his family, he immediately began to preach with the moſt undaunted boldneſs againſt the corruptions of the church, and the vices of the clergy. He met with a moſt favourable reception wherever he appeared, particularly in Dundee, where he reſided a conſiderable time, and preached in the

Cent. XVI. principal church to crowded audiences, till he was prohibited by the magiſtrates, at the command of the cardinal. He then viſited Montroſe, Perth, and ſeveral other towns in thoſe parts, preaching every where to admiring multitudes, who were equally charmed with the novelty of his doctrine, and manner of preaching. Being invited into the weſt, where the reformation had made the greateſt progreſs, he preached at the market croſs, in the town of Ayr, to a prodigious crowd of people, while the archbiſhop of Glaſgow preached in the church to a few old women. In a word, the ſtrength of his arguments convinced the more intelligent of the truth of his doctrines, while thoſe who were not capable of judging of his arguments were greatly affected by the eloquence, warmth, and fervour of his diſcourſes. His converts were almoſt innumerable; and among theſe were not a few of the nobility and principal gentlemen of the kingdom *.

The cardinal and the clergy in general were greatly incenſed againſt this bold and dangerous adverſary; and a reſolution was formed to put an end to his attacks upon the church, by taking away his life by ſome means or other. Two attempts were made to cut him off by aſſaſſination; but he defeated the firſt by his courage, and the ſecond by his caution. On the firſt of theſe attempts he behaved in ſuch a noble and generous manner as ſhould have ſoftened the hearts of his enemies, if that had been poſſible. A friar named Weighton, who had undertaken to kill him when he was in Dundee, knowing that it was his cuſtom to remain in the pulpit after ſermon till the church was empty, ſkulked at the bottom of the ſtairs with a dagger in his right hand under his gown. Mr. Wiſhart, (who was remarkably quick-ſighted,) as he came down from the pulpit, obſerving the friar's countenance, and his hand with ſomething in it under his gown, ſuſpected his deſign, ſprung forward, ſeized his hand, and wrenched the dagger from him. At the noiſe which this ſcuffle occaſioned, a crowd of people ruſhed into the church, and would

* Knox, p. 48, &c. Edit. 1644. Spottiſwood, p. 76, &c. Buchan. lib. xv.

have

have torn the friar in pieces; but Mr. Wiſhart claſped him in his arms, and declared that none ſhould touch him but through his body. "He hath done me no hurt, (ſaid he,) my friends; he hath done me "much good; he hath taught me what I have to fear, and put me "upon my guard." With theſe and other ſpeeches he appeaſed the people, and ſent home the aſſaſſin in ſafety *. If he diſcovered much courage and preſence of mind on this occaſion, he diſcovered no leſs caution and ſagacity on the next. When he was in Montroſe, a meſſenger came to him with a letter from the laird of Kineer, acquainting him, that he had been ſuddenly taken ill, and earneſtly intreating him to come to him without delay. He immediately ſet out, accompanied by two or three friends; but when they were about half a mile from the town, he ſtopped, ſaying, "I ſuſpect there is treaſon in "this matter. Go you (ſaid he to one of his friends) up yonder, and "tell me what you obſerve." He came back and told him, that he had ſeen a company of ſpearmen lying in ambuſh near the road. They then returned to the town, and on the way he ſaid to his friends: "I know I ſhall one day fall by the hands of that blood-"thirſty man (meaning the cardinal); but I truſt it ſhall not be in "this manner †." Cent. XVI.

Theſe two plots having miſcarried, and Mr. Wiſhart ſtill continuing to preach with his uſual boldneſs and ſucceſs, the cardinal ſummoned a ſynod of the clergy to meet January 11th A. D. 1546, in the black-friars church Edinburgh, to conſider what was proper to be done to put a ſtop to the progreſs of hereſy, and to that torrent of defection from the church that threatened her ruin. Some propoſals were made for reforming the lives of the clergy, and obliging them to be more diligent in the duties of their office, particularly in preaching; but nothing was determined. Synod.

When the cardinal was thus employed, he received information that the great enemy of the church, Mr. George Wiſhart, was in the houſe of Ormiſton, only about eight miles from Edinburgh. He did not neglect this information, but immediately applied to the go- Mr. Wiſhart apprehended.

* Knox, p. 50. † Ibid. p. 51.

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vernor, and with ſome difficulty, it is ſaid, procured a ſufficient force, with which he ſet out in the night, and arrived at Elphingſton, about a mile from Ormiſton. Here the cardinal halted, and ſent the earl of Bothwell with a party of armed men to Ormiſton to ſeize Mr. Wiſhart. Having ſurrounded the houſe that none might eſcape, they awaked the family, and demanded admittance. This Mr. Cockburn, the owner of the houſe, at firſt refuſed; but finding it in vain to reſiſt, the earl and a few of his followers were admitted. After ſome expoſtulations, the earl of Bothwell gave a promiſe, confirmed by an oath, that he would protect Mr. Wiſhart from the malice of the cardinal, and procure him a fair trial, or would ſet him at liberty. On this ſecurity, Mr. Wiſhart was produced, and put into his hands *.

Delivered to the governor.

The earl carried his priſoner to his own caſtle of Hails, and ſeemed at firſt to have ſome intention to perform his promiſe. But if he ever had ſuch an intention, it was ſoon ſhaken, by the perſuaſion, it is ſaid, of the queen dowager, with whom he was in love. To give him an excuſe for violating his oath and promiſe, he was brought before the governor and council January 19th, and commanded, under the higheſt penalties, to deliver his priſoner to the governor before the end of that month. He complied with that command, and conducted Mr. Wiſhart to the caſtle of Edinburgh, from whence he was ſoon after carried to the caſtle of St. Andrew's.

Governor refuſes to attend his trial.

The cardinal having got this capital enemy of the church into his hands, loaded him with irons, and reſolved that he ſhould not eſcape. He ſummoned an aſſembly of the biſhops and principal clergy to meet at St. Andrew's February 17th for his trial, and invited the governor to be preſent on that occaſion. With this invitation the obſequious governor would have complied, if he had not been diſſuaded by his friends, particularly David Hamilton of Preſton, a wiſe and good man, who convinced him by many arguments of the folly of drawing upon himſelf the guilt and odium that would attend the condemnation and execution of a man ſo innocent and ſo much admired. He wrote therefore to the cardinal, that he could not come to

* Knox, p. 54, 55.

av;

St. Andrew's at the time propoſed, and deſired him to delay Mr. Wiſhart's trial to a more convenient ſeaſon. The haughty prelate ſtormed at this refuſal, returned an inſulting anſwer to the governor, and determined to proceed without delay *. Cent. XVI.

A convocation of the prelates and clergy aſſembled in great ſtate in the cathedral March 1ſt for the trial of Mr. Wiſhart, who was brought to the place prepared for him by a guard of a hundred armed men. In this pretended trial, all the rules of law, juſtice, equity, and even decency, were moſt groſsly violated; the priſoner was loaded with the opprobrious names of heretic, runnagate, thief, traitor, &c. at the reading of each of the eighteen articles of the charge againſt him, which he bore with inimitable patience. When he attempted to anſwer theſe articles, he was ſilenced when he had only uttered a few ſentences. But theſe ſentences were directly to the point, and really unanſwerable. He earneſtly begged leave to explain the doctrines he had preached, and to ſhew their conformity to the word of God; but this was denied him. After ſome hours were ſpent in inſulting rather than trying the priſoner, the predetermined ſentence was pronounced, condemning him to be burnt as an obſtinate heretic †. This cruel ſentence was executed the next day on the green before the caſtle. Thus periſhed Mr. George Wiſhart, one of the moſt pious and learned of the firſt preachers of the doctrines of the reformers in Scotland. His death was a loſs to his perſecutors, as well as to his friends. If he had lived a few years longer, the reformation, it is probable, would have been carried on with more regularity and leſs devaſtation. He had acquired an aſtoniſhing power over the minds of the people; and he always employed it in reſtraining them from acts of violence, inſpiring them with love to one another, and with gentleneſs and humanity to their enemies. Execution of Mr. Wiſhart.

The exultation of the clergy at the execution of Mr. Wiſhart was exceſſive, and they loaded the cardinal with praiſes as the moſt glorious champion of the church. They now imagined that they Exultation of the clergy.

* Buchan. lib. xv. p. 292. † Knox. Buchan. ibid.

would

Cent. XVI. would enjoy their power, their honours, and riches, in tranquillity, and that none would dare to open their mouths againſt the church or clergy. But in this they were miſtaken. The death of Mr. Wiſhart made a very different impreſſion on the minds of the people in general; it excited their compaſſion for the meek and patient ſufferer, and their indignation againſt the authors of his ſufferings. The effects of theſe paſſions very ſoon appeared.

Marriage. The cardinal was not a little elated with this bold atchievement, the praiſes he received, and the advantages he expected to derive from it. Soon after, he ſpent ſome time at Finhaven in Angus, the earl of Crawford's ſeat, in ſettling the preliminaries of a marriage between that earl's eldeſt ſon, and one of his natural daughters, named Margaret, with whom he gave a very great fortune; and in celebrating that marriage. When the feſtivities on that occaſion were ended, he returned to his caſtle of St. Andrew's, where a great number of artificers of different kinds were employed in adding to its beauty, conveniency, and ſtrength.

The cardinal had many enemies, ſome on a civil or political, and others on a religious account; and the late execution of Mr. Wiſhart had greatly increaſed their number, and inflamed their anger. John Leſly, brother to the earl of Rothes, had been long at variance with him; and Norman Leſly, that earl's eldeſt ſon, had lately quarrelled with him for denying him an eſtate, to which he thought he had a claim. Theſe two, by often converſing together, heated one another, till at length they reſolved to put him to death. They admitted into their ſecret and ſociety William Kirkcaldy of Grange, (who was incenſed againſt the cardinal for depriving his father of the treaſurer's office,) Peter Carmichael, and James Melville, who were zealous promoters of the reformation, and admirers of Mr. Wiſhart. Theſe five, after ſeveral conſultations, determined to deſtroy the object of their reſentment in his own caſtle. In order to this, they agreed to meet at St. Andrew's in the evening of May 28th, with a few of their followers, on whoſe ſecrecy and courage they could rely. They met accordingly; and having ſettled their plan of proceeding that

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evening, they aſſembled next morning early, in number only ſixteen, in the church-yard of the cathedral, near the caſtle, and waited till the gates were opened, and the draw-bridge down. Kirkcaldy of Grange, with other ſix of his accomplices, then walked down to the gate, were admitted without ſuſpicion, and entered into converſation with the porter, aſking him, when they would have an opportunity of waiting on the cardinal; and other queſtions. By and by Norman Leſly, with three or four others, came and joined the company. At laſt John Leſly, with the reſt of the conſpirators, approached. When the porter ſaw John Leſly, knowing him to be an enemy to his maſter, he began to ſuſpect ſome ill deſign, and attempted to draw up the bridge: but thoſe who were already admitted ſeized him, took all his keys from him, and threw him into the ditch. Being now maſters of the caſtle, they placed four of their number near the cardinal's chamber, to prevent his receiving any intelligence. They then turned out at the poſtern, about one hundred artificers and labourers, and about fifty of the houſehold, retaining only the governor's eldeſt ſon as a hoſtage. All this was done without any reſiſtance, and with ſo little noiſe, that the cardinal was not alarmed till they knocked at the door of his chamber. Being aſked who was there? they anſwered, a Leſly. Knowing the voice of his enemy John Leſly, he apprehended his danger, and, with the aſſiſtance of his chamberlain, barricaded the door, which was very ſtrong. After ſome unſucceſsful attempt to break it open, they brought a grate with live coals, and threatened to ſet it on fire. The door was then opened, moſt probably by the chamberlain, and they ruſhed in with their ſwords drawn. They found the cardinal ſeated in an elbow chair, who cried, "I am a prieſt, I am a prieſt; you will not kill "me!" After a ſhort and angry expoſtulation, they diſpatched him with many wounds. His laſt words were, "Fy! fy! all is "loſt, all is loſt*!"

Thus fell, in his fifty-ſecond year, cardinal Beaton, the moſt opulent and powerful churchman that ever was in Scotland. That he

* Buchan. lib. xv. Knox, p. 71—73.

was

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was a man of great abilities his hiſtory proves, and his enemies did not deny; but his virtues were not equal to his abilities. The general tenor of his life was very unſuitable to his profeſſion and his vows. He had many natural children, whom he publicly acknowledged, and on whom he beſtowed conſiderable fortunes. He was a moſt conſummate diſſembler. It coſt him nothing to make the ſtrongeſt profeſſions of love to thoſe he hated, of eſteem to thoſe he deſpiſed, and of friendſhip to thoſe he deſigned to ruin. His political ſchemes were deep and artful, but indirect and crooked, carried into execution by deception and fraud, when he had not power to employ force. He was proud and ambitious, cruel and unrelenting, eſpecially to thoſe who were zealous for the reformation of the church, which he knew would endanger his own greatneſs, and the power and poſſeſſions of the clergy. His death made a mighty noiſe, and produced very important conſequences.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER III.

History of the Conſtitution, Government, and Laws of Great Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

AS the civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of Britain in this buſy period, hath unavoidably ſwelled to an uncommon ſize, it is neceſſary to compreſs the materials of the following chapters of this book, by expreſſing every thing in as few words as poſſible.

Changes in the conſtitution.

The conſtitution of Great Britain, the envy and admiration of ſurrounding nations, hath been the work of ages; in the courſe of which it hath been expoſed to various dangers, and undergone various changes, before it reached that degree of excellence, preciſion, and ſtability, to which it hath now attained. Many of theſe changes have been related in the third chapters of the former books of this work; and ſuch of the changes in the government and laws of England in the preſent period, as ſeem to merit a place in general hiſtory, will be related in the firſt ſection; and thoſe in the government and laws of Scotland, in the ſecond ſection of this chapter.

SECT. I.

Hiſtory of the Conſtitution, Government, and Laws of England, from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

Nobility.

THE people of England were arranged in the ſame ranks and orders in ſociety in this as in the former period; but a very conſiderable change was now made in the numbers and circumſtances of the people in ſome of thoſe ranks, particularly the higheſt and loweſt.

So many noblemen had been killed, executed, and attainted, in the cruel conteſt between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, that only twenty-eight temporal peers were ſummoned to the firſt parliament of Henry VII. *: a very ſmall number in ſo great a kingdom. This diminution of the number of peers diminiſhed their weight in the ſcale of government; and as that was one object of the policy of Henry VII., he raiſed very few to the peerage. Only thirty-ſix temporal peers were ſummoned to the firſt parliament of Henry VIII. † Though that prince was more profuſe of his money, he was no leſs frugal of his honours than his father, and no more than forty-ſeven peers were ſummoned to the firſt parliament of his ſon Edward VI. ‡ Some other things contributed to diminiſh the power and influence of the peerage in this period: the facility of alienating their eſtates; the ſtrict execution of the laws againſt retaining great numbers of idle people in their ſervice, by giving them liveries, and by that ſplendid expenſive mode of living introduced in the reign of Henry VIII. In a word, the baronage of England was no longer that too powerful preponderating body they had long been; equally formidable to their ſovereigns and their fellow-ſubjects.

* Dugdale's Summons to Parl. † Ibid. p. 486. ‡ Ibid. p. 509.

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The numbers of the people in the loweſt rank in ſociety, that of ſlaves, were alſo greatly diminiſhed in this period. Sir Thomas Smith, who flouriſhed in thoſe times, and was ſecretary of ſtate to Edward VI., in his Treatiſe on the Republic of England, mentions two kinds of ſlaves; *viz.* villains in groſs, the abſolute property of their maſters and their heirs; and villains regardant, who were annexed to a particular eſtate, and transferred with it from one proprietor to another. "Neither of the one ſort nor of the other," ſays he, "have we any number in England; and of the firſt I never "knew any in the realm in my time: of the ſecond ſo few there "be, that it is not almoſt worth the ſpeaking about. But law doth "acknowledge them in both theſe kinds *." That is, no law had been made for aboliſhing theſe kinds of ſlavery. Other cauſes had produced that effect. Several cauſes of the gradual decline of ſlavery in England have been already mentioned †. Another cauſe now contributed to produce that effect. It came to be a prevailing opinion among people of all ranks, that ſlavery was inconſiſtent with the ſpirit of Chriſtianity and the rights of humanity, offenſive to God, and injurious to man. Wickliff and his followers inculcated this doctrine with great warmth, and their declamations had a great effect. Henry VIII. granted a manumiſſion A. D. 1514, to two of his ſlaves and their families; for which he aſſigned this reaſon in the preamble: "That God had at firſt created all men equally free by "nature, but that many had been reduced to ſlavery by the laws of "men. We believe it, therefore, to be a pious act, and meritorious in the ſight of God, to ſet certain of our ſlaves at liberty "from their bondage ‡." As theſe ſentiments prevailed, ſlavery declined, and was at length extinguiſhed, without any poſitive law. An attempt was made to procure a law for the general manumiſſion of the bondmen in England; and a bill for that purpoſe was brought into the houſe of lords A. D. 1526, read three times in one day, and

* Smith's Republic, p. 160. † See vol. v. p. 359. ‡ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 470.

rejected. But what could not be effected at once by a law, was gradually accompliſhed by humanity *.

Egyptians. A new race of people, differing in their origin, complexion, language, and manners, from the other inhabitants, appeared in England about this time, and ſoon became ſo numerous, and committed ſo many crimes, that a law was made, 22 Henry VIII. for their expulſion. Theſe people were called Gypſies, or Egyptians; becauſe they ſaid, and it was generally believed, that they came originally from Egypt. The characters and practices of theſe remarkable wanderers are thus deſcribed in the preamble to the act of parliament for their expulſion: "Foraſmuch as before this time divers "and many outlandiſh people, calling themſelves Egyptians, uſing "no craft nor feat of merchandiſe, have come into this realm, and "gone from ſhire to ſhire, and place to place, in great company, and "uſed great, ſubtile, and crafty means to deceive the people; bear-"ing them in hand, that by palmiſtry they could tell men's and "women's fortunes; and ſo many times by craft and ſubtilty have "deceived the people of their money, and alſo have committed "many heinous felonies and robberies, to the great hurt and de-"ceit of the people that they have come among †." For theſe reaſons the parliament enacted, that no more Egyptians ſhould be admitted into the realm; and that if any of them landed, they ſhould be immediately ſeized and commanded to depart. It was further enacted, That a proclamation ſhould be publiſhed, commanding all the Egyptians in England to baniſh themſelves out of the kingdom in ſixteen days, under the penalty of impriſonment and the confiſcation of their goods. But neither this law, nor ſeveral ſubſequent laws ſtill more ſevere, produced the deſired effect. Many thouſands of thoſe pernicious inmates remained in England long after this time; and conſiderable numbers of their poſterity are ſtill remaining.

Parliament. So full an account hath been given of the conſtitution, powers, privileges, forms of proceeding, and other circumſtances, of the

* Journals, vol. i. p. 99.

† Stat. 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 10.

two

two houſes of parliament, in the third chapter of the fifth book of this work, that it will not be neceſſary to ſay much on theſe ſubjects in this chapter *. The changes that took place in parliament in this period were not many, and few of them were of great importance.

House of lords.

For ſeveral centuries the ſpiritual peers had been more in number than the temporal peers in the houſe of lords. But a great revolution happened in that particular in this period. By the diſſolution of the monaſteries and other religious houſes, more than one half of the ſpiritual peers were cut off from the houſe of lords at one blow. No fewer than twenty-ſix parliamentary abbots and two parliamentary priors loſt their baronies and their ſeats in the houſe of lords at the ſame time. When the parliament met after this great revolution, April 13th A. D. 1539, the houſe of peers made a very different appearance from what it had done on all former occaſions, from the time that the parliament had been divided into two houſes. Forty-one temporal, and only twenty ſpiritual peers were preſent in that ſeſſion †. This revolution was very favourable to the cauſe, and had been promoted by the friends of the reformation: but it was fatal to the cauſe of popery, which thereby loſt a great number of its ſtrongeſt pillars, and ſoon fell to the ground.

Forms of proceedings in parliament.

The forms of conducting buſineſs in parliament were not very firmly fixed, in the times we are now conſidering; at leaſt ſome forms were then uſed which have long ſince been diſcontinued, which were very different from thoſe that are now eſtabliſhed. At the opening of every parliament the king was preſent, ſeated on his throne, but made no ſpeech to the two houſes. The ſpeech was made by the lord chancellor; and as the chancellors in thoſe times were generally prelates, thoſe ſpeeches were a kind of ſermons on a text of ſcripture, and abounded in the moſt fulſome flattery of his majeſty, whoſe glorious perfections the humble prelate acknowledged himſelf incapable of deſcribing. The chancellor then named ſeveral committees, conſiſting of lords and commons, for the quicker diſpatch of buſi-

* See vol. v. p. 360—371. † Journals, vol. i. p. 129.

neſs;

neſs; *viz.* one committee for receiving petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; another for receiving petitions from Gaſcony, and the Engliſh territories on the continent: one committee for trying the petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; and another for trying the petitions from Gaſcony, and the continent. This was a very ancient form; but in thoſe times it was far from being a mere unmeaning form, as it is at preſent. The triers of petitions had a great deal of power, and did a great deal of buſineſs. In particular, they had the ſame dangerous power with the lords of the articles in the parliament of Scotland, to ſelect ſuch petitions as they thought worthy of the attention of parliament, to form them into bills to be laid before the houſes, and to reject others. This gave the king and his miniſters a great advantage; as it put it into their power to prevent any thing that was diſagreeable to them from being introduced into parliament, except incidentally by the members in their ſpeeches *. The forms of reading and paſſing bills were in ſome reſpects different from wht they are at preſent. Bills were prepared and brought into the houſe by the triers of petitions, written upon paper, and after a firſt and ſecond reading, were commonly delivered to the king's attorney and ſolicitor, to be examined, corrected, and put into legal parliamentary form †. No certain number of times was fixed for reading bills before they were paſſed. In the Journals of the houſe of lords we find ſome bills were paſſed on the firſt reading with the unanimous conſent of all the members, and that others were twice read on one day, paſſed, and ſent to the commons ‡. Many were paſſed on the third reading, but ſome were read four times, ſome five times, ſome ſix times, ſome ſeven times, and ſome even eight times §. It ſeems to have been the intention of parliament in thoſe times, to paſs thoſe bills immediately on the firſt or ſecond reading on which all were agreed; and to read thoſe bills on which different opinions were entertained, till all, or a great majority of the members, came to be of the ſame ſentiments.

* Journals, paſſim.
† Ibid. p. 11. & paſſim.
‡ Ibid. p. 125.
§ Ibid. p. 26. 49. 52. 55, 56.

This, however, is only a conjecture, and may be a miſtake. Several other peculiarities in the modes of conducting buſineſs in parliament might be collected from the Journals of the houſe of lords, if it were neceſſary.

The ſeſſions of parliament in this period were ſeldom longer than five or ſix weeks, ſometimes much ſhorter; but in theſe ſhort ſeſſions, both houſes applied to buſineſs with great aſſiduity. They had often two meetings in the day; one at eight or nine o'clock in the morning, after breakfaſt; the other at two o'clock in the afternoon, after dinner *. Great pains were taken to ſecure a full attendance of all the members at every meeting. None could be abſent without leave from the king, and without naming one or two who were preſent as proxies, to act in his name. Such as were abſent without leave, and without proxies, were liable to a heavy fine. The names of all the members preſent at every meeting are carefully marked in the Journals, and from thence we find that there was conſtantly a very full attendance †.

Long parliament.

Some of the parliaments of this period were of longer duration, and had a greater number of ſeſſions, than thoſe of former times. The parliament that met at Weſtminſter 21 Henry VIII. November 3d, A. D. 1529, had ſeven ſeſſions, each of them uncommonly long and full of buſineſs, and was not diſſolved till April 4th A. D. 1535, after having continued ſix years and four months ‡.

Unanimity in parliament.

Though many of the laws that were made by the parliament of England in the reign of Henry VIII.; as the laws for aboliſhing the power of the pope; for inveſting the king, a layman, with the ſupremacy of the church; and for the diſſolution of religious houſes, could not but be very diſagreeable to many of the members, and particularly to the ſpiritual peers in the houſe of lords; it is aſtoniſhing how little oppoſition they encountered, and with what facility and rapidity they paſſed through both houſes. The bill empowering the king, as ſupreme head of the church, to conſtitute biſhops by his own authority, was brought into the houſe of lords, read three

* Journals, vol. i. p. 39, &c. † Ibid. paſſim. ‡ Stat. 21 Hen. VIII.

times,

times, paſſed, ſent to the commons, read three times by them, paſſed, and returned to the lords, all in the ſame day *. At the end of the third and laſt ſeſſion of that parliament which finiſhed the diſſolution of the monaſtic orders, granted their houſes, lands, and goods to the king, and made many other ſevere laws againſt the pope and church of Rome, it is recorded in the Journals, "That the lords gave their ſuffrages, and delivered their ſentiments "concerning all theſe acts; and ſuch was their unanimity, that there "was no difference of opinion about any one of them †." So great an aſcendant had this awful prince gained over the minds of his greateſt ſubjects. We meet with no proteſts or diſſents in the Journals of the houſe of lords in this reign. That was a meaſure too dangerous to be attempted. So great was the authority, and ſo dreadful the diſpleaſure of this prince, that the boldeſt of his ſubjects trembled at the thoughts of oppoſition.

The forms of electing the members of the houſe of commons, and the laws for preventing undue elections and falſe returns, were the ſame in this as in the former period. Great pains were taken to ſecure the conſtant attendance of all the members from the beginning to the end of every ſeſſion. At the beginning of a parliament a liſt of the members returned was made out and called over at the firſt meeting, and all who were not preſent to anſwer to their names were fined. A very diſtinct account is preſerved in the Journals of the houſe of lords, of the opening of the parliament that met at Weſtminſter on Monday January 16th A. D. 1542. On that day the duke of Suffolk, attended by many other lords in their robes, came into the parliament-chamber, and commanded the clerk of the parliament to call the names of all the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes who were ſtanding without the bar, and every one anſwered to his name. The duke and the other lords then took their ſeats, waiting for the entry of the king, the commons ſtill ſtanding without the bar ‡. No leſs care was taken to ſecure the attendance of all the members to the end, than their appearance at the be-

* Journals, p. 112. † Ibid. p. 163. ‡ Ibid. p. 164.

ginning,

ginning, of every ſeſſion. By an act of parliament A. D. 1541, it was declared, that if any member left the houſe without the leave of the ſpeaker before the end of the ſeſſion, he ſhould have no claim for wages from his conſtituents *.

Though both houſes of the parliament of England in this period on many occaſions acted a very mean part, and ſhamefully ſacrificed their own undoubted rights and liberties, and thoſe of the people, by complying with the imperious mandates and impetuous paſſions of their ſovereigns and their miniſters, there is ſufficient evidence that the commons now began to acquire a greater degree of weight in the ſcale of government, than they had formerly poſſeſſed or exerciſed. Of this it would be eaſy to produce many proofs, but a few will be ſufficient.

We have already ſeen, that in former periods the commons did not take the lead in granting ſupplies to the crown, but contented themſelves with granting their own ſupplies and thoſe of their conſtituents, while the peers in the houſe of lords, and the clergy in convocation, granted each their own aids, ſometimes of a different kind from thoſe granted by the commons †. It plainly appears, however, that greater attention was now paid to the commons in this important buſineſs, and that their aſſent was neceſſary to every grant, though ſome of the money-bills ſtill originated in the houſe of lords. Of this it will be proper to give one example out of ſeveral that might be given. A bill was brought into the houſe of lords February 22d A. D. 1515, for granting the king tonnage and poundage during his life, was read a firſt time, and delivered to the king's attorney to be written out fair. It was read a ſecond time on Friday the 23d, a third time on Monday the 26th, a fourth time on Tueſday the 27th, and paſſed. It was ſent with eight other bills to the houſe of commons March 10th, where it was paſſed and returned to the lords March 28th ‡. On ſome occaſions, when the king, by his miniſters, had applied firſt to the lords for a ſupply, and they had agreed to grant it; inſtead of bringing in a bill for that

* Statutes. † Vol. iv. p. 391. ‡ Journals, p. 25, 26. 31. 38.

purpoſe, they appointed a committee of the principal lords in their houſe to wait upon the commons, to communicate to them the requiſition and the conſent of the lords, and to requeſt them to take that buſineſs into their conſideration, and then retire *. This was a degree of attention and reſpect that had not been paid to the commons in any former period. The ſteadineſs with which the commons ſometimes declined complying with the king's demands, enforced by the conſent of the lords, and the moſt earneſt ſolicitations of the great cardinal Wolſey in the zenith of his power, is another proof of the riſing ſpirit of the houſe of commons †. Both the king and the cardinal were ſo much diſguſted with the oppoſition they met with in the houſe of commons to their exorbitant demands, that they formed the reſolution of ruling without parliaments; to which they adhered almoſt ſeven years, and from which they did not depart till they had exhauſted all the illegal arts of extorting money. Some of theſe arts were ſuch, that if they had been ſucceſsful they would have put an end to parliaments, and to all the rights and liberties of the people of England. Commiſſions were ſent into every county in England A. D. 1525, empowering and commanding the commiſſioners to levy from the laity the ſixth, and from the clergy the fourth part of their goods. But theſe commiſſions excited ſuch an univerſal alarm, and threatened ſo great a ſtorm, that the king thought proper to diſavow and recal them by proclamation ‡.

In former periods, it hath been obſerved that when the privileges of the commons were invaded, they applied to the king or to the houſe of lords for redreſs §: but in this period they took the protection of their privileges, and the puniſhment of thoſe who invaded them, into their own hands; which is another proof of their increaſing power and conſequence. A remarkable example of this occurred in the parliament that met at Weſtminſter 16th January A. D. 1543: George Ferrers, member for Plymouth, was arreſted for debt, and impriſoned in the Counter, Bread-ſtreet; of which the ſpeaker having acquainted the houſe, they ſent their ſerjeant to de-

* Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 86. † Ibid. p. 38. ‡ Herbert, p. 66. § See vol. v. p. 366.

mand

mand the priſoner. But the clerks of the Counter were ſo far from complying with this demand, that they gave him very ill language, broke his mace, and knocked down his ſervant. In the midſt of this ſcuffle the two ſheriffs of London arrived, to whom the ſerjeant applied; but they treated him with great contempt, and refuſed to deliver the priſoner. On his return to Weſtminſter, his relation of the treatment he had received threw the houſe into a violent ferment. They declared unanimouſly, that they would do no buſineſs till they had recovered their member; went in a body to the houſe of lords, (according to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the two houſes, communicating to each other any extraordinary emergency,) and by their ſpeaker repreſented the indignity that had been offered them. The lords, after a ſhort deliberation, replied by the chancellor, that the indignity was very great; but referred the redreſs of it, and the puniſhment of the offenders, entirely to the commons. The chancellor, at the ſame time, offered them his warrant for the liberation of their member, which they refuſed. The commons, on their return to their own houſe, ſent their ſerjeant with his mace again, to demand their member. It being now known to the ſheriffs how much their late treatment of the ſerjeant had been reſented, they received him with the greateſt reſpect, and immediately ſet the priſoner at liberty. But the ſerjeant, agreeably to the orders he had received, ſummoned the two ſheriffs to appear at the bar of the houſe of commons next morning at eight o'clock, and to bring with them all who had been concerned in the late riot, and one Mr. White, at whoſe ſuit the member had been arreſted. They appeared accordingly, and after a ſevere reprimand from the ſpeaker, the two ſheriffs, with White the proſecutor, were committed to the Tower, and three of their officers to Newgate; but on a petition from the lord mayor of London, they were liberated in a few days *. This ſpirited conduct of the commons was applauded by the king.

Servility of parliament.

But though it is certain that the houſe of commons acquired additional power and influence in the courſe of this period, it is no

* Hollingſhed, p. 955. Miſcellanea Parliamentaria, p. 1—10.

leſs certain, that both the houſes of the parliament of England, on many occaſions, diſcovered a ſpirit of ſervile ſubmiſſion to the imperious mandates and impetuous paſſions of their ſovereigns, particularly of Henry VIII.; very diſhonourable to themſelves, and very pernicious to their country. Nothing but a ſervile unmanly dread of the frowns of royalty (which were indeed very terrible) could have induced them to give their aſſent to the many unconſtitutional, unjuſt, abſurd, contradictory, oppreſſive, and cruel laws that were enacted in the reign of that ſtern imperious tyrant. That many laws were made in that reign which merited the above epithets is undeniable. Could any thing be more ſubverſive of the conſtitution than the law which gave royal proclamations the ſame authority with acts of parliament *? What could be more contrary to the plaineſt principles of juſtice and common honeſty, than the law which abſolved the king from the obligation of paying his debts, for which he had given ſecurity under his privy ſeal, and even obliged thoſe who had received payment to refund the money they had received †? How abſurd and indelicate was that law which enacted, "That if the king or his ſucceſſors ſhould intend to marry any "woman whom they took to be a pure and clean maid, if ſhe, not "being ſo, did not declare the ſame to the king, it ſhould be high "treaſon, and all who knew it and did not reveal it were guilty of "miſpriſion of treaſon ‡." By act of parliament 28 Henry VIII. it was declared to be high treaſon to aſſert the validity of the king's marriage with his firſt queen Catherine of Spain, or his ſecond queen Anne Boleyn; and whoever refuſed to anſwer upon oath to every thing contained in that act was declared to be a traitor §. By another act, about ſeven years after, (which did not repeal, but confirm the former act,) it was made treaſon to ſay any thing to the diſparagement or ſlander of the princeſs Mary or Elizabeth ‖. How

* Stat. 31 Hen. VIII.
† Burnet, b. xi. Records, No. xxxi. Rolls of Parl. A. D. 1529.
‡ Burnet, vol. i. p. 313. § 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7.
‖ 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

captious,

captious, contradictory, and cruel were these laws! If they had both been put in execution, any man in England might have been convicted of treason by the one or by the other. If he refused to answer upon oath, he was a traitor: if he asserted the validity of the king's marriages, or of one of them, he was a traitor by the first act: if he denied it, he disparaged the princesses, or one of them, and was a traitor by the second. The truth seems to have been, that the servile parliaments of those times were in such haste to gratify the present predominant passion of their imperious master, that they did not reflect on the absurdity, cruelty, and inconsistency of the acts they passed, or on the fatal consequences which they might produce. Of this many other proofs, if it were necessary, might be adduced.

Great power of the crown.

When the opulence and power of the great barons (which had long formed a balance to the power of their sovereigns) were gradually declining, by the alienation of their lands and the loss of their retainers, and when the spirit of parliaments was sinking into servility, the power and prerogatives of the crown were gradually increasing in the same proportion, and at length threatened the destruction of the constitution, and the establishment of an absolute monarchy. The accession of Henry VII. however defective his right might be, was a very happy event. It put an end to a most destructive civil war, the horrors of which had made so deep an impression on the minds of the people, that they seem to have been determined to suffer and submit to any thing, rather than rekindle those flames which had threatened them with destruction. That artful prince availed himself of this disposition of the people, and obtained such a settlement of the crown as he wished, and every thing he desired from parliament. His implacable hatred of the house of York and its partisans; his avarice, extortions, vexatious prosecutions on antiquated penal statutes, and the general severity of his government, created him many enemies, encouraged pretenders to his throne, and procured them followers. But the great body of the nobility, gentry, and people, though secretly discontented, remained

mained quiet; having the dreadful diſaſters of the late times freſh in their memories. The inſurrections were ſoon ſuppreſſed, and ſerved only to render the king more ſecure and arbitrary.

Attempts to ruin the conſtitution.

Henry VIII. at his acceſſion was in the bloom of youth, engaged in the moſt ardent purſuit of pleaſures and amuſements of the moſt ſplendid and expenſive kind, by which he ſoon diſſipated the immenſe treaſure accumulated by his parſimonious father; and thereby parted with one inſtrument of increaſing his power, about which at that time he had no anxiety. He committed the management of affairs to his miniſters, who ſacrificed Empſon and Dudley, the two hated inſtruments of his father's extortions, to the reſentment of the people, which rendered the young monarch exceedingly popular. He ſtill continued to purſue his oſtentatious expenſive pleaſures with unremitting ardour, in which he was encouraged by his favourite Wolſey, who formed, and by his great abilities had nearly accompliſhed, the baſe deſign of rendering the king abſolute, and the crown independent of the people, by impoſing taxes without the conſent of parliament. Loans had been often ſolicited and obtained, though the repayment of them was known to be very uncertain. Free gifts, called benevolences, had been frequently demanded, and by many granted, though with much reluctance. Both theſe methods of raiſing money were contrary to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and the laſt of them was contrary to an act of parliament; but as they did not avowedly extort money from the ſubjects without their own conſent, they were by many complied with, and by all endured. But when cardinal Wolſey proceeded to ſtrike the laſt deciſive blow for overturning the conſtitution, by ſending commiſſioners into every county in England A. D. 1526, to levy the ſixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth part of the goods of the clergy, by the royal authority alone, the ſpirit of the nation was rouſed, and ſo great a ferment raiſed, that Henry found it neceſſary to diſavow his miniſter and recal his commiſſioners *.

* Herbert, A. D. 1526.

But

Great power of Henry VIII.

But though Henry was foiled in this attempt, he was not cured of his avarice and ambition. He ſtill wiſhed to have the money of his ſubjects at his command, and the power of ruling them as he pleaſed. To accompliſh this in the latter half of his reign, he purſued a more indirect, but more inſidious and more dangerous method, by managing parliaments, and making them ſubſervient to his deſigns againſt the rights and liberties of his ſubjects. In this he was too ſucceſsful. The long parliament, and all the ſubſequent parliaments in his reign, were ſo managed, that they denied him nothing. The methods of managing parliaments were no ſecrets even in thoſe times; and there was one circumſtance that greatly facilitated their operation. After the diſputes with Rome commenced, the nation was divided into two great parties; the partiſans of the pope, and the friends of the reformation; and theſe parties, knowing the king's temper, engaged in a formal conteſt which ſhould flatter him moſt, and comply with all his requiſitions with the greateſt alacrity, to gain him to their ſide. This ſeems to be the reaſon that bills paſſed both houſes with little or no oppoſition, that were exceedingly diſagreeable to many, if not to a majority of the members. They dared not oppoſe with any vigour, for fear of irritating the furious monarch, and throwing him into the arms of the oppoſite party. It was not ſo much policy as his natural temper that made him, between theſe two parties, ſometimes promote, and ſometimes retard the reformation. He was a papiſt, though he had quarrelled with the pope. He hanged and beheaded thoſe who acknowledged the papal authority, and burned thoſe who denied the popiſh doctrines; and his obſequious parliaments gave their ſanction to both. It was a parliament in which there were many, probably a majority, of zealous papiſts, that aboliſhed the pope's authority in England; inveſted the king with the title of ſupreme head of the church in his dominions; diſſolved the religious houſes, and granted all their goods to the crown *. It was a parliament in which we know there were many members in both houſes who had cordially embraced the

* 23 Hen. VIII. Burnet, vol. i. p. 144. Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 144.

principles

principles of the reformation, that made the cruel act of the Six Articles, which condemned to the flames all who had the courage to avow and defend theſe principles; nor do we hear of any conſiderable oppoſition that was made to that act, except by archbiſhop Cranmer, and his oppoſition was conſidered as an extraordinary thing, and an act of the greateſt heroiſm. Parliaments gave the force of laws to royal proclamations, and to ſucceeding princes the power of repealing all laws made before they were twenty-four years of age *. Parliaments gave the king authority to regulate the religious opinions his ſubjects were to entertain, and the religious ceremonies they were to perform, and to change them as he pleaſed by proclamations from time to time. They gave him even the extraordinary power of ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown, by his letters patent or his laſt will †. In a word, theſe parliaments complied with all Henry's caprices, followed him in all his turnings and windings, and enacted whatever he dictated, with little heſitation. In theſe circumſtances the conſtitution was on the brink of ruin, and England was in thoſe times very nearly an abſolute, with the outward forms of a limited monarchy.

Perverſion of law.

We hear of no very remarkable change in the conſtitution of the courts at Weſtminſter, or in the ordinary adminiſtration of the laws in this period, except when the ſovereigns interfered. Then indeed the laws were baſely perverted, and the moſt ſhocking acts of oppreſſion perpetrated, under the pretence of executing the laws and puniſhing offences. In the reign of Henry VII. theſe oppreſſions extended only to the impriſonment of many of the ſubjects on the moſt frivolous pretences, and detaining them in priſon till they paid great compoſitions to obtain their liberty; to impoſing exorbitant amerciaments for ſmall delinquencies; exacting enormous reliefs from the royal wards; demanding exceſſive ſums for pardons, and a moſt rigorous execution of antiquated penal ſtatutes ‡. By theſe and various other methods the laws were made the inſtruments of

* Parl. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 132. † Ibid. p. 196.
‡ Bacon. 629, 630. Hollingſh. 504. Polyd. Virg. p. 613–615.

oppreſſion,

oppreſſion, the ſubjects haraſſed and plundered, and the king's coffers filled. In the reign of Henry VIII. (who was more jealous and vindictive than covetous) this perverſion of law, and the forms of juſtice, took a more fatal turn, and deprived many perſons of high rank, not only of their liberties, honours, and eſtates, but alſo of their lives, on very defective evidence, and ſometimes without any trial. On what ſlender evidence were the amiable queen Anne Boleyn, and her accompliſhed brother lord Rochford, found guilty of high treaſon, condemned, and executed? On what trivial pretences did the convocation pronounce a ſentence of divorce between Henry and his queen Anne of Cleves, which was confirmed by parliament? How many noble perſons were found guilty of high treaſon, without any trial, by acts of attainder in parliament, though they were in cuſtody and earneſtly intreated to be tried before they were condemned? Was not this a groſs violation of the firſt and plaineſt principles of law and juſtice? Who after this will heſitate to pronounce Henry VIII. a tyrant, and his parliaments the ſervile executioners of his imperious and cruel mandates?

Government ſanguinary.

The courts of ſome of the popiſh biſhops of this period were ſcenes of great cruelty, in which many good and virtuous perſons of both ſexes, and of all ages, were condemned to the flames, for reading the New Teſtament in Engliſh, or having it in their poſſeſſion, or for any thing that indicated that they entertained opinions in religion different from the tenets of the church of Rome. But ſo much hath been ſaid on this unpleaſant ſubject in the ſecond chapter of this book, that I ſhall here decline mentioning any particulars. Such readers as wiſh to be acquainted with thoſe ſcenes of cruelty and horror, may conſult the voluminous work quoted below *. It is proper to conclude this ſubject with obſerving, that the executive government, both in church and ſtate, in the reign of Henry VIII. was exceedingly ſanguinary. A prodigious number of people, no fewer it is ſaid than ſeventy-two thouſand,

* Fox's Martyrology.

were put to death as criminals in that reign. This account appears to be exaggerated, but the number was certainly very great *.

Revenues. The ordinary ſtated revenues of the crown of England flowed from the ſame ſources in this as in the three former periods, which need not be again deſcribed †. Its extraordinary and leſs certain revenues were derived from parliamentary grants of tenths and fifteenths, from loans, benevolences, forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, &c. That theſe revenues, with good management, were ſufficient to ſupport the dignity of the crown, and defray all the expences of government, and even to yield a ſurplus, is evident from the great maſs of money that was found in the coffers of Henry VII. at his death, amounting to 1,800,000l., equal in the quantity and weight of the precious metals to 2,700,000l., and in real value and efficacy to 8,000,000l. of our money at preſent. All that treaſure, the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the crown, the tenths and firſt-fruits from the clergy (which had been formerly paid to the pope), together with the ineſtimable ſpoils of all the religious houſes in England, whoſe value almoſt exceeded the bounds of calculation, came into the poſſeſſion of Henry VIII. For the management of this great influx of revenue ſeveral new courts were erected; as the court of augmentations, the court of ſurveyors of the king's lands, the court of firſt-fruits and tenths ‡: and if they had been well managed they might have made the crown independent of the country, and enabled the king to have reigned for a long time without a parliament. But, fortunately for the people of England, Henry diſſipated all thoſe treaſures, died poor, and tranſmitted the crown to his ſon and ſucceſſor, as dependent on the people for their ſupplies in parliament, as at any former period. The wanton, waſteful profuſion of princes is always hurtful to themſelves, but may accidentally, and in ſome circumſtances, prove beneficial to their ſubjects, by preventing greater evils. If Henry had been more frugal, he would have been more dangerous.

* Hollingſh. p. 186. † See vol. iii. ch. 3. § 1. vol. v. p. 376—381.
‡ Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27.—33. c. 39.—32. c. 46.

SECT. II.

History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws of Scotland, from A. D. 1488 *to* A. D. 1542.

THOUGH Scotland, during a great part of the period we are now conſidering, was a ſcene of great confuſion, owing to the minorities of the kings, the factions of the nobles, and the wars with England, the cares of government and the execution of the laws were not neglected. On the contrary, greater attention was paid to thoſe important objects, than could have been expected in ſuch unhappy times. Many parliaments were held, in which a variety of wiſe regulations were made, for bringing criminals to juſtice, for preventing riots, tumults, and oppreſſions, and for promoting the peace and proſperity of the country *.

No remarkable change was made at this time in the ranks and orders of men in ſociety. The great barons, by the extent of their eſtates and the number of their followers, ſtill maintained that ſuperior influence which they had long enjoyed, which they often employed for the protection, and ſometimes for the diſturbance, of their country, by their feuds and factions. The clergy had great poſſeſſions and great power; they were in general good landlords, and did not oppreſs their tenants, by whom they were beloved. A few of them had ſome learning and ſkill in buſineſs, which raiſed them to the higheſt offices in the ſtate; which, with their riches, their luxury, and their pride, excited the envy and hatred of the nobility. Their cruelty to the preachers and profeſſors of the doctrines of the reformation ſhocked the humanity of the people, who could not help pitying the ſufferers and abhorring their perſecutors. Their enemies daily increaſed, and their friends diminiſhed; and towards the end of this period the mine was dug, which was ſoon after ſprung, and involved them in ſudden and irreparable ruin. Mer-

* See Black Acts James IV. and V.

chants, artificers, and husbandmen, when they were injured and oppressed by their too powerful neighbours, sought, and generally found redress and protection from the king's courts, or from parliament, and it was against law to seek it from any other quarter. Several chieftains in Gallaway and Carrick had been accustomed to demand a certain annual payment, called *cuipis*, from their poor neighbours for their protection. A complaint of this was brought before parliament A. D. 1490, and an act was made prohibiting that demand *. The tenants on the king's lands were by far the happiest, as they were exempted from many services to which others were subjected. The lords and gentlemen in their neighbourhood observing this, were in use to demand, in an authoritative way, certain services from them; as carriages, shearing, ploughing, &c. Complaint of this was made to the same parliament, and it was immediately enacted, "That no lord, baron, or gentleman, should compel any of the king's tenants to do them any service by coaction or dread, under the pain of being punished as oppressors of the king's lieges †." Whoever will peruse the statutes of this period, must perceive that many of them breathe a spirit of tenderness and humanity towards the common people, that do great honour to the legislators, and prove that they were not such fierce unfeeling barbarians as they have been sometimes represented. Upon the whole, there is sufficient evidence that the people of Scotland in those times, even in the lowest stations, were not so forlorn and unprotected by government, nor government so weak and unable to protect them, as hath been commonly imagined. James V. in particular, was a most strenuous protector of the poor from the oppressions of the rich and powerful, which procured him the honourable appellation of *the poor man's king*.

Authority of the laws.

The authority of the laws was not only extended in this period over all ranks of people, but to the most remote extremities of the kingdom, and to the northern and western islands, where laws had formerly been little known or regarded. In the preamble to an act

* Black Acts 2 James IV. c. 35, 36. † Ibid. c. 38.

of

of parliament A. D. 1503, it is obſerved, "That there had been great "abuſion [abuſe] of juſtice in the north parts and weſt parts of the "realm; as the North Iſles and South Iſles, for lack [want] of juſ-"tice-aires, juſtices, and ſheriffs, by which the people are almoſt be-"come wild *." To remedy this great evil, the parliament eſtabliſhed juſtices and ſheriffs in Orkney, Caithneſs, Roſs, and the Weſtern Iſles, where there had been none before; and appointed juſtice-aires, or courts of juſtice, to be held at certain times and places in thoſe remote countries †. Theſe new magiſtrates, it is probable, found no little difficulty in the execution of their offices, among a people unaccuſtomed to the reſtraints of law, and haughty chieftains who had formerly been the only judges. To give countenance to his officers, and procure reverence for the laws, James V. a prince of great activity, and zealous in the adminiſtration of juſtice, reſolved to viſit in perſon thoſe leſs civilized parts of his dominions. He ſailed from Leith A. D. 1535, with five ſtout ſhips, well manned, attended by ſeveral of his chief nobility. It was given out that he was bound for France. But as ſoon as he was out of the Firth he changed his courſe, and ſailed along the eaſt, north, and weſt coaſts and iſlands, to Whithorn in Gallaway. In this voyage he frequently landed, inquired into the ſtate of the country, ſurpriſed and ſeized ſeveral of the moſt turbulent chieftains, and ſent them to different priſons, where they were detained till they found ſecurity for their future good behaviour. By this expedition the king not only gained a more perfect knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, but ſtruck ſuch terror into the heads of the ſeveral clans, that they learned to reſpect the laws, and remained quiet, it is ſaid, for many years ‡.

The number of thoſe remarkable wanderers called Egyptians, or Gypſies, in Scotland at this time was very conſiderable, and formed a kind of commonwealth, under a chief of their own nation, called John Faw, lord and earl of Little Egypt. The authority of this Egyptian chieftain over his ſubjects was ſupported by government; and James V. publiſhed a proclamation, commanding all ſheriffs and Gypſies.

* 5 James IV. c. 93. † Ibid. c. 94, 95. ‡ Drummond, p. 309.

magiſtrates

magiſtrates to lend him the uſe of their priſons and ſtocks whenever he demanded them. That prince alſo made an agreement or covenant in form with this Egyptian chief; who engaged on his part to carry all his ſubjects out of Scotland, and conduct them home to their own country of Little Egypt; and the king engaged to furniſh him with ſhips for that purpoſe. But the earl was not able to fulfil his engagement. Many of his ſubjects rebelled againſt him, under the conduct of one of them, named Sebaſtian Lalow, and refuſed to return home. This rebellion continued ſeveral years, as appears from another proclamation iſſued A. D. 1553, by James duke of Chatelrault, earl of Arran, &c. governor of Scotland; commanding all ſheriffs, magiſtrates, and other officers, to aſſiſt John Faw earl of Little Egypt, in apprehending his rebellious ſubjects, (many of whom are named in the proclamation,) and compelling them to obey and follow him into their own country *. Whether this famous Gypſey, John Faw, was an impoſtor, or had really been the ſovereign of a ſmall territory in Egypt, as he pretended, I ſhall not determine; but his ſcheme of carrying all the Gypſies out of Scotland certainly miſcarried.

Slaves, &c.

We meet with no mention of ſlaves either in the hiſtories or laws of Scotland in this period; which makes it probable that there were not many, if there were any, of that wretched degraded order of men in that kingdom at this time. Several ſevere laws had been made in the preceding period for the puniſhment and ſuppreſſion of thoſe troubleſome people called ſorners and maſterful beggars; and it was found neceſſary to renew and enforce the laws in the reign of James V. A. D. 1535 †. A very wiſe regulation was made at the ſame time for ſupplying the wants of thoſe who were really poor and unfit for labour. Every pariſh was to ſupport its own poor, who were to wear badges given them by the headſmen of the pariſh ‡.

Such ſeems to have been the condition of the people in their ſeveral ranks, from the higheſt to the loweſt, in the preſent period.

* See Appendix. † Black Acts 1535, c. 24. ‡ Ibid.

A condition certainly not to be envied by us who live in happier times; but not ſo piteous and unhappy as it hath been ſometimes repreſented. The high were not too high to be corrected, nor the low too low to be protected by the laws.

Parliaments.

Both James IV. and his ſon James V. ruled much by parliaments, which they frequently called. James IV. called eight parliaments in twenty-one years, and theſe aſſemblies were no leſs frequent in the ſucceeding reign. In this theſe princes acted wiſely. Their parliaments did them many good offices; and if we may judge by their acts, they neither did, nor intended to do them any injuries, by encroaching on their prerogatives or their revenues. The parliaments of Scotland, it is true, interfered in ſome things that are not commonly believed to belong to parliaments; ſuch as the marriages of their kings, the appointing ambaſſadors to foreign courts, and naming commiſſioners for negociating truces and treaties of peace. But they did this only during the minorities, or at the deſire, of their kings; and they provided for defraying all the expences incurred on theſe occaſions. So full a deſcription hath been already given of the conſtitution, forms of proceeding, and other circumſtances of the parliaments of Scotland, in the third chapter of the fifth book of this work, that it is ſufficient to refer the reader to that deſcription; as it will ſuit the parliaments in the preſent, as well as it ſuited thoſe in the preceding period *. The ſcheme of James I. to divide the parliament into two houſes having unhappily miſcarried, it was never revived; but the number of freeholders ſoon became too great to meet in one place, and many of them too poor to afford the expence of attendance. By a law of James II. all freeholders who had not above twenty pounds a year were freed from the obligation of attending parliament †. In the reign of James IV. that ſum was thought too ſmall, and a law was made to excuſe all freeholders who had not above an hundred marks a year of rent from their perſonal attendance in parliament, but permitting, or rather requiring them to ſend a proxy, by ſome lord or baron of their neighbourhood ‡.

* See book v. c. 3. ſect. 2. † James II. act 85. ‡ James IV. act 113.

Hardly

Hardly any accounts of the debates in the ancient parliaments of Scotland are preſerved, and it is probable they were neither very many nor very long, as our anceſtors in thoſe times delighted and excelled more in acting than haranguing. It appears, however, from ſome hints, that there were debates, and theſe ſometimes very warm. From the records of the parliament A. D. 1524, we plainly perceive that there were very hot debates on chooſing the committee *ad articulos*, (on the articles,) between the party of the queen dowager and the party of her huſband the earl of Angus, and that ſeveral proteſts were taken on both ſides. But the minutes are ſo ſhort, that it would not be eaſy to explain the grounds of theſe debates *. We know alſo that there were very violent debates on the appointment of the duke of Albany to the regency in the minority of James V.; and ſtill more violent debates on the appointment of the earl of Arran to the regency after the death of that king. But few particulars of theſe debates are preſerved.

Making laws, &c.

The right of making and repealing laws, and impoſing taxes, reſided ſolely in the king and parliament; and we never hear of any of the kings of Scotland in the times we are now conſidering, who attempted to make, repeal, or diſpenſe with laws, to impoſe, taxes, or even to demand loans and benevolences from their ſubjects by their own authority. The laws were called the king's laws; not becauſe the king had made them, but becauſe the execution of them was by the conſtitution committed to the king. The parliaments of Scotland ſometimes ſet bounds to the undoubted prerogatives of the crown, when they apprehended they were in danger of being improperly exerciſed. An act was made in the parliament A. D. 1503, that the king ſhould not pardon any who had been found guilty of wilful premeditated murder. But this was done (as appears by the act itſelf) at the earneſt deſire of the king, to free him from importunate ſolicitations, and was to continue in force only till it was recalled by the king †. No little pains was taken to promulgate the laws and make them known to all the ſubjects. All ſheriffs, provoſts, and

* Records of Parl. A. D. 1524.

† James IV. act 97.

baillies,

baillies, were commanded to take copies of the acts of every parliament, and to cauſe them to be proclaimed in all cities, burghs, and towns within their bounds *. The juſtice-clerk was directed to extract all the penal laws, and give copies of them to all the judges and ſheriffs †. The acts of James V. were the firſt that were printed, by Thomas Davidſon the king's printer, A. D. 1541, "That all "ſheriffs, ſtewarts, bailies, provoſts and bailies of burrows, and "other the king's lieges, might have copies thereof ‡."

Execution of the laws.

The beſt and wiſeſt laws are of little uſe, if they are not properly executed by intelligent and upright judges. To this important buſineſs the government of Scotland paid no little attention in the preſent period. As all ſheriffs of ſhires, ſtewarts of ſtewartries, baillies of regalities and baronies, and provoſts and baillies in burrows, were commanded to furniſh themſelves with copies of the laws; ſo they had a ſhare in the execution of theſe laws, both civil and criminal, within their reſpective juriſdictions. Their courts, however, were not ſupreme, nor their ſentences always final, but in many caſes ſubject to be reviewed and reverſed by the king's courts and the king's judges. The king and thoſe to whom he delegated that part of his prerogative were the ſupreme and final judges, from whoſe ſentences there lay no appeal.

Juſtice-aires.

The penal laws, or matters of dittay, as they were called, were executed by the high juſticiary, or juſtice-general, whoſe juriſdiction (except in regalities) was univerſal. That great officer, his deputies and aſſeſſors, held juſtice-aires, or juſtice-courts, twice in the year in different parts of the kingdom, for the trial of all within a certain diſtrict who were accuſed of having committed crimes that deſerved puniſhment. Theſe courts were held with great ſolemnity, attended by all the lords, barons, and gentlemen in the diſtrict, and a great concourſe of people. The king was ſometimes preſent at theſe juſtice-aires, which rendered them more ſolemn and more effectual. At one of theſe courts, in May A. D. 1529, at which the king was preſent, William Cockburn of Hunderland, and Adam Scot of

* James IV. act 60. † Ibid. act 77. ‡ James V. act 108.

Tuſhilaw, two turbulent predatory barons, were condemned and beheaded; the earl of Bothwell, the lords Hume and Maxwell, the lairds of Buccleugh, Fairnihirſt, Polwort, and Johnſtone, were impriſoned *. James V. is highly and juſtly praiſed for the activity and ſpirit with which he purſued thoſe who fled from or reſiſted the officers of juſtice. In doing this, it is ſaid, he ſometimes ſpent whole days on horſeback, enduring much fatigue, and expoſing himſelf to no little danger. In one of theſe expeditions he apprehended and hanged no fewer than forty of the banditti on the borders, who had often endangered the peace of the two kingdoms, by their incurſions into England, as well as plundered their fellow-ſubjects. Among others, their leader, John Armſtrong of Giltknockhall, who had laid the north of England for many miles under contribution, was ſeized and hanged, though he offered a great ſum of money for his life. Theſe examples ſtruck ſuch terror into the other lawleſs people of thoſe parts, that they either fled or remained quiet, and the country for ſome time enjoyed ſo much ſafety, that it became a common ſaying, *the ruſh-buſh keeps the cow.*

There were now, and there had long been, ſeveral courts in Scotland for executing the civil laws reſpecting property, and determining diſputes between ſubject and ſubject; as the ſheriff's court, the regality and barony courts, and the baillie's court in burrows. But the juriſdiction of all theſe courts was confined within narrow limits; none of them was of ſufficient dignity, nor the judges who preſided in them ſufficiently learned and reſpectable, to be truſted with the deciſion of diſputes of great importance between perſons of high rank, or even with the final determination of matters of leſs moment. At all times, therefore, a court of ſupreme authority and univerſal juriſdiction was neceſſary. Such was anciently the *aula regis*, or king's court, not only in Scotland, but in all the other kingdoms of Europe. This was the great regality court of the whole kingdom, in which the king preſided, the great officers of the crown were the judges, and all who held their lands immediately of the crown were

* Buchan. lib. xiv.

ſuitors.

ſuitors. This court ſat in the hall of the king's palace; its authority was ſupreme; its juriſdiction was univerſal; and it received appeals from all inferior courts *. The greatneſs of this court, the multiplicity of its functions, with the incapacity and averſion of its members to perform them, occaſioned its decline and fall before the commencement of our preſent period.

Courts. To ſupply the place of this great court, ſeveral other courts were eſtabliſhed, in ſucceſſion, by the king and parliament. The firſt of theſe, called the Seſſion, was erected in the reign of James I. A. D. 1425, and hath been already deſcribed †. But this court was ſoon found to be defective; and ſeveral attempts were made to amend it in the two ſucceeding reigns, but to little purpoſe. One of the great defects of the court called the Seſſion is thus deſcribed in the preamble to the act of parliament for aboliſhing it A. D. 1503: "There hath been great confuſion of ſummonds at every ſeſſions, "ſo that leiſure and ſpace at a proper time of the year could not be "had for ending them, and the poor people are delayed from year "to year, through which they wanted juſtice ‡." To remedy this and other inconveniencies, another court was erected by the ſame act, called the Daily Council, which was to ſit conſtantly at Edinburgh, or where the king reſided or appointed, "to decide all manner of ſummons in civil matters, complaints, and cauſes daily, as "they ſhould happen to occur; and that the judges ſhould have "the ſame power with the lords of ſeſſion §." But though this new court remedied ſome of the defects of the former, it was found to be in other reſpects equally ineffectual. Its judges had no fixed ſalaries; and not being bound to attendance by any penalties, they attended ſo ill, that very often a competent number of judges could not be collected to carry on the buſineſs of the court ‖. Political arrangements, though they may appear feaſible in ſpeculation, ſometimes contain defects, which nothing but experience can diſcover.

* Du Cange Gloſſ. voce *Curia*.

† James I. act 72, 73, 74, 75. See vol. v. p. 396.

‡ James IV. act 92. § Ibid. ‖ Lord Kaims' Law Tracts, p. 268.

Papal bull.

Complaints againſt the daily council being loud when John duke of Albany arrived in Scotland and took upon him the government, that wiſe prince formed the plan of a ſupreme court of greater dignity, efficacy, and ſtability, which it is probable he copied from the parliament of Paris, with which he was well acquainted. He was ſenſible that ſuch a court could not be eſtabliſhed on ſolid grounds, without a competent fund for the ſalaries of its judges and other members. The dignified clergy were by far the richeſt body of men in the kingdom, in proportion to their numbers; and the duke propoſed to procure ſome of their ſuperfluous wealth, as a fund for his intended eſtabliſhment. With this view he directed his ambaſſador at the court of Rome to repreſent to the pope, (who was then conſidered as the ſovereign of all the clergy, and the guardian of all the revenues of the church,) that his moſt obedient ſon, James king of Scots, deſigned to eſtabliſh a college of juſtice, compoſed of honourable and learned men, to adminiſter juſtice to his ſubjects, and to petition his holineſs to grant the king a ſum of money annually out of the revenues of the prelates of his kingdom, for the ſupport of his intended college. To render his ſcheme more palatable to the pope and clergy, the duke agreed that one half of the ſenators or judges in his new college ſhould always be clergymen. The pope did not grant this petition till after the duke of Albany had left Scotland and was deprived of the regency. But at length the perplexed ſtate of affairs in Germany and England made both the pope and the clergy more willing to gratify the king of Scotland; and Clement VII., by a bull A. D. 1531, granted him twelve thouſand ducats of gold a year out of the revenues of the archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, and priors of his kingdom, for the uſe of his intended college of juſtice *.

College of juſtice.

Soon after this bull was brought to Scotland a parliament met at Edinburgh May 17th A. D. 1532; to which the king communicated his intention "to inſtitute ane college of cunning and wiſe "men, baith of ſpiritual and temporal eſtate, for doing and admi-

* See the bull in Keith, Append. p. 74.

"niſtration

" niſtration of juſtice in all civil actions; and therefore thinks to be " choſen certain perſons moſt convenient and qualified therefore to " the number of fourteen perſons, half ſpiritual, half temporal, " with ane preſident." The king further deſired the parliament to authoriſe theſe fifteen perſons to ſit and decide upon all civil actions *. The parliament approved of the intended inſtitution, ratified and confirmed it, and gave the ſentence and decreets of the new court all the ſtrength, force, and effect that the decreets of the lords of ſeſſion had in all times bygone; *i. e.* that they could be reviewed and reverſed only by parliament. At the deſire of the king, the parliament alſo named the fifteen firſt ſenators of the college of juſtice, or lords of council and ſeſſion, as this new court was called. If the king by his prerogative could have inſtituted this court and appointed the judges, he certainly acted with great condeſcenſion in referring the whole to parliament. But as parliament was in uſe to name the lords of ſeſſion, it was perhaps thought that they had a right to name the judges of that court that was ſubſtituted in its place. The king appointed the lord chancellor, and the abbot of Cambuſkenneth preſident of the new court, to adminiſter the oaths to the other lords; and directed the whole of the judges to ſpend the next eight days in forming rules for regulating their future proceedings, and to begin to hear cauſes on the Monday following. The rules were firſt approved and ſubſcribed by the king, and afterwards confirmed by parliament; but they are too numerous to be here inſerted, and many of them have been ſince changed †. By ſuch ſteps, and with ſuch deliberation, was the ſupreme court of the council and ſeſſion eſtabliſhed. It hath long flouriſhed, and ſtill continues to flouriſh, much improved in the extent of its juriſdiction, the multiplicity and variety of its buſineſs, and the learning of its judges.

This court at its eſtabliſhment appears to have been a great favourite of James V., who granted it a charter, dated at Stirling June 10th A. D. 1532; in which he expreſſed his approbation of Charter.

* James V. Parl. A. D. 1532. † Black Acts James V. fol. 53—57.

the

the inſtitution in the ſtrongeſt terms; promiſed to protect the perſons, fortunes, and honours of the judges, and to puniſh ſeverely ſuch as attempted to injure them in any of theſe reſpects, or preſumed to treat them with contempt. He granted them alſo an exemption from all taxes, contributions, and other extraordinary charges in all time to come, and from bearing any office or charge, but with their own free will and conſent *. This exemption was probably granted to the judges of this new court on account of the ſmallneſs of their ſalaries, which are not indeed mentioned in this charter; but from the ſcantineſs of the funds we may conclude they could not be great. By two of the regulations above mentioned, for directing the future proceedings of this new court, we are informed that ten gentlemen were named by the judges to be advocates, and appointed to plead cauſes before them; and that the judges at the ſame time regulated the fees of the writers to the ſignet †: but neither the advocates nor the writers to the ſignet are mentioned in the charter of exemption from taxes and offices; and it doth not clearly appear whether they were then conſidered as members of the college of juſtice, or only as neceſſary appendages to the court, and nurſeries for the bench.

As one half of the ordinary lords or judges of this court, at its firſt inſtitution, were clergymen, and the other half laymen, and the preſident was a clergyman, the clergy had a majority of one on the bench. To counterbalance this, the chancellor had a ſeat and vote when he pleaſed, and preſided when he was preſent; and the king had a power (which he exerciſed) of appointing three or four noblemen to be extraordinary lords, and to have ſeats and votes with the other judges, but no ſalaries ‡. Ten other judges and the preſident were a quorum §.

Nobile officium.

The court of council and ſeſſion was for ſome time very popular, and gave univerſal content ‖. The judges acted with great modeſty, caution, and even diffidence. When a cauſe came before them that

* Black Acts James V. fol. 57. † Ibid. fol. 56. ‡ Ibid. fol. 53.
§ Ibid. fol. 55. ‖ Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 273.

appeared perplexed and difficult, inſtead of determining it themſelves, they referred it to parliament for a deciſion *. By degrees, however, they acquired more courage and greater confidence in their own abilities and powers. When a caſe occurred to which none of the exiſting laws applied, or when applied led to a rigorous oppreſſive ſentence, they no longer referred it to parliament, but ventured to determine it themſelves, by what appeared to them agreeable to the rules of natural equity and juſtice. The authority by which they did this, at firſt had no name, but it came afterwards to be called their *nobile officium*; which, it was ſaid, was eſſential to every ſupreme court, to enable it to do material juſtice; and that it was peculiarly neceſſary to the ſupreme court of Scotland, in which there was no ſeparate court of equity, as in England. Though all this ſeems to be reaſonable, and it is to be hoped that this *nobile officium* hath been generally uſed for the benefit of individuals and of the public, the firſt appearance of it was very unpopular, and excited violent clamours, that the property of the people of Scotland was at the mercy of fifteen men, who determined every thing by their arbitrary will and pleaſure †. But this change and theſe clamours did not take place till after the concluſion of the preſent period.

To render this eſtabliſhment ſtill more firm, if poſſible, king James ſolicited and obtained a bull of confirmation of his college of juſtice from pope Paul III. dated at Rome March 31ſt A. D. 1535. By this bull the pope not only confirmed, in the moſt ſolemn manner, the twelve thouſand ducats formerly granted by the clergy, but he alſo gave the king a power to appropriate to the ſupport of his college certain benefices in the gift of the crown, as they became vacant, to the amount of two hundred pounds ſterling a year. Further, to pleaſe the king, and to ſhew his favour to this inſtitution, he exempted the preſident and fourteen ordinary lords, their clerks, notaries, advocates, and other officers, (who appear to have been now conſidered as members of the college of juſtice,) from the ju- Papal bull.

* Black Acts James V. fol. 74. † Buchan. p. 273.

riſdiction

riſdiction and viſitation of all archbiſhops, biſhops, and other prelates, and took them under the immediate protection of the holy ſee *. Thus was this inſtitution fenced and guarded by every ſecurity, ſpiritual and temporal, that could poſſibly be deviſed.

Prerogatives of the crown.

The prerogatives of the crown of Scotland were the ſame in this as in the preceding periods. But theſe prerogatives were never very diſtinctly aſcertained, very firmly eſtabliſhed, or very uniformly exerciſed. They varied with the circumſtances of the kingdom and the characters of the kings; and they were interrupted and diminiſhed by frequent and long minorities, during which the reins of government were much relaxed. It is ſufficient therefore to ſay, that Scotland was a limited monarchy, and that its princes were bound by the conſtitution and by their coronation oaths to govern according to the laws, and by the advice of their parliaments. In particular, it appears to have been a fixed principle, that they could not make or repeal any law, nor impoſe any taxes on their ſubjects, without the conſent of the three eſtates. The vaſſals of the crown with their followers cheerfully attended the royal ſtandard whenever they were called for the defence of their country; but they ſometimes heſitated, and even refuſed, and could not be compelled to paſs the borders and invade England. This was a conſtitutional, and often a ſalutary reſtraint on the ambition and martial ardour of their kings, which gave them great offence, but to which they were obliged to ſubmit.

The kings of Scotland in this period were undoubtedly poor princes in proportion to the kings of France and England, who were at the head of much larger and more opulent kingdoms; but they were not poor in proportion to their own dominions, to the circumſtances of their ſubjects, and to their neceſſary expenditure. Nor was there any nation in Europe that diſcovered a greater deſire to ſupport their princes in a manner ſuitable to their rank than the Scots. In the records of all the parliaments of this period an extreme anxiety appears to preſerve, improve, and increaſe the re-

* Keith's Append. p. 75.

venues

venues of the crown; and many acts were made for these purposes, some of which will be hereafter mentioned.

The stated hereditary revenues which the kings of Scotland derived from the immediate vassals of the crown, were of the same kind with those of every other feudal kingdom, and particularly with those of England, which have been already described in the third chapter of the third book of this work, to which description (to prevent repetitions) the reader is referred *. These revenues, therefore, bore the same proportion to their dominions with those of other princes. Besides these, they derived revenues from various other sources; as from the customs, on all commodities exported and imported; from the royal mines, which were then valuable, and were wrought by people from Germany; from the revenues of vacant bishoprics, abbies, and priories; from forfeitures and escheats of various kinds; from the estates of lunatics, and the goods of convicts; from fines and amerciaments for trespasses and delinquencies of many different kinds; from money paid for grants of liberties, immunities, and privileges, to towns and corporations; from wrecks, waifs, estrays, treasure-trove, &c. &c. Some of these revenues were small, but when they were accumulated they were considerable, and they bore still the same proportion to the extent and circumstances of their dominions with those of the same kind in other countries.

Crown lands.

But the lands that were unalienably annexed to the crown, and were from time to time receiving great additions, afforded the greatest revenues to the kings of Scotland at this time; and over these the parliament watched with as much attention to preserve, improve, and increase them, as any proprietor watched over his own estate. It was a fixed principle to which the parliaments of Scotland steadily adhered, that the lands of the crown could not be legally and irrecoverably alienated, without the consent of the three estates; and that if a king granted any of these lands without such consent, it was an

* See vol. iii. ch. 3. p. 333—336.

illegal deed, which might and ought to be revoked. Theſe lands were conſidered as the ſtate of the nation, of which the reigning king was the uſufructuary, and the three eſtates were the guardians *. Theſe were the undoubted principles of the conſtitution. They were often indeed violated, but never forgotten. Favourites prevailed upon kings to grant them portions of the crown lands, but theſe grants were never ſecure; they were ſoon diſcovered by the vigilance, and revoked by the authority of parliament. Of theſe revocations we meet with two or three in every reign †. Parliament even took meaſures to prevent kings from giving, and courtiers from ſoliciting ſuch grants. A very remarkable law was made on this ſubject in the reign of James II. A. D. 1454. In the preamble to that law it is obſerved, "That the poverty of the crown is oft-times "the cauſe of the poverty of the realm, and of many other incon-"veniencies." To prevent theſe it is ſtatute and ordained in full parliament, "That in every part of the realm, for the king's reſi-"dence, there be certain lordſhips and caſtles annexed to the crown, "perpetually to remain, which may not be given away in fee and "heritage or franktenement to any perſon, of what eſtate or degree "thatever he be, without the advice, deliverance, and decreet of "the whole parliament, and for great and reaſonable cauſes of the "realm." The act then declares all grants of annexed lands null and void; that they may be revoked without any law-proceſs, and that thoſe who have enjoyed any of theſe lands, by virtue of ſuch grants, ſhall refund all the profits they had reaped from them. It is further enacted, "That our ſovereign lord that now is, be ſworn, "and in like manner all his ſucceſſors, kings of Scotland, at their "coronation, to the keeping of this ſtatute, and all the points there-"of ‡." It ſeems to have been impoſſible for parliament to have taken more effectual precautions to prevent the alienation of the crown lands, than thoſe contained in this act, which certainly had

* Stat. James I. act 10. 148. James II. act 2. 8. 43. James III. act 86, 87. James IV. act 24. 41. 82. James V. act 40. 54. 96.

† Black Acts paſſim. ‡ James II. act 43.

its effect for a conſiderable length of time, eſpecially as it was revived and confirmed by ſeveral ſubſequent acts.

Annexations.

The crown lands received great additions from time to time, by forfeitures, reverſions, and ſome other ways; and parliament took care to annex theſe additional lands firmly to the crown ſoon after they came into the king's hands, to prevent their alienation. Of this we meet with ſeveral examples in the monuments of thoſe times; the moſt remarkable of which is that great annexation made by a parliament at Edinburgh A. D. 1540, of the lands that had been forfeited by the earl of Angus and his partiſans, by ſir James Hamilton, and many others. By this one act all the following lordſhips, lands, and caſtles were annexed to the crown in the ſtricteſt manner. "The lands and lordſhip of all the iſles, ſouth and north; "the two Kintyres, with their caſtles and pertinents; the lands and "lordſhips of Orkney, Zetland, with the iſles pertaining thereto, "and their pertinents; the lands and lordſhip of Douglas, with the "caſtle, tower, and fortalice thereof, donations, and advocations of "kirks and benefices, and their pertinents; the lands and lordſhips "of Crawford-John and Crawford-Lindſay; the lands and lord-"ſhips of Bonkill, Preſton, and Tomtallon, with towers, fortalices, "rents, donations, and advocations of kirks; the lands of Dunſire; "the lands and lordſhip of Jedburgh-foreſt; the lands and lordſhip "of Kerrymure, with all their pertinents; the ſuperiority of all the "earldom of Angus, and all other lands, rents, and poſſeſſions "which pertained to Archibald ſome time earl of Angus, the time "of the ſaid earl's forfeiture, and now in our ſovereign lord's hands "by reaſon thereof; the lands and lordſhip of Glamis that are not "holden of the kirk; the lands of Baky, Balmutus, Tannades, "Drumgleas, Longforgund, and Bathilweis, with the towers, for-"talices, advocations, and donations of kirks, and their pertinents; "the lands of Racklewch, Whitecampt, Over and Nether How-"clewch; the lands and barony of Ivendale, with the tower and "fortalices thereof, advocations and donations of kirks, &c.; the "lands and lordſhip of Liddiſdale, with the caſtle of Hermitage,

" advocation and donation, and their pertinents; the lands and lord-
" ſhip of Bothwel, with the tower, fortalice, and their pertinents *."
This was an immenſe addition to the land-eſtate of the crown, already very great.

The parliaments of Scotland not only paid attention to the preſervation and increaſe of the crown lands, but alſo to the faithful collection of their rents, and the improvement of their annual value. For the firſt of theſe purpoſes, they ſometimes choſe certain noblemen of the firſt rank, in different parts of the kingdom, to ſuperintend the collection of the king's rents in their reſpective diſtricts †. For the ſecond, they made a law permitting James V. to feu a part of his lands, annexed and unannexed, upon condition that he received an advanced rent ‡. But this law was to continue in force only during that king's life.

When parliaments diſcovered ſo much ſolicitude to ſupport the dignity of the crown, the kings of Scotland could not be poor, in proportion to their neceſſary expenditure, which is the moſt material circumſtance. A prince with great revenues, whoſe expences are ſtill greater, is really poor; and a prince with comparatively ſmall revenues, whoſe expences are ſtill ſmaller, is really rich. This laſt was the ſituation of the kings of Scotland in this period. Their revenues were ſmall when compared to thoſe of the kings of France and England; but their neceſſary expenditure was ſmaller, when compared to that of theſe two princes. The kings of Scotland could form no ambitious projects of conqueſt, with which theſe other princes were almoſt conſtantly inflamed, and on which they exhauſted their treaſures, as well as the blood of their ſubjects. The civil government of Scotland was ſo conſtituted, that it coſt the kings very little. The ſupreme court coſt them nothing: they had no ſtanding army of their own ſubjects to ſupport, and they hired no foreign mercenaries. Wars, which were ſo burthenſome to the kings of France and England, put the kings of Scotland to very little expence. They had no wars but with England, which were either defenſive, or ſud-

* James V. act 54. 75. † James IV. act 26. ‡ James V. act 97.

den

den predatory incurſions. When their country was invaded, all the vaſſals of the crown, with their followers, and even all the ſubjects who were able to bear arms, were obliged to attend the royal ſtandard, to repel the invaders at their own expence. The predatory incurſions were undertaken by martial chieftains and bold adventurers, from the deſire of revenge, or the hopes of booty, ſometimes with and ſometimes without the king's permiſſion, but never at his expence. The kings of Scotland were not even at the expence of the ambaſſadors ſent to England, France, Denmark, and other courts. That expence was defrayed by a ſmall tax impoſed by parliament *. In a word, the revenues of the crown of Scotland were chiefly intended for ſupporting the king's court and houſehold in a manner ſuitable to the royal dignity, and for that purpoſe they were more than ſufficient. Accordingly theſe princes married into the greateſt families in Europe; had magnificent palaces, numerous attendants, and lived with ſplendor and in affluence. They never complained of the ſcantineſs of their revenues: they never applied to parliament for ſupplies, or for the payment of their debts: they never once attempted to extort a farthing from their ſubjects, by loans, benevolences, and other oppreſſive arts, which were ſo often employed by the greateſt princes in Europe their contemporaries. They were under no neceſſity of employing ſuch arts.

* James II. act 51. James III. act 62. 90. 126. James IV. act 22. 45, 46. 72.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER IV.

History of Learning, of learned Men, and of the chief Seminaries of Learning that were founded in Great Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

Account of the ſciences ſhort.

IT was only a very brief account of the ſtate of learning and of the ſeveral ſciences in every period, that was promiſed in the plan of this work in the preface prefixed to the firſt volume *. This was all that could with any propriety be introduced into general hiſtory. To have attempted to give regular extended ſyſtems of every ſcience in every period, would have been a moſt prepoſterous abſurd attempt. Such ſyſtems would have been uſeleſs and unneceſſary to the learned, and tedious and diſguſting to the bulk of readers; would have quite deſtroyed the ſymmetry of this work, and ſwelled every fourth chapter to an enormous ſize. What was propoſed in the plan is thus expreſſed: "It is only deſigned to "lay before the reader a clear and conciſe account of the general

* See the General Preface, p. 11.

"ſtate

" ſtate of each ſcience; its decline or progreſs; its moſt remarkable " defects and moſt important improvements. This is all that falls " within the province of general hiſtory on ſubjects of this nature; " all that can be univerſally uſeful and agreeable, or reaſonably de- " ſired and expected in a work of this kind *." Though ſuch brief accounts of the general ſtate of learning may be of little uſe to the learned in literary hiſtory, they may be both inſtructive and entertaining to many other readers, who have neither leiſure nor inclination to peruſe more voluminous works on theſe ſubjects. They may contribute alſo to diffuſe the fame of thoſe ingenious men who have done honour to their country by their learned labours, and enriched it with the ſtores of uſeful knowledge.

A dark period.

The morning of that auſpicious day which ſucceeded that long night of ignorance in which almoſt all Europe had been involved from the fall of the weſtern empire, had already dawned on Italy, and ſome other parts of the continent, but had not yet reached this little ſequeſtered world of Britain. While learning was reviving in ſome other countries, it was languiſhing and declining in this iſland; and the period that immediately preceded the preſent was here one of the darkeſt and moſt illiterate †. In every former period, the darkeſt not excepted, ſome extraordinary men aroſe; as venerable Bede, Alfred the Great, Roger Bacon, doctor Wickliff, &c. who, by the force of their genius and application, diſſipated, in ſome degree, the gloom with which they were ſurrounded, and rendered their names immortal. But in the fifteenth century there was not ſo much as one man in Britain who acquired, or indeed deſerved, a very extenſive or permanent reputation by his writings.

Plan of the chapter.

But our preſent period preſents us with a more agreeable proſpect. A better taſte, and a greater eſteem and love of learning were introduced, and became gradually more general and more ardent. That we may have a diſtinct view of this happy change, which hath been productive of ſo much innocent and rational plea-

* See the General Preface, p. 11.

† See vol. v. c. 4. ſect. 1.

ſure

ſure to individuals, and of ſo many benefits to ſociety, it will be proper to give a brief account, 1. Of the ſciences that were moſt ſucceſsfully cultivated: 2. Of the moſt learned men who flouriſhed: and, 3. Of the principal ſeminaries of learning that were founded in Britain in the preſent period.

SECT. I.

A brief Account of the Sciences that were moſt ſucceſsfully cultivated in Britain, from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

GREAT induſtry, and an enthuſiaſtic attachment to literary purſuits. were as neceſſary as genius to the revivers of learning. They had many difficulties to encounter, and few things to animate and encourage them in their labours. Books were ſtill very ſcarce and dear. The art of printing had been introduced into England a few years before. But the firſt productions of the Engliſh preſs were very poor performances, and contributed very little to the improvement of taſte or revival of learning. Honeſt William Caxton, inſtead of printing the Latin and Greek claſſics in their original languages, with which he was unacquainted, printed his own degrading tranſlations of ſome of them from French tranſlations, no leſs degrading, which could give their readers no ideas of their beauties. Inſtructors were ſtill ſcarcer than books. The path was untrodden, and guides could not be procured. Learning was not yet become the road to preferment. The nobility in general were illiterate, and deſpiſed, rather than patroniſed, learning and learned men. "It is enough (ſaid a nobleman to Richard Pace, ſecretary "to Henry VIII.) for noblemen's ſons to wind their horn and carry "their hawk fair, and leave ſtudy and learning to the children of "mean people *." Henry VII. was neither a learned nor a generous prince. He employed indeed ſeveral clergymen in his affairs, not on account of their uncommon learning, but of their ſkill in

Obſtructions to learning.

* Biographia Britan. p. 1236.

buſineſs and dexterity in negociations, and to ſave his money, by rewarding them with benefices inſtead of ſalaries. After the reformation had commenced in Germany, and many began to favour it in Britain, thoſe who deviated from the beaten track in their ſtudies were ſuſpected of hereſy, and diſcouraged and perſecuted on that account. But notwithſtanding this, a number of ingenious and induſtrious men appeared in this period, who ſurmounted all theſe difficulties; and by their example, their exhortations, and the beauty and elegance of their writings, brought a better kind of learning into reputation, and gave a happy turn to the taſte and ſtudies of the age.

Latin language.

No province of literature was cultivated with ſo much care and ſucceſs by the revivers of learning in the preſent period, as philology, or the accurate knowledge of languages, particularly of the Latin and Greek claſſics. The neglect into which the works of the philoſophers, poets, and hiſtorians of Greece and Rome had fallen, was one great cauſe of the decline of learning, and of the bad taſte and barbariſm of the middle ages. The revivers of learning, therefore, acted wiſely in beginning its revival, by removing one of the great cauſes of its decline. By acquiring a correct and critical knowledge of the language, ſtyle, and manner of thoſe excellent writers, they obtained two great advantages: they had acceſs to all the ſtores of wiſdom and eloquence their writings contained, and to all the pleaſure their peruſal could afford; and by imitating ſuch beautiful models, they acquired the art of communicating their own thoughts to the world in a perſpicuous, elegant, and pleaſing manner. In this art ſome of the revivers of learning, both in Britain and on the continent, ſucceeded to admiration, and wrote in Latin with a claſſical purity not unbecoming the Auguſtan age *. The ſucceſs, exhortations, and example, of thoſe eminent men, and of many others, brought the ſtudy of the Latin language into faſhion; the barbarous jargon formerly uſed was deſpiſed; and to be able to ſpeak and write pure and claſſical Latin, was conſidered as a valuable, and even a

* Sir Thomas More, doctor Linacer, William Lilly, George Buchannan, &c. &c.

polite

polite accompliſhment, to which perſons of high rank and of both ſexes aſpired. To aſſiſt youth in the acquiſition of this accompliſhment, the greateſt ſcholars of the age, as Eraſmus, Linacer, Sir John Cheke, and many others, did not diſdain to ſpend their time in writing rudiments, grammars, vocabularies, colloquies, and other books. The haughty monarch Henry VIII., and his no leſs haughty miniſter cardinal Wolſey, ſtooped to employ their pens in writing inſtructions to youth in the ſtudy of this favourite language. The king, it is ſaid, wrote a treatiſe *de inſtituendâ pube*, and an Introduction to Grammar; and the cardinal compoſed a ſyſtem of inſtructions to be obſerved by the maſters in the ſchool he founded at Ipſwich, his native town *. The cardinal had been a ſchoolmaſter, and was well qualified for giving theſe inſtructions, which are equally ſenſible and particular. James IV. of Scotland was a great admirer of a pure and claſſical ſtyle in writing Latin, and a zealous promoter of the ſtudy of that language. His own letters are written with greater purity and elegance than thoſe of any other prince in Europe †. He put his natural ſon, Alexander archbiſhop of Saint Andrew's, a moſt ingenious youth, under the care of the great Eraſmus; and he procured an act of parliament to be made A. D. 1496, "obliging all barons and freeholders that are of ſubſtance, to put "their eldeſt ſons to the grammar ſchools at eight or nine years of "age, to remain there till they were competently founded, and had "perfect Latin ‡." In a word, the Roman claſſics were now ſtudied with ſo much diligence, and the capacity of imitating their ſtyle and manner was ſo much valued, that the ſixteenth century may very properly be called *ſeculum Latinum*, the Latin age.

Greek language.

The reſtorers of learning found much greater difficulty in acquiring the knowledge of the Greek language themſelves, and in perſuading others that the knowledge of it was either neceſſary or uſeful. That copious and beautiful language, in which ſo many of

* Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, p. 8, 9. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 223. Ibid. Appendix, No. 35.

‡ Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. ‡ James IV. act 87.

the philoſophers, poets, hiſtorians, and orators of antiquity had written, was almoſt quite unknown in Britain in the beginning of this period. The celebrated Eraſmus of Rotterdam, the moſt zealous and ſucceſsful reſtorer of learning, came into England A. D. 1497, and went to Oxford with a deſign to teach Greek; but he met with much oppoſition and little encouragement. Many both of the ſecular and regular clergy declaimed againſt him in the ſchools, and even in the pulpit, with great bitterneſs. They railed particularly againſt his Greek New Teſtament, as a moſt impious and dangerous book *. He continued, however, to teach there a conſiderable time, encouraged by a few ingenious men, who gladly received his inſtructions, and afterwards communicated them to others, by which a taſte for the ſtudy of the Greek language was gradually excited, not only among the youth, but in ſome members of the univerſity who were far advanced in life. In this, however, little progreſs was made for ſeveral years, owing to the unhappy ſtate of the univerſity, which was frequently viſited and diſperſed by the ſweating-ſickneſs, diſtracted by riots, and diſgraced by the general ignorance and profligacy of its members †.

The acceſſion of Henry VIII. was an event favourable to learning, for which he had a taſte, and in which he had made ſome proficiency. He was at the ſame time rich and generous, and fond of praiſe, which made many entertain hopes that he would prove a liberal patron to men of literary merit. On this event the lord Mountjoy, who was a great admirer and had been a pupil of Eraſmus, preſſed him to come into England; promiſing him the patronage of the king, of Warham archbiſhop of Canterbury, and of other great men. He complied with the invitation, and arrived in London A. D. 1509. After ſpending ſome time with his friend ſir Thomas More, he went to Cambridge, with a deſign to promote the intereſt of learning, and particularly the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, which had been as much neglected in that as in the other univerſity. But though he was patroniſed by the chancellor, Fiſher biſhop of Ro-

* A. Wood, Hiſt. Univer. Oxon. lib. i. p. 237. † Ibid. p. 240.

cheſter, and appointed profeſſor of Greek, he had little ſucceſs, and found the academicians of Cambridge as ignorant and averſe to ſtudy as thoſe of Oxford. He explained the grammar of Chryſotoras to a few poor ſcholars, who could give him little or nothing for his labour; and his expences far exceeded his gains *. So difficult was it to rouſe the ſtudents of thoſe times from that lethargy into which they had fallen, and to correct the bad taſte they had contracted.

Greeks and Trojans.

The diſſenſion between the friends and enemies of the Greek language and learning at Oxford did not terminate when Eraſmus left that univerſity. On the contrary, they were formed into two parties; one of which was called the Greeks, and the other the Trojans. As the Trojans were the moſt numerous, (almoſt all the monks being true Trojans,) they were the moſt inſolent. When a poor Greek appeared on the ſtreet, or in any public place, he was attacked by the Trojans with hiſſes, taunts, and inſults of all kinds. But the triumphs of the Trojans were not of long duration. The king and his great favourite cardinal Wolſey having warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Greeks, their numbers, their credit, and their courage daily increaſed, the Greek language became a favourite ſtudy, and the Trojans were obliged to quit the field †.

But after the ſtudy of the Greek language had become faſhionable, a controverſy about the true pronunciation of it aroſe between ſir John Cheke, profeſſor of Greek at Cambridge, and Stephen Gardner, chancellor of that univerſity and biſhop of Wincheſter. This controverſy (a minute account of which cannot be introduced into general hiſtory) was conducted with great modeſty and learning by the profeſſor, who proved by many arguments, that the pronunciation which had been introduced in the dark ages was abſurd and faulty in many reſpects; and in particular, that by giving the ſame ſound to ſeveral different letters, it deſtroyed the beauty, variety, and muſical ſweetneſs of the language, which were reſtored by the new pronunciation. To all this the haughty chancellor replied by a thun-

* Dr. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, vol. i. p. 37. † A. Wood, ibid. p. 246.

dering

dering decree, denouncing very ſevere cenſures on all who dared to drop the old, and adopt the new pronunciation *. On this occaſion reaſon proved too ſtrong for mere authority. The decree was ſoon diſregarded, and the new pronunciation prevailed, and ſtill prevails. Thus in the ſpace of about thirty years a great change was brought about in the ſtate of learning and the taſte of the learned in Britain, by the labours of a few active and ingenious men, in oppoſition to inveterate habits, ſtrong prejudices, and the indolence, ignorance, diſſolute manners, and bad taſte that had long reigned in the ſeminaries of learning, and were not eaſily overcome. The Roman and Greek claſſics, which had been long neglected, and almoſt forgotten, were ſtudied with the greateſt ardour and ſucceſs; and their ſtyle and manner admirably well imitated by ſeveral Britiſh as well as foreign writers in this period †. Some attempts were made to revive the ſtudy of the Hebrew, but not with the ſame ſucceſs.

Wolſey a patron of learning.

The patronage and liberality of the great contributed no leſs than the labours of the learned to the revival of learning; nor was there in thoſe times a more liberal patron of learning and learned men than the famous cardinal Wolſey. This extraordinary man had a genius and taſte for learning, in which he had made great proficiency in his youth, and for which he retained a regard in his higheſt elevation. "Politer learning," ſays Eraſmus, "as yet "ſtruggling with the patrons of the ancient ignorance, he upheld "by his favour, defended by his authority, adorned by his ſplen- "dour, and cheriſhed by his kindneſs. He invited all the moſt "learned profeſſors by his noble ſalaries. In furniſhing libraries "with all kinds of authors of good learning, he contended with "Ptolemeus Philadelphus himſelf, who was more famous for this "than for his kingdom. He recalled the three learned languages, "without which all learning is lame ‡." That all this was not flattery is certain. When the cardinal viſited Oxford A. D. 1518, he

* Strype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 17, &c. His Memorials, vol. i. p. 372.
† See the Works of More, Buchannan, Cheke, Linacer, Collet, &c. &c.
‡ Eraſmi Epiſt. lib. vi. ep. 21.

founded

founded no fewer than ſeven lectures; *viz.* in theology, civil law, phyſic, philoſophy, mathematics, Greek, and rhetoric; and choſe the moſt learned men he could procure to read thoſe lectures *. He at the ſame time intimated his intention of doing much greater things for the honour of the univerſity and the advancement of learning, which he executed in part, and, to his unſpeakable ſorrow, was prevented from executing fully, by his unexpected fall.

Schoolmen deſpiſed.

The time and thoughts of the reſtorers of learning in our preſent period were ſo much engaged in the ſtudy of the *belles lettres*, that they could not pay the ſame attention to the ſciences. Theſe remained nearly in the ſame low and wretched ſtate (a very few excepted) in which they had been in the three preceding periods. The philoſophic age was not yet arrived. It would be very improper therefore to encumber the pages of general hiſtory with a dry detail of the trivial changes that were now made in logic, metaphyſics, natural and moral philoſophy, arithmetic, mathematics, aſtronomy, &c. No genius, art, or induſtry could render ſuch a detail either inſtructive or entertaining †. The logic, metaphyſics, and philoſophy of the ſchools, which were in high reputation in the beginning of this period, gradually declined as a better taſte prevailed; and as the language of the philoſophers of Greece and Rome came to be better underſtood, and their works more generally peruſed, the barbarous jargon, unintelligible ſubtilties, endleſs diſtinctions, and ponderous works of the ſchoolmen, came to be neglected and deſpiſed. Their volumes, which had been once highly prized and diligently ſtudied, began to be treated with great contempt, and put to the moſt ignominious uſes. The commiſſioners who were appointed to viſit the univerſity of Oxford A. D. 1535, wrote thus to the lord Cromwell: "We have ſet Dunce in Bocardo, and have utterly baniſhed "him Oxford for ever, with all his blind gloſſes; and he is now "made a common ſervant to every man, faſt nailed up upon poſts "in all common houſes of eaſement. The ſecond time we came to

* Biographia Britan. vita Wolſey. A. Wood, Hiſt. Univer. Oxon. lib. i. p. 250.
† See vol. iii. c. 4. ſect. 1.—vol. iv. and v. c. 4. ſect. 1.

" New College, after we had declared your injunctions, we found " all the great quadrant court full of the leaves of Dunce, (*Joannes* " *Duns Scotus*,) the wind blowing them into every corner *." The works of the other ſchoolmen no doubt ſhared the ſame fate, thoſe of Thomas Aquinas perhaps excepted, as he was the king's favourite author.

School divinity.

The theology of the ſchoolmen received as ſevere a blow, and underwent as great a change at this time, as their philoſophy; and the ſtudy of the languages, particularly the Greek, contributed as much to the one as to the other. In the beginning of this period very few theologians underſtood the original languages either of the Old or New Teſtament, or made the ſcriptures their ſtudy. The Bible-divines had been gradually decreaſing in their credit and in their numbers from the thirteenth century, and in the fifteenth they were almoſt quite extinct †. The profeſſors of divinity read lectures only on the ſentences of Peter Lombard, or on the ſumms, as they were called, of other ſchoolmen. But when the ſtudy of the Greek language began to prevail, in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the ſixteenth century, ſeveral of the clergy applied to that ſtudy, and became acquainted with the New Teſtament in the original; of which an edition was publiſhed by Eraſmus A. D. 1515 ‡. But theſe ſtudies were thought to be dangerous, and were diſcouraged by the great body of the clergy, as tending to make thoſe who applied to them heretics. It ſoon appeared that they had that tendency, and that they paved the way for the reformation that followed. The taſte, however, that ſeveral ingenious men had contracted for this new learning, as it was called, was ſo ſtrong, that they were not deterred by reproaches, threats, and dangers, from communicating the knowledge they had acquired, and recommending the ſame ſtudies to others. Doctor John Collet, the founder of St. Paul's ſchool, and one of the moſt zealous revivers of learning, read public lectures at Oxford A. D. 1497, on St. Paul's Epiſtles, without fee or reward.

* Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 210. A. Wood, lib. i. p. 260.
† See vol. iv. ch. 4. ſect. 1. ‡ Eraſm. Epiſt. 181.

Theſe

Theſe lectures excited great curioſity, and were attended by crowded audiences; but the lecturer was ſoon interrupted, by an accuſation of hereſy that was brought againſt him before archbiſhop Warham, who had ſo great an eſteem for him, on account of his virtue and learning, that he diſcouraged the proſecution, and ſuffered him to eſcape *. After doctor Collet was appointed dean of St. Paul's A. D. 1505, he preached every Sunday in that cathedral, in an uncommon ſtrain of eloquence; boldly condemning the cold unaffecting manner in which the clergy in general read their ſermons; the worſhip of images; the celibacy of the clergy; and ſeveral ſuperſtitious ceremonies of the church. He encouraged his friend William Grocine, another of the revivers of learning, to read lectures on the New Teſtament in St. Paul's, which were well attended and much admired †. Theſe ſermons and lectures, and others of the ſame kind, together with the writings of Eraſmus and the other revivers of learning, diminiſhed the reputation of ſcholaſtic divinity, and excited in the minds of many, both of the clergy and laity, a deſire of becoming acquainted with the ſcriptures, and of drawing their religious opinions from thoſe ſacred fountains, even before Luther began the reformation in Germany. The revivers of learning, therefore, contributed not a little to diſcredit the artificial theology of the ſchools, and to introduce the ſtudy of the ſcriptures, by which they prepared the minds of men (ſome of them without intending it) for receiving the doctrines of the reformation. Of this the enemies of the new learning were not ignorant; and they hated Eraſmus, who they ſaid had laid the egg, almoſt as much as they hated Luther, who they ſaid had hatched it ‡.

Phyſic, ſurgery, and all the branches of the healing art, were in a very imperfect ſtate at the beginning of this period, and even at the acceſſion of Henry VIII. This we learn from an act of parliament made A. D. 1511: "The ſcience and cunning of phyſic "and ſurgery (to the perfect knowledge whereof be requiſite both "great learning and ripe experience) is daily within this realm ex-

* Knight's Life of Collet, p. 50. † Id. ibid. ‡ Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, paſſim.

" erciſed by a great multitude of ignorant perſons, of whom the " greater part have no manner of inſight in the ſame, nor in any " other kind of learning; ſome alſo ken no letters on the book; " ſo far forth, that common artificers, as ſmiths, weavers, and " women, boldly and accuſtomably take upon them great cures, " and things of great difficulty, in which they partly uſe ſorcery " and witchcraft, partly apply ſuch medicines unto the diſeaſe as " be very noious, and nothing meet therefor, to the high diſplea- " ſure of God, great infamy to the faculty, and the grievous hurt, " damage, and deſtruction of many of the king's liege people, moſt " eſpecially of them that cannot diſcern the uncunning from the " cunning *." To prevent theſe evils it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould act as a phyſician or ſurgeon in London, or within ſeven miles of it, till he was examined and approved by the biſhop of London or the dean of St. Paul's, aſſiſted by four doctors of phyſic or four expert ſurgeons, under the penalty of ſix pounds for every month he had acted; one half to the king, and the other to the informer: and that no perſon ſhould practiſe in any other part of England, without a licence from the biſhop of the dioceſe, under the ſame penalty. The privileges and rights of the two univerſities were ſecured. This law ſeems to have given a check to quackery, and to have diminiſhed the number of practitioners of ſurgery in London. For two years after, the incorporation of ſurgeons in London, which conſiſted only of twelve perſons, petitioned parliament to be exempted from the obligation of bearing arms and of ſerving on juries, that they might be at all times at liberty to attend their practice. Their petition was granted, and that exemption is ſtill enjoyed by the faculty †. The parliament ſeems to have ſuppoſed that twelve regular ſurgeons would always be ſufficient for London; as by the laſt article in the act the exemption is reſtricted to that number ‡. How ſhort-ſighted are the greateſt aſſemblies!

College of phyſicians.

To reſcue the practice of phyſic out of the ignoble and unworthy hands by which it had been diſgraced, and had done ſo much miſ-

* Stat. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 11. † 5 Hen. VIII. c. 6. ‡ Ibid.

chief, another deſign was ſoon after formed and executed. This was the inſtitution of the royal college of Phyſicians in London. This deſign, it is ſaid, was formed by doctor Thomas Linacer, phyſician to Henry VIII., and patronized by cardinal Wolſey, at whoſe deſire the king granted a charter September 23d A. D. 1518, incorporating doctors John Chambre, Thomas Linacer, Ferdinando De Victoria, his own three phyſicians, with Nicolas Hatſwell, John Franciſco, and Robert Yaxley, phyſicians, and the other gentlemen of the faculty in the city of London, into one body, community, and perpetual college. To this college Henry granted various rights, powers, and immunities, by his charter; ſuch as, a right to elect a preſident annually for the government of the college; to have a common ſeat; to purchaſe lands to a certain value; to ſue and to be ſued by the name and title of The Preſident and Community of the College of Phyſicians in London; and to make laws and regulations for the good government of the college. He granted them a power to practiſe as phyſicians in London, and ſeven miles round it; and that none who were not licenſed by the college ſhould practiſe within that bounds, under the penalty of paying five pounds for every month they practiſed. He gave them power to chooſe four of their members annually, to ſuperintend and diſcover all irregular practitioners, and to puniſh them by fines, amerciaments, impriſonments, and other fit and reaſonable ways. They had alſo authority to viſit all apothecaries' ſhops, and examine their medicines, as often as they thought it neceſſary or proper. Finally, the members of the college and their licenciates were exempted from bearing arms or ſerving on juries. This charter was confirmed by parliament A. D. 1523 *. This inſtitution was intended and calculated to raiſe the reputation of the medical profeſſion, and prevent the people from being impoſed upon by bold and ignorant adventurers, who ſported with their lives, and robbed them of their money. Theſe two acts of parliament, which were for ſome time ſtrictly executed, had one remarkable effect:---by greatly diminiſhing the number of practitioners, they

* 15 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

made the regular practice of phyſic and ſurgery exceedingly lucrative. "The moſt effectual ſecurity againſt poverty," ſaith Eraſmus, "is the art of medicine, which of all arts is the moſt remote from "mendicity *."

Surgeons.

The wiſeſt legiſlators do not foreſee all the conſequences of their laws. The act 3 Hen. VIII. in favour of the incorporation of ſurgeons in London, proved very inconvenient and oppreſſive; and that incorporation proſecuted many well-meaning charitable perſons, who endeavoured to aſſiſt their poor neighbours in diſtreſs, with ſo much ſeverity, that parliament found it neceſſary to interpoſe. An act was accordingly made, 35 Hen. VIII. A. D. 1543, repreſenting in the preamble, "That ſince the act made in the third of that king, "the company and fellowſhip of the ſurgeons of London, minding "only their own lucures, and nothing the profit or eaſe of the diſeaſed "and patient, have ſued, troubled, and vexed divers honeſt perſons, "as well men as women, whom God hath endued with the know-"ledge of the nature, kind, and operation of certain herbs, roots, "and waters, and the uſing and miniſtering them to ſuch as been "pained with cuſtomable diſeaſes; as women's breaſts being ſore, "a pin and web in the eye, uncomes of hands, burnings, ſcald-"ing, ſore mouths, the ſtone, ſtrangury, ſaucelim, morphew, and "ſuch other diſeaſes; and yet the ſaid perſons have not taken any "thing for their pains or cunning, but have miniſtered the ſame to "poor people, only for neighbourhood and God's ſake, and of pity "and charity." To prevent theſe vexatious proſecutions, it was enacted, "That it ſhall henceforth be lawful to every perſon, being "the king's ſubject, having knowledge and experience of the nature "of herbs, roots, and waters, or of the operation of the ſame, by "ſpeculation or practice, to practiſe, uſe, and miniſter, in and to "any outward ſore, uncome, wound, apoſtemations, outward ſwel-"ling and diſeaſe, any herb or herbs, ointments, baths, pulteſs, and "emplaiſters, according to their cunning, experience, and know-"ledge, in any of the diſeaſes, ſores, and maladies beforeſaid, and

* Eraſmi Opera, tom. v. p. 661.

"all

" all other like to the ſame, or drinks for the ſtone, ſtrangury, or " agues, without ſuit, vexation, penalty, or loſs of their goods *." In this ſtatute the parliament gave the ſurgeons of London a very bad character: " Moſt part of the ſaid craft of ſurgeons have ſmall " cunning, yet they will take great ſums of money and do little " therefor; and by reaſon thereof, they do often times impair and " hurt their patients, rather than do them good. It is now well " known, that the ſurgeons admitted will do no cure to any perſon, " but where they ſhall know to be rewarded with a greater ſum and " reward than the cure extendeth unto: for in caſe they would " miniſter their cunning unto ſore people unrewarded, there ſhould " not ſo many rot and periſh to death, for lack or help of ſurgery, as " daily do †." This odious character will not apply to their ſucceſſors in the preſent age.

New diſeaſes.

Humane and ſkilful phyſicians and ſurgeons were never more neceſſary than in the period we are now examining. Beſides the diſeaſes formerly known, two new ones broke out at this time with great violence, and made prodigious havoc. Theſe were, the ſweating ſickneſs, and the *lues venerea*. Of the firſt of theſe diſeaſes an account hath been already given ‡. Of the ſecond, a very ſhort one will be ſufficient. The moſt probable relation of the firſt appearance of the *lues venerea* in Europe ſeems to be the following: The famous Chriſtopher Columbus, the diſcoverer of the new world, landed on the firſt iſland he ſaw in thoſe unknown regions in December A. D. 1492, and called it Hiſpaniola. There his men contracted that diſeaſe by their intercourſe with the women of the country, where it had long prevailed, and communicated it to the people of Barcelona on their arrival in that city in March A. D. 1493, where it ſoon raged with ſo much violence, that it excited univerſal horror and conſternation. They conſidered it as a plague ſent immediately from Heaven as a puniſhment for their ſins, and endeavoured to appeaſe the offended Deity by maſſes, proceſſions, prayers, and alms. Several companies of ſoldiers, who were generally infected with this

* 35 Hen. VIII. c. 8. † Ibid. ‡ See vol. v. ch. 4. ſect. 1. p. 410.

new

new diſeaſe, were ſent from Barcelona A. D. 1494, to reinforce the Spaniſh army in Naples, for the defence of that kingdom againſt a French army which invaded it that year. What execution theſe ſoldiers did in the war is not recorded, but they did great execution by propagating their new diſtemper in the Spaniſh and French armies, and in the country around. The French, on their return into their own country A. D. 1495, carried this pernicious preſent with them, and in a few years it was diffuſed into every corner of Europe *. In France it was called the Neapolitan, and in Italy it was called the French, diſeaſe; neither of theſe nations being ambitious of having its name. The phyſicians ſtood aghaſt at its firſt appearance, and none but the moſt ignorant and impudent empirics pretended to give the unhappy patients any relief. Under their management many died miſerably, and many of thoſe who ſurvived were wretched in themſelves, and objects of diſguſt to others. The two mighty rivals, Charles V. and Francis I., were both infected with this diſeaſe, and to the laſt of theſe princes it proved fatal †. It was one of the articles of accuſation brought by the houſe of peers, A. D. 1529, againſt the great cardinal Wolſey, "That knowing "himſelf to have the foul and contagious diſeaſe of the great pox "broken out upon him in divers places of his body, he came daily "to your grace, rowning in your ear, and blowing upon your moſt "noble grace with his perilous and infective breath, to the marvel-"lous danger of your highneſs, if God of his infinite goodneſs had "not better provided for your highneſs ‡." So dangerous and ſo infectious was this diſeaſe believed to be at that time. By degrees the virulence of this odious diſtemper, and the conſternation occaſioned by its firſt appearance, began to abate, and phyſicians became better acquainted with its cauſes, its ſymptoms, and its cure. But theſe are not proper ſubjects for general hiſtory.

* Aſtruc on the Venereal Diſeaſe, b. i. c. 5. and 10. † Ibid. b. i. c. 1. p. 2.
‡ Parliament. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 44.

SECT. II.

History of the most learned Men who flourished in Britain, from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

AMONG the learned men who have flourished in the same period, in any nation, many of them may have enjoyed a certain degree of celebrity in their own times, but few of them have had their names transmitted with honour to posterity in the annals of their country, on account of the superior excellence and utility of their works. Mediocrity is common, but is soon forgotten; excellence is rare, but is long remembered. It will be sufficient therefore, and all that can be expected in this place, to give a brief account of those few ingenious and useful men who were the chief instruments of the revival of polite learning and good taste in Britain in our present period, from which we derive so many innocent and rational pleasures, as well as other advantages.

Erasmus.

Though Erasmus of Rotterdam was not a native of Britain, he resided several years in England at different times; and by his teaching, his conversation, and his writings, he contributed as much, if not more, than any other man, to inspire a taste for the study of the Roman and Greek classics, which was the first stage in the restoration of learning. He was born at Rotterdam A. D. 1467, and educated at an illustrious school in Daventer, where he began to display that extraordinary genius, and that ardent love of learning, which afterwards rendered him so famous and so useful. Having lost both his parents when he was only in his thirteenth year, his three unfaithful guardians conspired to make him a monk, that they might possess themselves of his patrimony. His aversion to that way of life was strong, and he long resisted all the means that were used to prevail upon him to embrace it. At length, however, he was overcome; and in the nineteenth year of his age he made his profession, in a convent of regular canons, with extreme reluctance.

He

He was not long immured in his monaſtery. The genius of young Eraſmus, and his averſion to the way of life he had reluctantly embraced, were not unknown to many; and at length Henry a Bergis, archbiſhop of Cambray, took him out of his confinement into his own family when he was about twenty-three years of age. He continued to wear the habit of his order for ſome time, and was ordained a prieſt two years after he left his monaſtery, to which he was determined never to return; and, by the influence of the pope's ſecretary, to whom he wrote a moſt eloquent and pathetic letter, he obtained a *breve* from Julius II. releaſing him from his monaſtic vows and habit. Being now at liberty, he applied with ardour to his ſtudies, and viſited France, Italy, and England, to communicate and to increaſe his knowledge. In all theſe countries he was well received, and even courted, by perſons of the higheſt rank and greateſt merit, who ſolicited his friendſhip, and were proud of being numbered among his patrons. Attempts were every where made to retain him, by the offer of comfortable ſtations, and the promiſe of more ſplendid eſtabliſhments. But he preferred liberty to every thing, and would accept of no preferment that laid him under the leaſt reſtraint. For ſeveral years he led a wandering unſettled life, depending for his ſubſiſtence on the penſions of his patrons, the occaſional gifts of his friends, and the money he received from his pupils. As he was a bad œconomiſt, and his income was precarious, he was ſometimes reduced to ſtraits, and forced to make complaints. "If I could get money," ſaid he, in a letter to one of his friends, "I would firſt purchaſe Greek books, and ſecondly cloaths." Few ſcholars would obſerve the ſame order. On the acceſſion of Henry VIII., a young, rich, and generous prince, he was invited by his friend William lord Mountjoy to come once more into England, and encouraged to entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes. He complied with the invitation, and met with the moſt flattering reception, which afforded the faireſt proſpects. "The king himſelf," ſays he, "a little before his father's death, when I was in Italy, "wrote me with his own hand a very friendly letter, and he now

"ſpeaks

" ſpeaks of me in the moſt honourable and affectionate manner. " Every time that I ſalute him he embraces me moſt obligingly, and " looks kindly upon me; and it plainly appears that he not only " ſpeaks but thinks well of me. The queen hath endeavoured to " have me for her preceptor. Every one knows, that if I would " but live a few months at court, the king would give me as many " beneſices as I could deſire. But I eſteem all things leſs than the " leiſure which I enjoy, and the labours and ſtudies in which I am " occupied. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, primate of England " and chancellor of the kingdom, a learned and worthy man, loves " me as though he were my father or my brother; and to ſhew " you the ſincerity of his friendſhip, he hath given me a living " worth about a hundred nobles, which, at my requeſt, he hath " ſince changed into a penſion of a hundred crowns on my reſigna- " tion. Within theſe few years he hath given me more than four " hundred nobles without my aſking. One day he gave me an hun- " dred and fifty. From the liberality of other biſhops I have re- " ceived more than an hundred. Lord Mountjoy, who was for- " merly my diſciple, gives me a yearly penſion of an hundred crowns. " The king and the biſhop of Lincoln, [Wolſey,] who by the king's " favour is omnipotent, make me magnificent promiſes." But all theſe magnificent promiſes came to nothing, and none of them were performed. The cauſe of this is not certainly known: but it diſguſted Eraſmus ſo much, that after a long reſidence of about five years, he left England in diſcontent A. D. 1516, and never could be prevailed upon to return. During that reſidence he contributed very much to diffuſe and cheriſh a taſte for the ſtudy of the Latin and Greek claſſics, and of other uſeful learning. As the ſubſequent events of this great man's life do not properly come within our plan, the reader muſt be referred to the works quoted below for a full account of them, and of his many learned, inſtructive, and entertaining publications, where he will alſo find the authorities for what is above related *. Not to leave this article quite imperfect, it may be proper

* Knight's, Bayle's, Le Clerc's, and Jortin's Lives of Eraſmus. Du Pin, cent. xvi. b. 3.

to mention a few particulars. Soon after Eraſmus ſettled on the continent, Luther began his oppoſition to the church of Rome; and when the conteſt became ſerious and important, both parties endeavoured to engage him to eſpouſe their cauſe. No man was more ſenſible of the corruptions of the church, or more ſincerely wiſhed for their reformation, which he flattered himſelf might be brought about by the gentle methods of remonſtrances, arguments, and perſuaſions. Being naturally timid, he was terrified at the violence he obſerved on both ſides. He had not courage to join the reformers, who he believed would be cruſhed by the ſuperior power of their adverſaries. His ſincerity would not ſuffer him to appear in defence of errors, and abſurdities which he deteſted and deſpiſed. This reſerve was offenſive to both parties, who attacked him in many publications, almoſt with equal ſeverity. This led him, in the laſt years of his life, to ſpend too much of his time in repelling theſe attacks. At length this moſt eminent of the reſtorers of learning, to whoſe works millions have been indebted for entertainment and inſtruction, worn out with unremitting ſtudy and a complication of diſeaſes, died at Baſil, a proteſtant city, in the arms of his proteſtant friends, July 12, A. D. 1536, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age. In his perſon he was rather below the middle ſtature, elegantly but delicately formed, his complexion fair, his hair yellow, his eyes grey, his countenance cheerful, his voice low, his elocution agreeable, and his converſation exceedingly pleaſant and facetious. He was a warm and ſteady friend and a placable enemy, humane and charitable to the indigent, and to young ſcholars of whom he entertained a good opinion he was liberal and munificent. His reading was extenſive, and his memory retentive almoſt to a miracle. To him the world owes the revival of the *belles lettres*, of critical learning, and of a good taſte. In a word, he was at once the greateſt wit and the moſt learned man of the age in which he flouriſhed *.

Sir Thomas More.

Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor of England, the great friend and admirer of Eraſmus, was, next to him, one of the moſt inge-

* Beatus Rhrinanus, vita Eraſmi.

nious

nious and learned men of his age, and one of the chief reſtorers of learning. He was born in London A. D. 1480; and being the only ſon of ſir John More, one of the judges of the king's bench, great pains were taken in his education, which he received partly at Cambridge and partly in the family of cardinal Morton archbiſhop of Canterbury. He gave early and ſtriking proofs of an uncommon genius; and before he was nineteen years of age he had acquired a critical knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and had ſtudied rhetoric and ſeveral other branches of learning. When he was about twenty he became a kind of devotee, faſted frequently, wore a hair ſhirt, ſlept upon boards, and had a great inclination to enter into the Franciſcan order. From this, however, he was diverted by his friends; and in obedience to the commands of his father, whom he never diſobeyed, he applied to the ſtudy of the law. When he was called to the bar, he ſoon became conſpicuous by the eloquence of his pleadings, and was retained in almoſt every cauſe of importance. At the age of twenty-one he made a diſtinguiſhed figure as a member of the houſe of commons, in oppoſition to the court, when oppoſition was more dangerous than it hath been in later times. In particular, he oppoſed a bill that was brought into the houſe A. D. 1503, for a ſubſidy and three fifteenths, for the marriage of the princeſs Margaret to the king of Scots, with ſuch force of reaſoning that it was rejected. At the acceſſion of Henry VIII. Mr. More's reputation and buſineſs were both very great. But in the midſt of the greateſt hurry of buſineſs, in which the whole day was occupied, he ſtole time from his ſleep to purſue his favourite ſtudies, to correſpond with many learned men at home and abroad, and to compoſe his Utopia, which was publiſhed A. D. 1516. It was univerſally admired, tranſlated into ſeveral languages, and raiſed his reputation not a little. Soon after this, cardinal Wolſey caſt his eyes upon him as a proper perſon to be employed in the ſervice of the crown, and made him propoſals for that purpoſe, which he at firſt declined; but afterwards complying, he was knighted, admitted a member of the privy council, appointed

maſter of requeſts, and treaſurer of the exchequer, A. D. 1520. He was employed in ſeveral embaſſies, in which he acquitted himſelf with ability and ſucceſs. When Henry VIII. became intimately acquainted with him, he was ſo charmed with his learning and the pleaſantry of his converſation, that he ſent frequently for him to entertain and divert him. This was very diſagreeable to ſir Thomas, as it conſumed too much of his time; and he made uſe of a ſtratagem to get rid of this royal interruption which few would have employed. He affected to be very dull and unentertaining ſeveral times ſucceſſively, and was no more ſent for; ſacrificing the reputation of a wit and the converſation of a king to ſave his time. Though he was now a courtier and a placeman, he was ſtill a patriot, and boldly oppoſed the meaſures of the favourite miniſter when he thought them wrong. Of this he gave a remarkable proof when he was ſpeaker of the houſe of commons A. D. 1523, which hath been already related *. He had the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaſter A. D. 1526, and he probably retained it till he was advanced to a higher. At length, on the fall of cardinal Wolſey, the king fixed upon ſir Thomas More as the moſt proper perſon to ſucceed him as lord chancellor of England; and he was the firſt layman that held that high office. The ſeals were delivered to him October 25th A. D. 1530, and he accepted of them with real reluctance, for which he had good reaſon. The affair of the divorce, which he diſapproved, was then in agitation; he knew the impetuous ſpirit of the king, that he would not heſitate one moment to ſacrifice thoſe who had been moſt dear to him, when they obſtructed the gratification of a reigning paſſion; and he juſtly apprehended that holding ſo high an office in theſe circumſtances would involve him in difficulties and dangers. He held this office about two years and ſeven months, and diſcharged the duties of it with great ability, integrity, and diligence. The reformers indeed complained, that when he was in power he encouraged and aſſiſted the clergy in all their cruelties to thoſe who were called heretics; and they give ſome

* See chap. I. ſect. 2.

examples

examples of this that are truly ſhocking *. Theſe complaints were probably exaggerated, but they were not altogether without foundation. Sir Thomas More, with all his great and good qualities, had alſo great defects. It appears from his own works, that he was devoted to the pope and clergy in all things, and that his hatred to thoſe who diſputed any of their claims, or any of the tenets of the church, was exceſſive and inveterate; in a word, that he was a ſuperſtitious bigot; and there is nothing ſo apt to pervert the beſt natures, and prompt them to the worſt actions, as ſuperſtition and bigotry. He reſigned the ſeals May 16th A. D. 1533, to avoid the ſtorm which he ſaw approaching. By the reſignation of his office he was reduced at once from opulence to an income of about 100l. a year. This obliged him to part with his three daughters, their huſbands and families, who had all hitherto reſided with him, and to diſmiſs his unneceſſary ſervants. Determined never to engage in public buſineſs, he lived with great privacy at his houſe in Chelſea, ſpending moſt of his time in his ſtudies and devotions. But he was not long permitted to enjoy this privacy. The act of ſupremacy paſſed A. D. 1534, and the oath enjoined by that act being tendered to him, he refuſed to take it, and he was ſent priſoner to the Tower. While he lay in the Tower many endeavours were uſed by his friends to prevail upon him to take the oath; and when arguments failed to perſuade, both threats and promiſes were employed: but he remained inflexible. An account of his trial and execution hath been already given, and needs not be repeated; and for a more circumſtantial relation of his actions, his writings, his manners, his virtues, and his failings, than the nature and limits of this work will admit, the reader is referred to the works quoted below †.

If the exact order of time had been obſerved, William Grocyn would have been firſt introduced, as he was in that reſpect one of

William Grocyn.

* Fox, p. 976. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 201, &c.

† Roper's Life and Death of Thomas More. Stapleton, vita T. Mori. Hoddendſden's Life and Death of Sir T. More. Biographia Britannica, article Sir T. More.

the firſt reſtorers of learning in England. He was born in Briſtol A. D. 1442, educated in grammar at Wincheſter ſchool, made perpetual fellow of New College A. D. 1467, and preſented by that college, A. D. 1479, to the rectory of Newton Longvile in Buckinghamſhire. His love of ſtudy made him ſtill reſide at Oxford, where he was appointed divinity reader in Magdalen College A. D. 1483. Having a very ſtrong deſire to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, which was then almoſt quite unknown in England, he left his country A. D. 1488, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, and travelled into Italy. There, in company with ſeveral of his countrymen who had come for the ſame purpoſe, he ſtudied Latin under Angelo Politian, and Greek under Demetrius Chalcondylas, one of thoſe learned men who had fled from Conſtantinople when it was taken by the Turks. Under theſe two excellent inſtructors he made himſelf a maſter of thoſe languages in about two years, and returned into England to communicate the knowledge he had acquired. He taught Greek publicly at Oxford A. D. 1591, and was the firſt who introduced the new pronunciation of that language. He had the famous Eraſmus for one of his hearers, with whom he contracted an intimate friendſhip, and kept him a conſiderable time in his houſe. When he left Oxford he came to London, and read lectures on divinity in St. Paul's. He reſigned the rectory of Dipden A. D. 1503, and of Newton Longvile the year after; for what reaſon we do not know. He was elected A. D. 1506 maſter of the collegiate church of Maidſtone in Kent, where he died A. D. 1522, in the eightieth year of his age. Grocyn's reigning paſſion was the love of learning, particularly of the Greek, and to inſpire his countrymen with the ſame taſte. Some years before his death he formed the deſign of giving a correct and elegant Latin tranſlation of all Ariſtotle's works; in which he was promiſed the aſſiſtance of his learned friends Linacer, Latimer, Lilly, Collet, and More. But the avocations of his friends, and his own infirmities, prevented the accompliſhment of that deſign *.

* A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Tanner, Bibliotheca Britan. p. 345.

Doctor

Doctor Thomas Linacre, or Linacer, one of the great revivers of learning, and the moſt polite and elegant ſcholar of his age, was born at Canterbury A. D. 1460, and educated in the cathedral ſchool of that city, under the learned Mr. William Tilly, who was not a mere ſchoolmaſter, but a man of buſineſs, and an able negociator. Being appointed by Henry VII. his ambaſſador at the court of Rome, he carried his favourite pupil Linacre with him, and introduced him to the moſt famous profeſſors then in Italy, where he ſpent ſeveral years in the ſtudy of the *belles lettres* and of medicine. He acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek under Chalcondylas, and he even excelled his maſter Politian in the claſſical purity of his Latin ſtyle. His proficiency in medicine was ſo conſpicuous, that he was appointed a profeſſor of it in the univerſity of Padua *. On his return home, he was incorporated doctor of phyſic at Oxford, and ſoon after he was appointed phyſician and preceptor to prince Arthur and his ſiſter Mary. He came into great practice, and was ſucceſſively phyſician to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. To ſhew his love to his profeſſion; he founded two lectures of phyſic at Oxford and one at Cambridge. He contributed more effectually to reſcue the healing arts from the wretched ſtate in which he found them, by his ſtrenuous and ſucceſsful efforts for the eſtabliſhment of the royal college of phyſicians in London, of which he was the firſt preſident, and to which he gave his own houſe for their place of meeting. In the midſt of all this buſineſs he did not neglect his favourite ſtudies; and his friend Eraſmus often rallied him for ſpending ſo much of his time in the ſtudy of philology. On this ſubject he wrote the Rudiments of Grammar, for the uſe of his pupil the princeſs Mary, afterwards queen of France; and a much larger work, *De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis, libri ſex*, which was much admired, and paſſed through many editions. For the benefit of thoſe of his own profeſſion he tranſlated ſeveral of Galen's tracts into pure and claſſical Latin, and in ſo maſterly a manner, that they had the appearance of an original work. When he was advanced in life he

Doctor Linacer.

* Tanner, Bibliotheca Britan. p. 482.

applied

applied to the ſtudy of theology, was ordained a prieſt, and obtained ſeveral livings and preferments in the church. He died of the ſtone October 20th A. D. 1524, at the age of ſixty-four, and was buried in St. Paul's, where a monument was erected to his memory thirty years after, by his great admirer doctor John Caius. If we may rely on the character given to doctor Linacre by his learned contemporaries who were moſt intimately acquainted with him, his genius for learning was not his greateſt excellence, and his virtues were at leaſt equal to his abilities; in a word, that he was a benefactor to mankind, an honour to literature, and an ornament to human nature *. Should ſuch men ever be forgotten?

Doctor Collet.

Doctor John Collet was one of thoſe ingenious men who contributed by their united labours to the revival of learning in Britain in this period. He was the firſt-born of the eleven ſons and eleven daughters of ſir Henry Collet (who was twice mayor of London) by his wife Chriſtian, and was born in London A. D. 1466. After he had received the firſt part of his education in his native city, he ſpent ſeven years at Oxford in the ſtudy of the logic and philoſophy of thoſe times. Not ſatisfied with the acquiſitions he had made at home, he travelled into France and Italy, and ſpent about four years in thoſe two countries, where he perfected himſelf in the Latin and Greek languages, and cultivated the acquaintance and friendſhip of the learned. He entered very early into holy orders, and before he went abroad he had been preſented to two livings, and before he returned home he was preferred to a prebendary in York, and to another in St. Martin's le Grand, London. When he returned into England he was not only an excellent ſcholar, but an accompliſhed gentleman; and being naturally high-ſpirited, amorous, gay, and ſprightly, he ſeemed fitter for the court than the church. But having a lively ſenſe of the obligations of virtue and religion, and an ardent love of learning, he ſubdued thoſe propenſities which might have betrayed him into a courſe of life unbecoming his profeſſion, and

* See A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 15. Pits, p. 693. Dr. Friend's Hiſt. Phyſ. vol. ii. p. 400, &c. Tanner, p. 482. Biograph. Britan.

became

became as conſpicuous for the purity as the politeneſs of his manners. In Italy he had applied to the ſtudy of theology, had peruſed the New Teſtament in the original with care, and had read the works of ſeveral of the Greek and Latin fathers. After he had ſtayed a few months in London with his friends and family he went to Oxford, and read a courſe of lectures on St. Paul's Epiſtles, which were received with great applauſe by crowded audiences. By the influence of his numerous friends, without any ſolicitation of his own, he was promoted to ſeveral prebendaries in different churches, and to the deanry of St. Paul's A. D. 1505. Of this laſt office he diſcharged the duties with uncommon zeal, by introducing a more ſtrict and regular diſcipline; by his preaching in the cathedral every Sunday; and by procuring ſome of his learned friends to read lectures in divinity there on other days. In his ſermons on public occaſions he cenſured with great freedom the ignorance and vices of the clergy and the corruptions of the church, which drew upon him a proſecution for hereſy, to which he would probably have fallen a ſacrifice, if he had not been preſerved by the primate, who put a ſtop to the proſecution. He had been three times ſeized with that terrible plague the ſweating ſickneſs, which threw him into a conſumption, of which he died September 16th A. D. 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. As doctor Collet poſſeſſed a plentiful fortune and generous heart, many were benefited by his bounty. His noble foundation of St. Paul's ſchool will be hereafter mentioned. He made many preſents to his friend Eraſmus, and to other ſcholars who ſtood in need of his aſſiſtance. He compoſed much, but publiſhed little. Several treatiſes that were found in an obſcure corner of his library were publiſhed after his death, and ſome are ſtill unpubliſhed. In his perſon he was tall and handſome, in his deportment graceful and engaging, in his manners he was regular without auſterity, and his preaching was plain and popular. He ſaw and condemned many of the corruptions of the church, particularly the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confeſſion, the worſhip of images, and other ſuperſtitions. Like his friend Eraſmus, he enter-

tained ſeveral of the opinions of the reformed before the reformation, and by his preaching and converſation he prepared the minds of many for their reception *.

William Lily.

William Lily was another of thoſe ingenious and induſtrious men who were the inſtruments of reviving learning in Britain, by introducing the ſtudy of the Greek and Latin claſſics. He was born at Odiham the ſame year (1466) with his great friend and patron doctor Collet. When he had finiſhed his ſchool education he went to Oxford, and became a ſtudent in Magdalen College. But his ſtay at the univerſity was not long. Prompted by the reigning ſuperſtition of the times, he ſet out on a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem, which he accompliſhed. On his journey home he reſided five years in the iſland of Rhodes; and with the aſſiſtance of ſome learned refugees from Conſtantinople, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue. From thence he went to Rome, and perfected himſelf in the Latin language under two of the moſt celebrated profeſſors in that city. On his return to England he opened a ſchool in London for teaching rhetoric, poetry, and the Greek and Latin languages, which ſoon became famous. When dean Collet had built and endowed his ſchool at St. Paul's, he appointed his friend Mr. Lily its firſt maſter A.D. 1511, who preſided in it about twelve years with great reputation and ſucceſs. Among other things he compoſed a grammar for the uſe of that ſchool, which is well known by the name of Lily's Grammar in all the ſchools in England. In this, however, he was aſſiſted by Eraſmus, doctor Collet, and Thomas Robinſon, three of the beſt linguiſts in Europe; and it was publiſhed with a preface compoſed by the great cardinal Wolſey, recommending it to univerſal uſe. Of ſuch importance did the education of youth in claſſical learning appear to the greateſt men of that age. He compoſed many other tracts both in proſe and verſe. This moſt uſeful man died of the plague A. D. 1523 †.

* See Doctor Knight's Life of Dean Collet. Tanner, p. 189. Eraſmi Epiſtola Jodoco Jonæ.

† Leland, Bale, Pits, Tanner.

Richard

Richard Paice cultivated the *belles lettres* with great ardour and ſucceſs, and contributed to introduce a taſte for that kind of learning into England. He was born of poor parents in Worceſterſhire, and was taken when he was very young into the family of Thomas Langton biſhop of Worceſter. That prelate obſerving the ingenuity of young Paice, became his friend and patron, and ſent him to Italy, then the ſeat of polite learning, with a proper exhibition; and in his laſt will he bequeathed to his ſcholar Richard Paice 10l. a year (equivalent to 100l. of our money at preſent) for ſeven years, to enable him to purſue his ſtudies abroad. Supported by this exhibition, he ſtudied ſeveral years at Padua, Bononia, and Ferrara, where he acquired a critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and a tincture of other learning. On his return home he reſided ſome time at Oxford for his further improvement, and was then taken into the family of cardinal Bainbridge archbiſhop of York, whence he was called to the court, and appointed Latin ſecretary to Henry VIII. Being in prieſt's orders, he obtained ſeveral prebends in different churches, and in October A. D. 1519 he ſucceeded doctor Collet in the deanry of St. Paul's. While he was ſecretary to the king he was employed in ſeveral embaſſies, in which he aquitted himſelf with great ability and ſucceſs. In his laſt embaſſy to the republic of Venice A. D. 1525, he was ſeized with a diſorder for which the phyſicians were of opinion his native air would be the only cure; and at his departure the doge ſent a letter to the cardinal, highly commending the ambaſſador for his ability, fidelity, and diligence, which concludes thus: "Finally, I "aſſure your moſt reverend domination, that the reverend lord am-"baſſador hath been moſt faithful and moſt diligent in all the affairs "of his royal majeſty, and that he hath been moſt attentive and "moſt ſtudious to pleaſe your moſt reverend domination *." But alas! how precarious is court favour? Having in ſome way or other offended the cardinal, he was ſent priſoner to the Tower; with which he was ſo much affected that he became inſane, and died in

Richard Paice.

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 96.

that condition A. D. 1532. He appears to have been a worthy man, as well as an excellent ſcholar, as he lived in the moſt intimate friendſhip with Eraſmus, More, Tonſtal, Linacre, Collet, and other eminent men, both at home and abroad. He learned languages with peculiar facility, and not only ſpoke ſeveral of the modern tongues, but underſtood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic. Though he was much engaged in public employments, he wrote many treatiſes on theological, political, and other ſubjects. One of the moſt curious of theſe is his tract *De Fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur*—"Of the Benefits that are derived from Learning *."

It is pleaſant to remark, that all theſe reſtorers of learning in this period were virtuous men and ſincere friends; that they co-operated moſt cordially in promoting the objects they had in view; aſſiſted each other in their labours, and in repelling the attacks that were made upon any of them; and that they advanced the fame of one another by mutual and well-founded commendations. This reflected honour on literature, and contributed not a little to the ſucceſs of their efforts for its reſtoration. Emulation is indeed a ſpur to induſtry and exertion, and may exiſt among the ſincereſt friends; but when it is accompanied and excited by envy and malevolence, it brings reproach upon learning, gives a wrong direction to induſtry, and renders it rather hurtful than beneficial to ſociety. The wiſe and virtuous, in their ſharpeſt conflicts, will guard againſt rancour and aſperity.

Several other men of learning and genius flouriſhed in England in this period; as Cranmer archbiſhop of Canterbury, Tonſtal biſhop of Durham, ſir John Cheke, John Leland, &c. &c.

Scotland.

A taſte for the ſtudy of polite learning, or the *belles lettres*, revived in Scotland about the ſame time that it revived in England; and this taſte was cheriſhed by government, and even enforced by law. By an act of parliament already quoted, every freeholder of ſubſtance was obliged to keep his eldeſt ſon at ſome grammar ſchool

* Bale, Pits, Tanner.

till

till he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the Latin language, and then to put him three years to ſome univerſity to ſtudy philoſophy and the laws. In conſequence of this prevailing taſte, a competency at leaſt of learning became gradually more general among the gentlemen, and even among the common people of Scotland, than in any other country of Europe; and ſeveral ingenious men in this period became eminent for their claſſical erudition. But of theſe our limits will permit us only to mention a very few.

Gavin Douglas.

Gavin Douglas, biſhop of Dunkeld, was not only one of the greateſt poets, but alſo one of the beſt ſcholars and moſt amiable men of his age. He was the third ſon of Archibald, commonly called Bell the Cat, ſixth earl of Angus, and uncle to Archibald the ſeventh earl, who married Margaret queen dowager of Scotland, the eldeſt ſiſter of Henry VIII. * He was born about 1472, and having early diſcovered a taſte for learning, he was deſtined for the church, in which, from the power and influence of his family, he had a proſpect of the higheſt promotions. He received the firſt part of his education at home, and when he had gone through a courſe of philoſophy in the univerſity of St. Andrew's, he went to Paris for his further improvement. There he ſpent ſeveral years in ſtudy, and acquired an uncommon ſtock of knowledge of various kinds, though he delighted moſt in poetry and the *belles lettres*. On his return to Scotland he was promoted to the provoſtry of St. Giles in Edinburgh, and to ſeveral other livings, and among others to the rich abbey of Arbroath. He enjoyed little comfort in this promotion, owing to the troubles in which his country was involved in the minority of James V. He was preſented by the queen-regent to the archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's; but he had two formidable competitors, John Hepburn the prior, elected by the chapter, and Andrew Forman biſhop of Moray, nominated by the pope; and he ſoon relinquiſhed his claim, and left the other two to contend for the prize. Apprehenſive of danger in his own country, from the violence of faction, he obtained a ſafe-conduct for himſelf and thirty perſons in

* Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſſes, p. 219.

his

his company, to come into England, from Henry VIII. January 23d A. D. 1515 *. But he did not make uſe of that ſafe-conduct; for the biſhopric of Dunkeld becoming vacant, he obtained it by a bull from Leo X. and was conſecrated by James Beaton, archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the ſame year. But as he owed his promotion to a papal bull, he was impriſoned by the duke of Albany a whole year for trafficking with Rome. This was a ſevere and partial act. The primate archbiſhop Foreman had been promoted only a few months before in the ſame manner without incurring any cenſure. This ſeverity to ſo near a relation and ſo good a man, ſo much alarmed the queen and her huſband the earl of Angus, that they retired into England. The earl after ſome time was prevailed upon to return, and his uncle was ſet at liberty. When the duke of Albany returned to France A. D. 1517, he carried the biſhop of Dunkeld with him, under a pretence of doing him honour, but in reality as a hoſtage for the good behaviour of his nephew and his friends in his abſence. The biſhop was permitted to return home the year after with the ratification of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. In the fierce conteſt that enſued between the Hamiltons and Douglaſſes, our good prelate acted the part of a peace-maker with great zeal, but without ſucceſs: and after the defeat of the Hamiltons in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, he ſaved the life of the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, who had acted the part of an incendiary. When the duke of Albany returned to Scotland A. D. 1521, the perſecution of the Douglaſſes was renewed, and our prelate retired privately into England to avoid the ſtorm, and to prepare an aſylum for his friends. As ſoon as his retreat was known, all his goods were confiſcated, and the revenues of his ſee ſequeſtered †. He met with a moſt kind reception from Henry VIII. and was careſſed by all the moſt eminent perſons in the court of England. In the mean time the archbiſhopric of St. Andrew's became vacant, and Henry exerted all his influence at the court of Rome to procure the promotion of the biſhop of Dunkeld to that ſee. His competitor, the archbiſhop of Glaſgow,

* Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 473. † Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 328.

(whoſe

(whoſe life he had lately ſaved,) wrote to Chriſtiern king of Denmark, earneſtly intreating him to counteract the intereſt of the king of England at the court of Rome with all his might, and giving his rival a moſt odious character, as a rebel to his king and an enemy to his country *. But a ſuperior power put an end to this conteſt. The biſhop of Dunkeld died of the plague at London in April A. D. 1522 †. As the works of this learned and excellent but unfortunate prelate, which do ſo much honour to his name and country, were poetical, they come moſt properly into the hiſtory of poetry, in the next chapter of this book.

Patrick Panter, Latin ſecretary to king James IV. was one of thoſe who, by applying with peculiar ardour to the acquiſition of claſſical learning, and the imitation of the writers of the Auguſtan age, contributed to introduce a better taſte, and to give a better direction to the ſtudies of their countrymen, than that which had long prevailed. He was born in the town of Montroſe about A. D. 1470; and having gone through a courſe of education at home, he went to Paris, (as was then the cuſtom,) where he ſpent ſeveral years in the proſecution of his ſtudies. On his return to Scotland he entered into holy orders, became Rector of Fetterriſſo in the Mearns, Maſter of *Domus Dei* in Brechin, and preceptor to Alexander Stewart the king's natural ſon. In that office he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that when his pupil was put under the care of the great Eraſmus about A. D. 1505, his royal maſter rewarded him with the abbacy of Cambuſkenneth, and took him into his own ſervice as his ſecretary; a ſtation for which he was peculiarly fitted, and in which he did honour to his king, his country, and himſelf, by the elegance and claſſical purity of the language of his diſpatches ‡. In that office he continued during the king's life and the regency of the queen. As he was attached to the party of the queen and her ſecond huſband the earl of Angus, he was repre- Patrick Panter.

* Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, tom. i. p. 333.
† Buchan. lib. xiv. Leſley, lib. ix. Spotſwood, Tanner, Bale.
‡ See Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum, Edinburgi 1722.

ſented as a dangerous man to the duke of Albany, who, on ſome pretence or other, threw him into priſon. But when that prince was better informed of his worth and abilities, he releaſed him from priſon, reſtored him to his office, and carried him with him into France. There he fell into a lingering diſeaſe, of which he died at Paris A. D. 1519 *.

Boethius. Hector Boethius, or Boyce, was a native of Dundee, and born about A. D. 1466. After he had finiſhed a courſe of education in the univerſity of St. Andrew's, he went to Paris, where he ſtudied ſeveral years in the college of Montacute, in which he was advanced to a profeſſor's chair. On his return to Scotland he was appointed principal of the newly-founded univerſity of Aberdeen, and had ſome other preferments in the church. When he reſided in France he contracted a friendſhip with Eraſmus, by whom he was much eſteemed and commended, for his taſte, his learning, and other good qualities. He compoſed ſeveral treatiſes upon various ſubjects; but his principal work was—*Hiſtoria rerum Scoticarum a prima gentis origine ad* A. D. 1436—" A Hiſtory of the Scots from " the Origin of the Nation to the Year 1436." It is with the ſtyle of this work only that we are here concerned, and that hath been highly admired, and affords a ſufficient proof of his good taſte and claſſical erudition, which entitles him to be ranked among the reſtorers of learning †.

An account of ſeveral other writers who flouriſhed in Scotland in this period, and contributed in ſome degree to the revival of learning, might be here inſerted; but this would exceed our limits, and to many readers of general hiſtory would appear tedious. It is ſufficient to remark, that the youth of Scotland at this time, in proportion to their numbers, diſcovered as good a taſte, and as great a thirſt for knowledge, as thoſe of England, though they laboured under ſome diſadvantages; particularly many of them not finding

* Præfat. Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum.

† Nicolſon's Scots Hiſt. Tanner, Bale, Dempſter.

proper

proper eſtabliſhments at home, were obliged to ſeek for them in foreign countries. The hiſtory of John Leſley biſhop of Roſs, and of his great opponent in politics Mr. George Buchannan, belongs to the ſucceeding period.

SECT. III.

Hiſtory of the principal Seminaries of Learning that were founded in Great Britain from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

THOUGH many ſuperb and richly endowed ſchools and colleges for the education of youth and encouragement of learning had been already eſtabliſhed in Britain, particularly in England, their numbers and riches ſtill continued to increaſe. In our preſent period of only ſixty-two years, three colleges were founded in Oxford and five in Cambridge, and the two illuſtrious ſchools of Ipſwich and St. Paul's. In Scotland a new univerſity was founded at Aberdeen, and a new college in St. Andrew's. Of all which foundations and their founders a very brief account ſhall now be given.

Brazen-noſe College.

Brazen-noſe College in Oxford was founded on the ſite of Brazen-noſe-hall (from which it derived its name) by William Smith biſhop of Lincoln, and ſir Richard Sutton of Preſbury in Cheſhire. Theſe two founders having purchaſed certain contiguous halls, houſes, and gardens, in Oxford, obtained a charter from Henry VIII. A. D. 1511, authoriſing them to build their intended college, and to purchaſe and endow it with lands to the value of 300l. a year. The buildings were then begun, but biſhop Smith, one of the founders, died before they were finiſhed. The foundation-charter for the college, to conſiſt of a principal, twelve fellows, and ſixty ſcholars, was executed by ſir Richard Sutton, the ſurviving founder, February 1ſt A. D. 1521. The revenues of this college, as well as thoſe of all the other colleges in Oxford, were very much increaſed by a ſucceſſion of benefactors *.

* A. Wood, Hiſt. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 212, &c.

Corpus Chriſti College.

Richard Fox, ſucceſſively biſhop of Exeter, Bath, Durham, and Wincheſter, was the founder of Corpus Chriſti College in Oxford. This prelate acted an important part both in church and ſtate in the reigns of Henry VII. and of Henry VIII. When he was proſecuting his ſtudies at Paris, he became acquainted with cardinal Morton, (then in exile,) who prevailed upon him to join Henry earl of Richmond in his expedition into England A. D. 1485. He had no reaſon to repent of that ſtep. The expedition was ſucceſsful, the earl mounted the throne, doctor Fox was immediately admitted into the council, and appointed keeper of the privy ſeal. Few were more employed or better rewarded by Henry VII., in whoſe reign he was ſucceſſively promoted to the ſees of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Wincheſter. In his old age, he began to conſider how he ſhould diſpoſe of the riches he had accumulated, and his firſt intention was, to build a ſmall college in Oxford, to be a ſeminary for the education of the novices of the priory of St. Swithin, his cathedral in Wincheſter. But when the building was far advanced, he was perſuaded by Hugh Oldham, biſhop of Exeter, to change his plan, and to found a much larger college, for the benefit of ſtudious youth in general, to which he promiſed to become a benefactor. In compliance with this advice, he founded, by a charter dated March 1ſt A. D. 1517, a college for a principal and thirty ſcholars, to be called *Corpus Chriſti* College, in Oxford. He founded alſo three lectureſhips in the college; one for the *belles lettres*, of which John Ludovicus Vives was the firſt reader; one for the Greek language, and one for theology. Biſhop Oldham performed his promiſe, by contributing 1000 marks to the buildings, and by the grant of an eſtate. His example was followed by many other benefactors *.

Cardinal College.

Cardinal Wolſey was one of thoſe men whoſe minds expand with their fortunes. Though his birth was humble, when he attained to power and opulence he diſplayed a moſt magnificent and princely ſpirit. Of this the noble plan he formed, and the ſplendid expen-

* A. Wood, Hiſt. Univerſ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 230.

ſive

ſive preparations he made, for founding a college in Oxford, which, for the magnificence of its ſtructure, the richneſs of its furniture, the number of its members, and the greatneſs of its revenues, would have exceeded every ſeminary of learning in the world, afford a ſufficient proof. To accompliſh this, he obtained two bulls from pope Clement VII. empowering him (with the king's conſent) to diſſolve the priory of St. Frideſwade in Oxford, and as many other ſmall religious houſes as he thought proper, and to apply their revenues, lands, and goods to the endowment of his intended college *. To the execution of theſe bulls the king gave his conſent, and granted him a charter, dated July 3d A. D. 1525, authoriſing him to found a college in Oxford, to be called Cardinal College, and to endow it with lands and revenues to the amount of 2000l. a year †: a very great revenue in thoſe times. The year after, the king granted the cardinal for the benefit of his college no fewer than five charters, containing a great number of privileges and immunities, with a power of impropriating about ſeventy rectories, in addition to its revenues ‡. The cardinal having thus provided ample revenues for the members of his college, the foundation of it was laid July 15th A. D. 1525; and as great numbers of artificers of all kinds were employed, the buildings advanced with great rapidity. As ſoon as apartments were ready for their reception, he introduced a dean and eighteen canons, which he deſigned afterwards to increaſe to one hundred and eighty, or two hundred. In the mean time he expended prodigious ſums of money, not only on the buildings, but in providing ſtatues, pictures, plate, jewels, books, veſtments, furniture, and every thing that could be either uſeful or ornamental to his favourite eſtabliſhment. He prepared alſo a book of ſtatutes for its government; from which it appears that it was to have conſiſted of a dean, a ſub-dean, ſixty canons of the firſt claſs, forty canons of the ſecond claſs, (who were all to devote themſelves to ſtudy,) thirteen chaplains, twelve clerks, ſixteen choiriſters for performing

* Rym. tom. xiv. p. 15. 32. † Ibid. p. 39.

‡ Ibid. p. 55—75. Strype, vol. i. Append. No. 28, 29.

the ſervice in the college church, four cenſors, three treaſurers, four collectors, and twenty ſervants. In a word, the cardinal neglected nothing to render his college (which he expected would tranſmit his name with honour to poſterity) ſuperior in all reſpects to every other college. But he neglected one thing, which proved fatal to the whole. Being under no apprehenſion of his diſgrace, which fell upon him like a clap of thunder, he neglected to execute the foundation charter, and convey the revenues, lands, and goods to the college, which he had provided for it with ſo much care. All theſe, therefore, being ſtill his own property, when he was found in a premunire, they were forfeited to the king *. The ſpoil was great, and it was ſeized with eagerneſs. The lands were ſold, or granted to craving courtiers, and all the precious moveables diſſipated. Thus fell Cardinal College before it was half finiſhed, to the no ſmall regret of the friends of learning; as it prevented the execution of a deſign which the cardinal had formed, of procuring copies of all the MSS. in the Vatican for the library of his college.

College of Henry VIII.

After all the works of Cardinal College had been interrupted about four years, and the unfiniſhed buildings tended to ruin, the king was prevailed upon to found a college in the ſame place, to be called the College of King Henry VIII. But though this was a royal foundation, it was on a much ſmaller ſcale than that of the cardinal; as it conſiſted only of a dean and twelve ſecular canons. Nor was this college of much longer duration than the former. Doctor John Oliver, the ſecond dean, reſigned his college and all its revenues to the king May 20 A. D. 1545 †.

Chriſt's Church.

Henry having thus diſſolved his own college, he ſoon after made it the ſeat and cathedral of the biſhop of Oxford, by the name of the Cathedral of Chriſt's Church in Oxford, founded by Henry VIII. This new ſociety was compoſed of a biſhop, a dean, and eight canons. To the dean and canons he granted all the buildings, lands, and revenues of his late college, on condition that they paid the following ſtipends to the following perſons: to eight minor canons, each 10l.;

* Wood, lib. ii. p. 246. † Ibid. p. 251. Rym. tom. xiv. p. 443.

to

to a goſpeller, 8l.; to a poſtellator, 6l. 13s. 4d.; to eight clerks, each 6l. 13s. 4d.; to the maſter of the ſinging boys, 13l. 6s. 8d.; to the organiſt, 10l.; to eight ſinging boys, each 7l. 13s. 4d.; to three public profeſſors in the univerſity, one of theology, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek, each 40l.; to ſixty ſcholars or ſtudents, each 8l.; to the firſt ſchoolmaſter 20l.; to the ſecond ſchoolmaſter 10l.; forty ſchool-boys *.

The number of colleges founded in Cambridge in this period exceed that of thoſe founded in Oxford, if we reckon Cardinal College, the College of Henry VIII. and Chriſt's Church, only one foundation.

Jeſus College.

The nuns of St. Radigund in Cambridge had become ſo profligate that they were expelled, and their houſe, with its revenues and lands, (which were of conſiderable value,) were granted by Henry VII. A. D. 1496, to John Alcock biſhop of Ely, who converted the nunnery into a college, for one maſter, ſix fellows, and ſix ſcholars, and dedicated it to Jeſus, the Virgin Mary, and St. Radigund. The revenues of this college were afterwards increaſed by many benefactors †.

Chriſt's College.

The lady Margaret counteſs of Richmond, and mother to Henry VII. founded Chriſt's College in Cambridge A. D. 1505. for one maſter, twelve fellows, and forty-ſeven ſcholars, and endowed it with lands of conſiderable value in ſeveral counties ‡.

St. John's College.

The ſame illuſtrious lady founded St. John's College in this univerſity A. D. 1508, but did not live to ſee it finiſhed: the works however were carried on and completed by her executors. Several of the eſtates that had been granted to this college, to the amount of 400l. a year, were evicted from it in the reign of Edward VI. whether juſtly or unjuſtly cannot now be diſcovered, though Mr. Aſcham affirms it was owing to the rapacity of greedy courtiers §. This loſs, however, was repaired by a long train of forty-eight be-

* Wood, lib. ii. p. 246.
† Fuller's Hiſt. Univer. Camb. p. 85.
‡ Fuller's Hiſt. Univer. Camb. p. 90.
§ Ibid. p. 94.

nefactors,

nefactors, which enabled this foundation to ſupport a maſter, fifty-four fellows, and eighty-eight ſcholars, with officers and ſervants.

Maudlin College.

Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, one of the greateſt ſubjects in England, deſigned to have enlarged the buildings and revenues of an old houſe called Monk's College, and to have given it the name of Buckingham College. But before he had proceeded far in the execution of this deſign, he was tried, condemned, and executed for high treaſon May 17th A. D. 1521. After the buildings had been ſeveral years ſuſpended, Thomas lord Audley, chancellor of England, founded and endowed a college on the ſame ſite, which he named Magdalen, commonly called Maudlin College *.

Trinity College.

Henry VIII. having got poſſeſſion of three adjacent halls, razed them to the ground, and erected on the area, and richly endowed, a large, regular, and magnificent college A. D. 1536, dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity, and thence called Trinity College. Great additions have been made to the revenues of this college by ſubſequent benefactors, which have rendered it one of the greateſt, richeſt, and moſt noble foundations of the kind in Europe. Henry at the ſame time founded four profeſſorſhips in Cambridge; one of theology, one of law, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek; with each a ſalary of 40l. a year †.

Though the univerſities of Scotland are not to be compared with thoſe of England, for the number of their colleges, their magnificence, and the greatneſs of their revenues; yet they ſeem, in ſome reſpect, to have advantages, of which I ſhall only mention one at preſent. Being four in number, and ſituated in different cities of the kingdom, they are better known and more acceſſible. Every one knows that there is an univerſity at no great diſtance from him, and that he may give his ſon an univerſity education without ſending him far from home. In conſequence of this, a tincture of learning at leaſt is very general in Scotland, where there

* Fuller's Hiſt. Univer. Cam. p. 121. † Ibid. p. 122—124.

are

are no clergymen, and very few gentlemen, who have not had an univerſity education.

With a view to this particular advantage, James IV. applied to pope Alexander VI. to give his ſanction to the eſtabliſhment of an univerſity in his city of Aberdeen, for the accommodation of the people of the northern and highland parts of his dominions, who, being at a great diſtance from the ſeats of learning, were more rude and ignorant than his other ſubjects. In compliance with this application, the pope (without whom nothing could be done in thoſe times) iſſued a bull at Rome February 10th A. D. 1494, erecting an univerſity in the city of Old Aberdeen, for the ſtudy of theology, civil and canon law, medicine, the liberal arts and ſciences, and all lawful faculties, and granting it all the immunities, rights, and privileges enjoyed by any other univerſity or general ſtudy. By this bull of erection, the pope appointed William Elphingſton, biſhop of Aberdeen, (who was the real founder,) to be chancellor of the new univerſity, and his ſucceſſors in the ſee of Aberdeen to ſucceed him in that office. The bull was confirmed by a charter A. D. 1498; in which the king appropriated the pariſh church of Slains, with its tithes and patronage, which received, by a ſubſequent bull A. D. 1500, an extenſive and independent juriſdiction both in eccleſiaſtical and temporal queſtions. The firſt foundation was eſtabliſhed by the biſhop in 1505, and contained thirty-ſix perſons; a principal, canoniſt, civilian, a profeſſor of medicine, a ſub-principal, and grammarian, five maſters of arts, ſtudying theology, and inſtructing the ſcholars in poetry and rhetoric; thirteen ſcholars, eight prebendaries to officiate as chaplains, and four ſinging-boys. But the biſhop was afterwards enabled to enlarge the foundation, by a more liberal endowment, for forty-two perſons; four doctors, eight maſters, and three bachelors of arts, thirteen ſcholars, eight chaplains, and ſix ſinging-boys. The maſters remained in the univerſity ſix years, ſtudying theology and teaching the arts; after which they obtained the degree of doctor, and removed from the univerſity to make way for others. The ex-

perience of thirty-ſix years diſcovered that a ſucceſſion of new teachers was extremely inconvenient, and that the maſters diſmiſſed after ſix years ſtudy were not always ſufficiently qualified to be doctors of divinity. Another papal bull was therefore obtained A. D. 1538, permitting thoſe that ſtudied divinity to reſide in the univerſity, and exerciſe their functions during the chancellor's pleaſure, and till others were qualified and deſirous to ſucceed them.

A ſecond college was founded in the univerſity of St. Andrew's in this period, by James Stewart, natural ſon of James IV., the archbiſhop, and John Hepburn the prior, and the chapter of St. Andrew's, called the College of Poor Clerks, or St. Leonard's College, from its vicinity to St. Leonard's church. It appears from the foundation-charter, that there had been an hoſpital in the ſame place, for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims of different nations, who crowded to St. Andrew's, to pay their devotions to the arm of St. Andrew, which wrought a great many miracles. At length, however, the ſaint's arm being tired with that laborious kind of work, or thinking he had done enough, the miracles and the conflux of pilgrims ceaſed, and the hoſpital was deſerted. The prior and convent, who had been the founders and were the patrons of the hoſpital, then filled it with old women. But theſe old women produced little or no fruit of virtue or devotion, and were turned out. The prior and convent having repaired the church and hoſpital of St. Leonard, reſolved to convert them into a college, to conſiſt of a maſter, or principal; four chaplains, two of which were to be regents; and twenty ſcholars, who were firſt to be taught the languages, and then the liberal arts and ſciences; and ſix of them who were thought moſt fit, ſhould then apply with great ardour and vehement reading to the ſtudy of theology under the principal. Such of theſe ſcholars as were found fitteſt for it were to be taught muſic, both plain ſong and deſcant. The foundation-charter to this purpoſe was executed by the archbiſhop, the prior, and chapter, at St. Andrew's

St. Andrew's, Auguſt 20th A. D. 1512. By another charter the prior and chapter endowed this college with all the houſes, lands, and revenues which had belonged to St. Leonard's hoſpital. Both theſe charters were confirmed by royal charter, dated at Edinburgh February 20th A. D. 1513 *.

Nurſeries for the education of youth, and preparing them for the univerſities, were not now wanting in any conſiderable town in Britain; and ſome very illuſtrious ones were founded in this period; as St. Paul's ſchool by doctor Collet, Ipſwich ſchool by cardinal Wolſey, Weſtminſter ſchool by Henry VIII. and many others, both in England and Scotland.

* Ex Archiv. Univerſ. St. And.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER V.

History of the Arts in Great Britain, from the Acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Acceſſion of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

SECTION I.

Hiſtory of the neceſſary and uſeful Arts.

FROM the acceſſion of the Tudors, and the union or extinction of thoſe factions that diſtracted England, a period of comparative tranquillity commences; a long period, protracted almoſt to the middle of the ſeventeenth century, during which the Engliſh nation was neither exhauſted by its wars abroad, nor much diſquieted by domeſtic ſedition. Such repoſe was propitious to arts and commerce; and the country, recovering from the calamities of internal diſcord, continued afterwards in a ſtate of ſlow but progreſſive improvement. A few years ſuffice to repair the diſaſters inflicted by war; but during the period allotted to the preſent volume,

the effects of the civil wars were ſometimes prolonged after the cauſes from which they originated had ceaſed to operate.

Agriculture exchanged for paſturage.

To the devaſtations produced by the civil wars may be juſtly attributed the decay of population, and in ſome meaſure the decreaſe and diſappearance both of predial and domeſtic ſervitude. The bondſmen, ſo numerous formerly, were either conſumed in battle, emancipated for their ſervices, or enabled, by the frequent fluctuations of property, to regain their freedom. Proprietors were obliged to convert into paſturage thoſe demeſnes which their ſlaves and cottagers had formerly cultivated *; and while the eſtates of either party were alternately waſted, it was ſoon diſcovered that flocks and herds were better adapted, than the produce of agriculture, to ſuch troubleſome times. They might be removed with eaſe on the irruption of an enemy, or diſpoſed of ſecretly, if the proprietor were involved in the misfortunes of his party. A meaſure recommended by its expediency was generally adopted, and continued prevalent, when no neceſſity required ſuch precaution. When government, under Henry VII. and his ſon, had attained to ſtability, when its vigour repreſſed the depredations of the barons, and precluded the danger of a future revolution, the converſion of arable lands into paſture increaſed through England to a dangerous extreme. Incloſures were multiplied; demeſne lands were extended, till the farms of the huſbandmen were appropriated to paſture; their houſes were demoliſhed or permitted to decay, while a few herdſmen, fewer than are uſually allotted to paſturage, ſupplanted the yeomen, and occupied by means of incloſures the largeſt eſtates †. Landlords, it is probable, were ſtill deſirous of retaining the management of thoſe lands, the culture of which they had formerly conducted by their villains or cottagers; and their tenants, accuſtomed hitherto to the moſt moderate rents, were unwilling to ſubmit to an unuſual advance. But the circumſtances moſt detrimental to agriculture may be diſcovered

* See vol. v. ch. 5. ſect. 1.

† Bacon, p. 44. Hollingſhed's Deſcription of England, p. 205. Strype, vol. i. p. 392. Stowe, p. 512.

in

in the reſtrictions attending the exportation of grain, and the conſtant, perhaps the increaſing conſumption of Engliſh wool. At a former period the exportation of corn had, in certain circumſtances, been permitted, and its importation regulated by different ſtatutes *; but by theſe ſtatutes a diſcretionary control was committed to the king; and there is reaſon to believe that the operations of prerogative were ſeldom favourable, or exerted, unleſs for the purpoſe of partial monopolies and pernicious reſtraints. During the preſent period the manufacture of cloth was encouraged and augmented by the refinement of Europe in taſte and dreſs; and although the manufactures of England were now conſiderable, thoſe of the Netherlands were ſtill ſupported by large exportations, that increaſed the demand and enhanced the value of Engliſh wool. A ſyſtem of management, lucrative but pernicious, was thus promoted; lucrative to landholders, but pernicious to the country.

The ſyſtem was ſeverely felt in its conſequences, in the beggary and diminiſhed population of the peaſants. Hamlets were ruined by oppreſſive encroachments; townſhips and villages of an hundred families were reduced to thirty, ſometimes to ten. Some were deſolate, demoliſhed by the avarice of unfeeling proprietors; others were occupied by a ſhepherd and his dog †. Theſe repreſentations are tranſmitted by cotemporaries, and perhaps are exaggerated; yet a country appropriated to paſturage is thinly inhabited, and muſt be depopulated by incloſures multiplied for the purpoſe of rearing ſheep and retrenching herdſmen. England at a ſubſequent period was regarded as better adapted for grazing than tillage; and in the reign of Elizabeth the lands in culture were computed at a fourth of the kingdom ‡; yet the legiſlature were never inattentive, but interpoſed repeatedly (with what ſucceſs may be juſtly ſuſpected) to enforce cultivation, and repreſs the inordinate increaſe of paſtures. Early in Henry the Seventh's reign a ſtatute was enacted for the future ſupport of thoſe houſes of huſbandry, to which twenty acres had been

* See vol. v. ch. 5. ſect. 1. ch. 6.

† Strype, vol. i. p. 392. Latimer's Sermons, p. 12.

‡ Stowe, p. 2. Hollingſhed, p. 108.

formerly

formerly annexed; ſanctioned by the forfeiture of half the rents, till the lands were occupied and the houſes rebuilt *. Severe forfeitures are not eaſily exacted; and it appears that a practice dictated by private gain, was neither ſuppreſſed by the vigilance of law, nor counteracted by the legal extortion of the monarch. A ſtatute enacted under his ſucceſſor expatiates in the preamble, with apparent truth, on the extent of the miſchief, and feelingly enumerates the complicated miſeries which the increaſe of ſheep and extenſion of paſtures had inflicted on the poor †. The flocks of individuals, which ſometimes exceeded, and often amounted to twenty thouſand ſheep, were reſtricted to two thouſand; an inadequate remedy, fruſtrated apparently by the partial exception of hereditary opulence. Had the reſtraints impoſed on the exportation of corn been tranſferred to wool, the internal conſumption would have ſoon regulated the reſpective prices of thoſe articles; the proportion between arable and paſture lands would ſoon have been adjuſted, and the declining cultivation of the country prevented. An improved cultivation was reſerved, however, for a future period, when perſecutions extirpated manufactures from the Netherlands; when the exportation of Engliſh wool had ſubſided, and its price diminiſhed, the farmer or landholder, diſappointed of his former exuberant profits, diſcovered the neceſſity of reſuming the plough, and again reſtoring his paſtures to culture.

State of agriculture.

While huſbandry ſuffered ſuch general diſcountenance, much improvement in its operations is not to be expected. A treatiſe of huſbandry, aſcribed to Fitzherbert, judge of the Common Pleas to Henry VIII. explains thoſe operations chiefly practiſed and moſt approved. The inſtruments were nearly the ſame with ours; and as they have continued during ſucceſſive generations with little alteration, are probably not ſuſceptible of much improvement. The operations of huſbandry were conducted apparently with more ſkill than in former periods. Directions are given for draining, clearing, and incloſing a farm; and for enriching and reducing the ſoil to tillage.

* Stat. 4 Hen. VII. c. 19. Bacon, p. 44. † 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

Lime

Lime and marl are ſtrongly recommended, but appear to have ſeldom been employed as manure. Fallowing was practiſed as preparatory to wheat, but not that rotation of crops and fallows which invigorates the ſoil or preſerves its nutrition *. When a field was exhauſted by ſucceſſive harveſts the farmer ſuffered it to reſt till recruited, and proceeded to cultivate a freſh field from a part of his paſtures. An improved cultivation is produced by the ſkill and traditional knowledge which farmers accumulate; and the produce of their labour may enable us to eſtimate with ſufficient preciſion their knowledge and ſkill. Sixteen and twenty buſhels are aſſigned by Hollingſhed as the uſual return of an acre of wheat †. A poor return, that argues a ſordid degree of cultivation; yet let us remember that at preſent, in the fertile and beautiful vale of Glouceſter, eighteen buſhels are the common produce obtained from an acre ‡. The prices were various; in years of ſcarcity ſeldom exceeding the preſent rates; but in thoſe of abundance, from a reſtricted exportation, too low perhaps to afford an adequate recompence to the farmer. The greateſt dearth appears to have happened in 1486, when the quarter of wheat ſold at 1l. 4s. (equal to 1l. 17s. of our preſent money); but in ſubſequent years the prices ſubſided ſometimes to 4s. (equal to 6s. of our modern coin). Famine and peſtilence afflicted the country in 1521, and raiſed the quarter to 20s. (about 1l. 11s.); but in 1527, though many periſhed in London from hunger, a large and ſeaſonable importation from Dantzick reſtricted the price to 15s. § It is obſervable that the dearths ſo frequent in former times, are generally attributed by our ancient chronicles to the rigour of the ſeaſons, and with ſome truth; for whenever the culture is languid, every unexpected alteration of weather muſt influence the harveſt, and produce an immediate deficiency of grain.

* Fitzherbert's Surveinge & Huſbandrie, 1539, reprinted London, 1767.
† Hollingſhed, p. 110.
‡ Marſhal's Rural Oeconomy of Glouceſterſhire, vol. i. p. 129.
§ Stowe, p. 471. 481. 526. 536.

Leaſes.

Leaſes, though not uncommon, were hitherto precarious; neither protecting the tenant from the entry of purchaſers, nor ſecuring his intereſt againſt the operation of fictitious recoveries. To reinſtate him when expelled by a new proprietor, an action of ejectment was ſuſtained, about the 14 Hen. VII. in courts of law; but to reſtore him againſt a recovery required and obtained the authority of a ſtatute *. Leaſes for three exiſting lives are recommended by Fitzherbert, to enable tenants whoſe ſole ſtock is their perſonal labour, to ſurround their farms, and divide them by hedges into proper incloſures; by which operation, he ſays, "If an acre of lande be worth ſix pens, "or it be incloſed, it will be worth eight pens when it is incloſed, "by reaſon of the compoſtyng and dongyng of the catell †." But the advantage which he chiefly propoſes to the farmer is more œconomical, the preſervation of his corns without the expence of maintaining herdſmen. England, it is probable, to a ſordid practice introduced into paſturage and adopted in huſbandry, is indebted for thoſe incloſures and minute ſubdiviſions which diſtinguiſh its appearance from other countries, which increaſe its fertility, and beſtow on its plains the interchangeable diverſity of rich culture and luxurious woodlands.

Scotland.

Scotland during the preſent period had her hiſtorians; but ſuch hiſtorians as were too much enamoured of great atchievements to record the minute yet inſtructive incidents of their own times. The ſituation of their country, of its arts and commerce, is ſeldom mentioned, or deſcribed ſo ſlightly that it is impoſſible to diſcover, not perhaps to conjecture with preciſion, the ſtate of cultivation to which the country had attained. Its lands had formerly been held in *ward*, a military tenure, in Scotland peculiarly oppreſſive; on the feudal forfeiture, or during the wardſhip of the vaſſal, every

* Blackſtone, vol. iii. p. 199. 21 Hen. 8. c. 5. The action of ejectment was perhaps of an earlier date; but its benefit was not extended to tenants till this period.

† Surveyinge, p. 95.

ſubordinate

ſubordinate grant was ſuſpended; his tenants were removed, his ſub-vaſſals ejected by the lord of the fee. Infeudations for rent had in 1457 been recommended, perhaps ineffectually, by parliament; but a ſtatute enacted in 1503 *, authorized the king and his vaſſals to make ſuch infeudations for an adequate rent, and exempted the grants from the operation of ward. A partial cultivation was thus promoted; but the peaſant's poſſeſſion was either precarious, or his leaſe, which ſeldom extended to five years, of a duration too ſhort to encourage improvement. His poſſeſſion was precarious, but it was maintained by a general combination againſt intruders; new tenants were removed by murder, and the peaſants, according to a cotemporary, neither incloſed nor planted, nor endeavoured to meliorate the ſterility of the ſoil †. A perſuaſion prevails that Scotland formerly was a cultivated country; but the ſtate of agriculture muſt have been poor and languid that required for its encouragement a new tenure, and a perpetuity inſtead of a temporary intereſt. The ſummit of a mountain may be marked by the plough; but before the vallies were cleared of wood, tillage was neceſſarily confined to hills. Religious houſes might derive a large revenue of wheat from lands productive of none at preſent; but before the eſtabliſhment of regular markets, while the articles of commerce were procured with difficulty, feudal proprietors ſtipulated with their vaſſals for whatever their domeſtic conſumption required. Wheat at a future period was ſupplied from England, for the produce of the country conſiſted chiefly of oats and barley ‡.

Gardening, during the diſtractions of the civil wars, had been much neglected; but now it was proſecuted with more aſſiduity, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that to the preſent period is aſcribed the introduction of various fruits and vegetables formerly known and produced in England. The fruit garden was enriched indeed by large acceſſions from foreign countries, and apricots, melons, and currants from Zante were introduced, for the firſt time, in the ſixteenth cen- Gardening.

* Black Acts, p. 42. 57. † Major's Hiſt. p. 7.

‡ Fyne's Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 155.

tury, about the middle of Henry the Eighth's reign *. That ſallads, cabbages, and other vegetables were unknown till then, is a general, but I believe a miſtaken opinion. Sallads are mentioned early in Edward the Fourth's reign; and if we may credit Hollingſhed, cabbages, turnips, and other roots, the produce of the garden, had been known and cultivated, but afterwards neglected †. The introduction of the cherry is alſo aſcribed to the latter part of the preſent period, but we have diſcovered it already in the thirteenth century; nor was it afterwards extirpated or forgotten in England ‡.

Parks. Gardening, however, was practiſed more for utility than pleaſure, and conſiſted chiefly in the culture of eſculent herbs and fruits. The pleaſure garden was reſerved, I believe, for Elizabeth's reign, when a ſquare parterre was incloſed with walls, ſcooped into fountains, and heaved into terraces. Yet the large and numerous parks of the nobility may be regarded either as contracted foreſts, or extended gardens ‖. Their extent comprehended ſeveral miles, and their number, in Kent and Eſſex alone, amounted to an hundred §. Such large incloſures were peculiar to England, and better entitled to the appellation of pleaſure grounds, than thoſe gardens of a future

* Anderſon, vol. i. p. 338. 355. 362.

† Fenn's Original Letters, vol. i. p. 288. Hollingſhed, p. 208.

‡ Vide vol. iv. ch. 5. It appears to have been common, from the following rude verſes, printed anno 1496, but compoſed, perhaps, at an earlier period:

"Who, that mannyth hym wyth his kyne,
"And cloſyth his crofte wyth cherry trees;
"Shall have many hegges brokynne,
"And alſo full lytyll good ſervyes."

HERBERT's Typographical Antiquities, vol. i. p. 129.

‖ Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. iv. p. 126.

§ Hollingſhed, p. 204. The earl of Northumberland poſſeſſed in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Yorkſhire, twenty-one parks, containing five thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-one red and fallow deer, from which his table was ſupplied with twenty bucks in ſummer and twenty-nine does in winter. Setting Lent aſide, this was more than a deer a week. Beſides theſe, he had ſeveral parks in Suſſex, and other ſouthern counties. *Northumberland Houſehold Book.*

period,

period, that exhibited in the vegetable the mimic appearance of the animal creation.

In Scotland, different laws were enacted for planting groves and incloſing with hedges; a proof that the woods were nearly exhauſted, and that no proviſion had been made to renew them. By the ſame ſtatutes the formation of orchards, gardens, and parks for deer, is impoſed on the landholders, as a neceſſary improvement; but a ſpirit of improvement is excited in a country by cauſes very different from the penalties, or the barren injunctions of ſtatutes *. In Scotland.

The culture of hops in the preſent period was either introduced or revived in England; and flax was attempted, but without ſucceſs, though enforced by law †. Legiſlature at that time endeavoured to execute, by means of penalties, thoſe national improvements which have ſince been foſtered and cheriſhed by bounties. Hops and flax.

To the paſſion of the age, and the predilection of the monarch for ſplendid tournaments, may be attributed the attention beſtowed on a breed of horſes, of a ſtrength and ſtature adapted to the weight of the complicated panoply with which the knight and his courſer were both inveſted. Statutes of a ſingular nature were enacted, allotting for deer parks a certain proportion of breeding mares, and enjoining, not the prelates and nobles only, but thoſe whoſe wives wore velvet bonnets, to have ſtallions of a certain ſize for their ſaddle. The legal ſtandard was, fifteen hands in horſes, thirteen in mares, and "unlikely tits" were, without diſtinction, conſigned to execution ‡. James the Fourth, with more propriety, imported horſes from foreign countries, to improve the degenerate breed of his own ‖. Artificial graſſes for their winter provender were ſtill unknown; nor were aſſes propagated in England till a ſubſequent period §. Breed of horſes.

* Black Acts, p. 104, 105. 108.

† Hollingſhed, p. 110, 111. 24 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

‡ 27 Hen. VIII. vol. vi. 36 Hen. VIII. vol. xiii. Vide Barrington's Obſervations on the Statutes, p. 443.

‖ Pitſcottie, p. 153 § Hollingſhed, p. 220. Polydore Virgil, p. 13.

Architecture. There is a certain perfection in art to which human genius may aſpire with ſucceſs, but beyond which, it is the apprehenſion of many, that improvement degenerates into falſe taſte and fantaſtic refinement. The rude ſimplicity of Saxon architecture was ſupplanted by the magnificence of the *ornamental* Gothic; but magnificence itſelf is at laſt exhauſted, and it terminated during the preſent period in a ſtile which ſome, with an alluſion to literature, denominate the *florid*. Its characteriſtics are a profuſion of ornaments, minute yet delicate; a finiſhing light and ſlender, from which apparent ſtrength and ſolidity recede; walls ſurmounted by latticed battlements; windows leſs pointed, but broad and open; roofs divided by ſlight ribs into numerous compartments, fretted curiouſly like rich embroidery, interſperſed with ſculpture, and ſpangled with pencil and cluſtering decorations, like thoſe grottoes where the oozing water is petrified before it diſtils from the vault. It is a ſtile cenſurable as too ornamental, departing from the grandeur peculiar to the Gothic, without acquiring proportional elegance; yet its intricate and redundant decorations are well calculated to rivet the eye, and amaze, perhaps to bewilder, the mind. In Somerſetſhire, a county devoted to the cauſe of Lancaſter, ſeveral churches were rebuilt in this ſtile by the gratitude or policy of Henry the Seventh; but the ſuperb chapel which he erected in Weſtminſter exhauſted, it is probable, every ornament that taſte could dictate, or piety accumulate. The expence amounted to 14,000l. in quantity upwards of 20,000l. but in efficacy equivalent, perhaps, to 80,000l. of our modern coin; and the fabric exhibits a ſplendid ſpecimen of Gothic architecture, in its lateſt, perhaps moſt degenerate period. Chriſt Church College was built by Wolſey in the ſame ſtile, and with ſimilar taſte; but the genius of Gothic architecture languiſhed after the death of that favourite, and expired with his ſovereign. Grecian architecture was then introduced, but its orders, till a purer taſte was created, were intermixed promiſcuouſly with thoſe of the Gothic, producing a diſcordant and barbarous aſſemblage *.

* Vide Wren's Paſentalia. Bentham's Hiſt. of Eliz. Warton's Obſervations on Spencer. Groſe's Antiquities of England, Pref.

The

The ſacred imparted to civil architecture a character ſo ſuited to the profuſe magnificence of Henry the Eighth. His predeceſſors had reſided in caſtles, or in houſes conſtructed with few ornaments and little conveniency *; but after the invention of cannon, and during a long ſeaſon of profound repoſe, the utility of caſtles had ceaſed; the nobles ſolicited better accommodation, the king and his miniſter ſuperior elegance. Whitehall, Nonſuch, and Hampton Court were erected; the former by Henry, the laſt by Wolſey, in the florid ſtile of the preſent period. Whitehall and Nonſuch have periſhed, but Wolſey's magnificence is ſtill atteſted by Hampton Court; a reſidence, ſays Grotius, befitting rather a god than a king †. Ancient buildings, the property of the crown, were either repaired or renewed by Henry; but his taſte and rapacity were both gratified by the diſſolution of the monaſteries, and the converſion of religious ſtructures into royal abodes. Dartford was appropriated to his uſe, and St. James's transformed from a nunnery to a palace ‡. His nobles began to remove the martial fronts of their caſtles, and endeavoured to render them more commodious §; but in architecture the nation participated neither the ſpirit nor the taſte of its ſovereign. The manſions of gentlemen were ſtill ſordid; the huts of the peaſantry poor and wretched. The former were generally thatched buildings compoſed of timber, or, where wood was ſcarce, of large poſts inſerted in the earth, filled up in the interſtices with rubbiſh, plaſtered within, and covered on the outſide with coarſe clay ‖. The latter were ſlight frames, prepared in the foreſts at a Civil.

* The Old Palace of Weſtminſter, burnt in Henry the Eighth's reign, was a fortified place. Howel's Londonopolis, p. 346.

† Si quis opes neſcit, ſed quis tamen ille,
Hamptoncourta tuos, conſulat ille lares,
Contulerit toto cum ſparſa palatia mundo,
Dicet ibi reges, hic habitare Deos. GROTII Poemata.

‡ Hollingſhed, p. 196. Stowe's Survey. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 563.

§ Hollingſhed, p. 194. ‖ Ibid. p. 187.

ſmall

ſmall expence, and, when erected, probably covered with mud *. In cities, the houſes were conſtructed moſtly of the ſame materials, for bricks were ſtill too coſtly for general uſe; and the ſtories ſeem to have projected forward as they roſe in height, intercepting ſunſhine and air from the ſtreets beneath †. The apartments, Eraſmus obſerves, were ſtifling, lighted by lattices, ſo contrived as to prohibit the occaſional and ſalutary admiſſion of external air. The floors were of clay ſtrewed with ruſhes; but in the frequent renewal of theſe (they remained for years a foul receptacle of every pollution) we diſcover nothing of the ſcrupulous cleanlineſs that attends the Engliſh ‡. A more pleaſing picture is exhibited in an ancient ballad, of a ruſtic habitation on the borders of England. The houſe was divided into two apartments; the outer for ſervants; the inner, or chamber, for the peaſant and his wife §; and on this ſimple plan, which is ſtill retained in a part of Scotland, farmers houſes were generally conſtructed. Chimnies were appropriated to larger manſions; but the fire was kindled againſt a *reredoſſe* in the middle of the hall, and the ſmoke eſcaped through a perforation in the roof ‖.

Military. In military architecture, whatever improvements were produced on the continent, few alterations were adopted in Britain. Ancient caſtles were much diminiſhed, nor was it the policy of the crown to rebuild them. As fortreſſes, they were dangerous yet not ſecure; dangerous to public tranquillity, yet not ſecure againſt regular ſieges. Neither their ſtrength nor conſtruction was calculated, after the invention of artillery, to annoy beſiegers, or reſiſt the continued impreſſion of cannon. Low batteries inſtead of turrets, and inſtead of ſquare or circular, angular ramparts were, after the application of artillery to ſieges, improvements requiſite in military architecture;

* 37 Hen. VII. c. 6. Fenn's Original Letters, vol. iii. p. 141.

† Hollingſhed, p. 188. Anderſon, vol. i. 337. Strutt's Antiq. vol. ii. p. 46.

‡ Eraſmi Epiſt. 432. § Pinkerton's Ancient Scottiſh Poems, vol. i. p. 65. vol. ii. 398. ‖ Hollingſhed, 188.

yet,

yet, unleſs ſome platforms of cannon for the protection of the Thames, and a few block-houſes, too inſignificant to acquire a name, no new fortifications were erected in England by either of the Henries *. Their vigilance repreſſed or prevented internal diſcord, and the caſtles upheld on the borders were ſufficient to reſiſt the incurſions of the Scots.

In manual operations ſkill and dexterity increaſe inſenſibly; nor is it poſſible, or is it the ſcope of this hiſtory, to mark, in the progreſs of the arts, the ſilent improvement acquired by the artiſt. We may remark, however, that the increaſing refinement of the period was conducive to the perfection, as well as the increaſe of the metallic arts. The luxury of the table deſcended to citizens, requiring ſo generally the uſe of plate, that there are few, ſays Polydore, whoſe tables are not daily provided with ſpoons, cups, and a ſalt-cellar of ſilver. Thoſe of a higher ſphere affected a greater profuſion of plate †; but the quantity accumulated by cardinal Wolſey, though the precious metals are now ſo copious, ſtill continues to excite our ſurpriſe ‡. At Hampton Court, where he feaſted the French ambaſſadors and their ſplendid retinue, two cupboards, extending acroſs the banquet chambers, were piled to the top with plate, and illuminated; yet without encroaching on theſe oſtentatious repoſitories, a profuſe ſervice remained for the tables §. From the complaints of

Metallic Arts.

Anno 1528.

* Polydore Virgil, Hiſt. p. 15. Stowe, p. 576. Hollingſhed, p. 194.

† Polydore Virgil, p. 13. His teſtimony is explicit. Yet the ſcarcity, or rather total want of plate in the Northumberland family, is a ſingular exception. *Treen*, or wooden plates, were uſed in the family, and pewter veſſels were hired on ſolemn feſtivals. The luxury of London and the ſouthern counties had certainly not extended to the north, where old families, whoſe journeys to court were only occaſional, and never voluntary, affected to retain the manners of the former age. (See Lodge's Illuſtrations of Britiſh Hiſtory, vol. i.) Beſides, the Northumberland family was ſeated too near the borders, and its caſtles were too frequently plundered by the Scots, for any quantity of plate to be accumulated or purchaſed. *Northumberland Houſehold Book.*

‡ See Cavendiſh, ch. 17.

§ Stowe, p. 537. Cavendiſh. Two hundred and eighty beds were provided for the gueſts; a goodly company. "Every chamber," ſays Stowe, "had a baſon and an "ewer of ſilver, a great livery pot of ſilver, and ſome gilt; yea, and ſome chambers "had two livery pots with wine and beer; a ſilver candleſtick, having in it two ſizes, "yet the cupboards in the two banqueting chambers were not once touched."

the

the people, reiterated even in parliament *, we may infer that the artificers were often foreigners; yet in one art, the manufacture of pewter, ſuch merit was imputed to Engliſh workmen, that they were prohibited by ſtatute from quitting the realm, or imparting their *myſtery* to foreign apprentices †. Carving, gilding, embroidery, the making of clocks, and probably other ingenious metallic arts, had been practiſed in monaſteries; and their ſuppreſſion furniſhed a conſiderable acceſſion of uſeful artiſts ‡. Pins, ſuch as are uſed at preſent, were fabricated in the latter end of the preſent period; yet it is obſervable that the legiſlature, whoſe interference in manufactures is ſeldom ſalutary, attempted for a time to ſuppreſs this trivial but uſeful art §.

In Scotland. While foreign artificers were diſcountenanced in England, an oppoſite policy was attempted in Scotland; and if we may credit hiſtorians ‖, workmen of every deſcription were collected from different countries by James the Fifth. His endeavours to introduce manufactures, or to improve the rude arts that were practiſed in Scotland, are repreſented as partly ſucceſsful; but they were partly fruſtrated by his premature death.

Mines. Mines of gold, diſcovered during his father's reign, were wrought by Germans under his direction; and from theſe mines, the firſt in Scotland, it is ſaid that he extracted conſiderable treaſure ¶. It is poſſible that their produce, while labour was cheap, and before the influx of wealth from America, might have been valuable; but it is more probable that the undertaking ſoon ceaſed to defray the expence. In the ſame region, inſtead of the precious metals, mines of the richeſt lead have

* 14 Hen. VIII. c. 2. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 16. 22 Hen. VIII. c. 13. 32 Hen. VIII. c. 16.

† 33 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

‡ Strype, vol. i. p. 372. Fenn's Orig. Let. vol. ii. p. 31.

§ 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 6. 37. Hen. VIII. c. 13. Anderſon, vol. i. p. 372.

‖ Piſcottie, p. 153. Hawthornden, p. 114.

¶ Hawthornden, ibid. Boethius, Deſcript. Reg. Scot. p. 6. The ſpars and cryſtals of the lead-hills are eaſily recognized in the jaſpers, rubies, and adamants, with which the warm imagination of Boethius has impregnated theſe hills.

been ſince diſcovered; but the gold that was formerly ſought by monarchs is reduced to a few minute fragments, gathered by the ſhepherd from the ſands depoſited by the winter torrents.

Clothing arts.

The clothing arts, if retarded formerly by the civil diſſenſions, were now promoted by various circumſtances,—the tranquillity of the period, the policy aſcribable to Henry VII. the magnificent court which his ſon ſupported, and the gaiety, taſte, and refinement of the age. There were few inſurrections, and theſe inſufficient to ſubvert the government. Henry VII. was attentive, next to his own, to the national intereſt; and when he laboured, both by treaties and private aſſiſtance, to encourage the ſpirit of commercial adventure, we may preſume that manufactures, the true ſource of commercial intercourſe, were not neglected *. It is ſaid, on what account I have not diſcovered, that the woollen manufacture was improved and extended by workmen whom his bounty allured from Flanders †, and it is certain that the period of Engliſh proſperity commences after the decline of Bruges, the removal of its commerce, and the diſperſion of its artiſts. The ſplendid diſſipation of his ſon's reign was, if poſſible, more propitious to manufactures, than the father's prudence. His policy was ſeldom judicious; but his example ſerved to diffuſe and to countenance a taſte for magnificence. The nobility and gentry, renouncing their former ruſtic hoſpitality, frequented his court, where their fortunes were diſſipated in a mutual emulation of coſtly equipage and rich attire. Nor was this peculiar to courtiers, or confined to the Engliſh; refinement had already pervaded Europe, and inſtructing every rank to aſpire to a better ſituation and to ſuperior enjoyments, re-acted on commerce from which it originated, and redoubled the produce of thoſe manufactures by which it was gratified.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that in England the dreſs of the wealthy, and in ſome meaſure the homely clothing of the poorer

* See in Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 202, an inſtance of the king's attention to the trade of Briſtol, then declining.

† Anderſon, vol. i. p. 306.

orders, were ſupplied from abroad. Silks, velvets, and *cloth of gold*, an article at that time in high eſtimation, were imported from Italy; coarſe fuſtians from Flanders, of a texture ſo durable that the doublet laſted for two years *. The manufactures were judiciouſly confined to woollens, the extent of which is atteſted in different ſtatutes, by the varieties fabricated and the quantities exported. Of a ſlighter texture or inferior quality thirteen different cloths are enumerated; but the fabrication of broad-cloth was adjuſted and regulated with an anxious precaution †. The repeated proviſions that regard exportation, may convince us that the quantity exported was then conſiderable; but a better proof is diſcovered in the conſtant and otherwiſe unaccountable increaſe of prices. The exportation of cloth was reſtrained by ſtatute, till *ſhorn*, *rowled*, or completely manufactured; but an exception was granted in 1486, for rays, veſſes, and white woollens, whoſe prices exceeded not forty ſhillings. At the diſtance of twenty-ſeven years, cloths of the ſame deſcription and quality acquired an exemption when below five merks, and after an interval of twenty years the exception was again extended to four pounds ‡. It is true, the voice of the legiſlature is not always the organ of truth, but credit is due to its information wherever the times extort a reluctant conceſſion. The manufactures of a nation are commonly eſtimated by its poſitive ſituation at different periods; a juſter meaſure may be obtained from the relative ſituation of other ſtates, its competitors and rivals. At a time when the manufactures of the Netherlands were proſperous, and thoſe of Spain ſtill conſiderable §, England, indebted to neither for her internal conſumption, appears to have furniſhed from the ſurplus of her manufactures a large exportation. Her ſales were chiefly confined to the Netherlands, then the emporium of exchange through Europe; but her foreign commerce was daily extended;

* Anderſon, vol. i. p. 306. 376. 11 Hen. VII. c. 28.

† See Stat. Hen. VII. and VIII. paſſim.

‡ Stat. 3 Hen. VII. c. 11. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 7. 5 Hen. VIII. c. 3. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

§ Anderſon, vol. i. p. 349.

her

her traders, early in the ſixteenth century, diffuſed her manufactures through the Grecian iſles *, and diſcovered, in the middle of the ſame century, a new market in the Ruſſian empire. A. D. 1511-12.

Such were the woollen manufactures of England, more extenſive than thoſe of Spain, and rivalled only by thoſe of Flanders. Their proſperity reſulted from natural cauſes, not from ſyſtems concerted by the legiſlature, whoſe regulations are rarely dictated by a judicious policy. Regulations operate as reſtrictions; but the wiſdom of Henry VII. is chiefly conſpicuous in the few reſtrictions impoſed on trade. Under his ſucceſſors the interpoſition of parliament was frequent, often injurious, and ſometimes productive of pernicious monopolies. The preparation of Yorkſhire coverlets was confined to York, an ancient city, depopulated, ſays the ſtatute, by the neighbouring villages †; but in Worceſterſhire the woollen manufactures were all reſtricted, for a ſimilar reaſon, to five towns ‡. At a former period the exportation of wool had been prohibited, apparently without effect; but a power devolved on prerogative, of diſpenſing with the ſtatute, operated, it is probable, in occaſional monopolies §. A patent obtained by the city of York for ſhipping wool, to the excluſion probably of the whole county, required a formal abrogation in parliament ‖. The exportation of wool was immenſe; in one year ſixty cargoes were diſpatched to the Netherlands from Southampton alone ¶. To agriculture the conſequences were ruinous; to manufactures perhaps they were ſalutary. The rude produce exceeded the quantity employed at home; the ſurplus therefore was wiſely exported; and every exportation enabled the kingdom, by increaſing its capital, to enlarge the circle and increaſe the produce of its own manufactures. But for an early and lucrative exportation of wool, England might ſtill have been poor and wretched, without cultivation, and deſtitute equally of arts and of commerce.

* Hakluyt's Voyages, part ii. p. 96. † 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

‡ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. The towns were Worceſter, Eveſham, Droitwich, Kidderminſter, and Broomſgrove.

§ See vol. iv. ch. 5. ‖ 21 Hen. VIII. c. 17. ¶ Anderſon, vol. i. p. 381.

The ſmaller manufactures were ſtill inconſiderable; conſiſting principally of ribands, laces, and ſimilar articles prepared by the ſilk company; and felt hats, a coarſe manufacture eſtabliſhed in London after the acceſſion of Henry VIII. * Cottons occur in the ſtatute-book; an appellation beſtowed, I ſuſpect, on a ſpecies of woollen; for linen, even the coarſeſt dowlas, was derived from Flanders †. Hemp was introduced, and its culture recommended; not however for the weaver's benefit, but to furniſh materials for cordage and cables ‡. Tapeſtry-weaving was attempted, with what ſucceſs is uncertain §. Among the ſmaller manufactures thoſe of Scotland might perhaps be included; yet Hector Boethius, partial perhaps to his birth-place, celebrates the woollen manufactures of Dundee, and aſſures us that cloths of the whiteſt and moſt delicate texture were fabricated at Dumfries, and exported to England, Flanders, France, and Germany ‖. But whatever was the progreſs of Scotland in arts and commerce, her hiſtorians, regarding the ſubject as ingracious, have maintained a guarded and ambiguous ſilence.

Art of war.

The Engliſh are claſſed by Eraſmus, with ſome truth, among thoſe barbarians that are prone to war ¶. Is it the genius or the peculiar misfortune of the nation, when ſecure at home, to ſearch abroad for military glory, to reject the tranquillity which their inſular ſituation has always proffered, and in the wars of others, to which they ought to have no acceſſion, to ſpend profuſely their ſtrength and treaſures? Henry VII. had no inclination, his imprudent ſucceſſor had no call, to unſheath the ſword. His example is the firſt of an Engliſh monarch interpoſing to regulate the balance of Europe; but his victories were barren, his conqueſts tranſient, and ſucceeding princes who have imitated his example have ſeldom

* 19 Hen. VII. c. 21. Anderſ. p. 332. Stowe, p. 870. Hats, however, are of greater antiquity; they are mentioned in the letters publiſhed by Fenn, and were probably imported by the Flemiſh ſo early as Hen. IV. See Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. p. 83.

† 21 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 13. ‡ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

§ Dugdale's Warwickſhire, vol. ii. p. 584. ‖ Deſcriptio Scot. pp. 3 & 5.

¶ Ad Philippum Paneg. Vid. Jortin's Life of Eraſmus, vol. ii. p. 171.

failed to inherit his fortune. His frequent levies preſerved the national arms and diſcipline, but his foreign expeditions ſerved merely to enure the Engliſh to the recent improvements in the art of war.

Military ſervices had paſſed into deſuetude, or were ſeldom exacted from the feudal tenants, unleſs for the purpoſe of pecuniary extortion. Forces were levied for the defence of the kingdom by commiſſions of array; for expeditions abroad by indentures for ſoldiers *. When an invaſion was apprehended from France or Scotland, commiſſions were iſſued through the different counties, for *muſtering* the inhabitants in arms, ſelecting thoſe that were fitted for ſervice, and *arraying* them according to their rank and weapons †. Foreign wars were conducted by troops of mercenaries, raiſed by mutual indenture between the king and his officers. An indenture between the earl of Kent and Henry VII. provides, that the former ſhall furniſh ſix men at arms, including himſelf, each attended by a page and cuſtrel; ſixteen demilances, ſixty archers on foot, and twenty-one mounted on horſeback; at the daily pay of 6d. (equivalent to 2s. 6d. of our preſent money) for each of the archers; 9d. (equal to 4s.) for the demilances; and 1s. 6d. (in its efficacy equal to 7s. 6d.) for the men at arms, their attendants and horſes ‡. Such indentures are numerous, and were certainly lucrative; for the principal nobility on the ſame terms contracted to furniſh the army with ſoldiers. Their ſervice was temporary, limited commonly to the ſpace of a year; for unleſs the yeomen of the guard, inſtituted by Henry VII., and the gentlemen penſioners by his ſon, (a band of archers and a troop of horſe,) a military eſtabliſhment was unknown in England §. Raiſing troops.

Their weapons and armour were, with little variation, ſuch as the aſſize of arms had formerly appointed ‖. Men at arms whoſe proweſs was moſt conſpicuous held the higheſt eſtimation; but the Arms.

* See vol. i. c. 5. ſect. 1.
† Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 300. 374. 399.
‡ Rym. vol. xii. p. 477.
§ Hall. Hen. VII. p. 3. Groſe's Milit. Antiq.
‖ See vol. iii. c. 5. ſect. 1.

ſtrength

ſtrength of the army ſtill conſiſted in archers, now more formidable by the addition of halberts, which they pitched on the ground till their arrows were exhauſted, and with which they reſiſted the impreſſion of cavalry *. Sometimes they fought intermixed with the common ſoldiers, who were armed indiſcriminately with bills and ſpears †. The troops were diſtinguiſhed by ſcarfs and badges; but the diverſity both of their dreſs and arms muſt have given their arrangements a motley appearance ‡.

Fire-arms.

Two hundred years had elapſed ſince the diſcovery of gunpowder, and its firſt application to the art of war; but fire-arms of a portable conſtruction were a recent invention, that gave no promiſe of ſupplanting the bow. Hand-guns were firſt introduced; a ſpecies of ſmall culverin without a ſtock, faſtened to a tripod, and managed like a ſwivel §; but the muſket, mounted on a ſtock and diſcharged from the ſhoulder, was employed in 1521, at the ſiege of Parma, and probably ſoon adopted in England ‖. Its form was clumſy, and its weight inconvenient; it was placed on a reſt, and diſcharged by a match-lock; but the different operations requiſite for the management of the reſt and match (for adjuſting the one, and blowing, fixing, and removing the other) perplexed the ſoldier, and rendered his diſcharges ſlow and irregular. Muſkets, to facilitate their management, were then reduced to a diminutive ſize, till a ſtatute prohibited thoſe the length of whoſe ſtock and barrel was leſs than a yard ¶. But the bow was ſtill preferred for its greater diſpatch, and in the hands of an Engliſh archer it poſſeſſed, within a determinate range, a ſteadier aim and a greater execution **. The muſketeers were defective in ſkill; their muſkets probably were ill-conſtructed, yet their fire was formidable to the men at arms, whoſe harneſs never reſiſted the ſtroke of a bullet.

* Herbert's Hiſt. p. 20. † Strutt, vol. iii. p. 9. ‡ Groſe's Milit. Antiq.
§ Daniel's Hiſt. de Milice. ‖ Beling. Herbert.
¶ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 6. Vide Groſe's Milit. Antiq.
** Life of Lord Herbert, p. 51.

The

The improvements produced on artillery are at this diſtance neither perceptible nor of much importance. Braſs and iron ordnance had been procured from the continent, till a foundery for cannon was eſtabliſhed in 1535, by Owen an Engliſhman *. Such a foundery had been attempted in Scotland at an earlier period with ſome ſucceſs by Borthwick, an artiſt in the ſervice of James IV. † Mortars and bombs were invented in 1544 by foreigners whom Henry VIII. employed ‡. Artillery.

In Scotland armies were levied by muſters; and to render the inhabitants expert at arms, *weaponſhaws*, or reviews, were appointed four times, afterwards twice a year, in the different counties. The arms to be provided by every rank were adjuſted as in England; ſuits of armour by the nobles, gentlemen, burgeſſes, and others, whoſe rents or whoſe goods amounted to 100l.; jacks of plate and ſteel bonnets by perſons of inferior rank and opulence, with ſwords and ſpears, or inſtead of the latter, with halberts or battle-axes, bows, culverins, or two-handed ſwords §. The ſpear (whoſe length was ſeventeen feet) was the national weapon; a formidable weapon when projected by a ſteady and compact battalion. But the Scottiſh troops were deficient in diſcipline; when galled at a diſtance by the Engliſh archers, their impatience often precipitated their ſteps and diſordered their ranks, intercepted the uſe of their unwieldy ſpears, and impelled them promiſcuouſly on the ſword of the enemy. Scotland.

The neceſſary or uſeful arts may be concluded with printing, the utility of which is acknowledged, not merely as ſubſervient to ſcience, but as conducive to the perfection of whatever miniſters to comfort or elegance. Its introduction by Caxton has been noted ‖; its improvement under his ſucceſſor was ſuch, that the types of Wynken Printing.

* Stowe, p. 571.

† Leſly, p. 353. The guns were caſt in Edinburgh-caſtle, and ſome of them remained with this inſcription in Leſly's time. Machina ſum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto. ‡ Stowe, p. 584. § Black Acts, p. 93. 130, 131. ‖ See vol. v. ch. 5.

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de Worde have ſerved, it is aſſerted, for Saxon characters to the preſent times *. The books which he printed are numerous; but Pinſon, Kaſtell, and others his competitors, contributed equally to the improvement of printing. The publications of theſe early printers were chiefly of a popular nature, legends, romances, religious diſcourſes; books neceſſarily popular at every period, becauſe they are calculated to agitate the paſſions, or amuſe the untutored taſte of the multitude. Some Latin grammars were alſo printed; but it is obſervable, that after the revival of letters, at a time when the ancients were ſtudied, their languages adopted, and their elegance imitated, Terence, Virgil's Eclogues, and Tully's Offices were the only claſſical productions of the Engliſh preſs †. But the printers were either tranſlators or authors; their literature ſeldom extended to Latin; they had few claſſical readers to gratify, and their own vernacular compoſitions coincided happily with the national taſte. The Germans were diverted from improving their language, by their numerous preſſes, conducted by ſcholars and teeming with claſſics; but the books that iſſued from the Engliſh preſs were adapted to thoſe who were neither learned nor untinctured with letters, and promoted more perhaps than the ſtudy of the ancients the early refinement of the Engliſh language.

Theſe printers have yet a merit in compiling the materials and recording the annals of Engliſh ſtory. Grafton, who printed the Bible, completed the Chronicles of Hall and Harding; and of thoſe publiſhed by Hollingſhed and Harriſon, much muſt be aſcribed to the previous collections of Wolfe, a printer, whoſe life was conſumed in hiſtorical reſearches ‡. Their preſſes, however, were confined to black letter, (the Roman character was ſeldom employed,) and were ſtill inferior to thoſe on the continent. The reformers printed abroad, a circumſtance imputable to Henry's imperious ſupremacy; but the Bible which he authorized was attempted firſt at Paris, where workmen, it is ſaid, were dexterous, and paper abun-

* Herbert's Typographical Antiq. vol. i. p. 118. † Id. paſſim.
‡ Vid. p. 502. 596. Hollingſhed's Pref.

dant.

dant *. A paper-mill had been erected at Hartford, Anno 1507; but its paper probably was much inferior to that of the French †. Printing was alſo introduced into Scotland; but miſſals and ſtatutes were the only productions of the Scottiſh preſs.

SECT. II.

Hiſtory of the fine and pleaſing Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Muſic, in Britain, from A. D. 1485 *to* A. D. 1547.

Fine arts.

THERE are certain imitative arts that ſolicit retirement, others that ſicken in the ſhade, and only expand to the ſunſhine of courts, or the genial influence of popular favour. Poetry has proſpered in obſcurity, or under diſcountenance; but ſculpture and painting are more dependent on the public regard, and require, particularly in an age emerging from rudeneſs, more immediate protection and patronage. None was to be obtained or expected from Henry VII. who had neither taſte to reliſh, nor ſpirit to remunerate diſtinguiſhed merit. His chapel may be aſcribed to a pious ſolicitude for his future welfare, or regarded as an inſtance, a ſolitary inſtance, of vanity predominating over his avarice: but his tomb originated ſolely from vanity, and its merit is excluſively due to his ſucceſſor, by whom it was erected and the expence defrayed.

Sculpture.

The tomb was executed, according to Stowe, by Peter T. a native of Florence ‡. And in this obſcure appellation antiquaries have diſcovered Pietro Torregeano, a ſculptor once the competitor of Michael Angelo. That artiſt's pre-eminence he had reſented by a haſty blow, for which he was expelled or departed from Florence; and after ſome viciſſitudes of life, was retained as a ſculptor by Henry VIII. and employed in erecting his father's monument §. His reward was liberal; 1000l. for the materials and workman-

* Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 515.
† Typograph. Ant. vol. i. p. 200.
‡ Stowe, p. 486.
§ Walpole's Anecd. of Painting, vol. i. p. 96.

ſhip, (equivalent now to 5000l.) but it is eaſier perhaps to trace his hiſtory than pronounce on his merits *. The tomb was probably deſigned by another, as its taſte is Gothic, and adapted, particularly in the outward ſhrine, to the ſtyle of the chapel. The minute and florid decorations of architecture, which often ſerve to diſtract the attention, are applied with peculiar advantage to monumental ſhrines, where the whole is comprehended at a ſingle inſpection, and of which the parts are ſuſceptible of an exquiſite poliſh †. The ſmall ſtatues that embelliſhed the ſepulchre are partly decayed; thoſe of Henry and his conſort remain; but whatever be their merit, it would be difficult to recogniſe in the ſculpture a competitor worthy of Michael Angelo.

Painting. Sculpture ſeems to be a rarer talent, its perfection more unattainable than painting; and in the patronage of the latter, Henry certainly was more ſucceſsful. Mabuſe, a profligate Flemiſh painter, but of ſome merit, appears to have been employed in his father's court, whither he was probably driven by his own diſtreſſes, rather than allured by the monarch's bounty. The art, however, was little regarded till the ſon's reign, who endeavoured, it is ſaid, to procure from Italy Raphael and Titian; and under whoſe protection ſeveral Flemiſh and Italian painters frequented England. But their merit is obſcured by that of the celebrated Holbein, who, for the ſoftneſs and richneſs of his colouring, was preferred to the firſt Italian painters, at a time when painting had attained in Italy its meridian ſplendor. He was firſt eſtabliſhed in Baſil, afterwards (1526) recommended by Eraſmus to ſir Thomas More, and paſſed the ſubſequent part of his life, with more ſecurity than his unfortunate patron, in the ſervice of

* Stowe. Walpole. He quitted England to ſettle in Spain, where, in his paſſion, he demoliſhed an image he had carved for the Virgin, for which he was impriſoned by the inquiſition, and, from madneſs or a lofty ſpirit, ſtarved himſelf to death. Sir Antonio More for a ſimilar offence met with a more lenient puniſhment. Philip king of Spain beſtowed a familiar but rough ſlap on the painter's ſhoulders, which the latter returned with his cane; and for this the puniſhment was a temporary baniſhment. In Spain it is ſafer to aſſault the perſon of a living monarch, than to deface the ſtatue of a dead virgin. Walpole, vol. i. p. 123.

† See Dart's Antiq. of Weſtminſter Abbey.

Henry

Henry VIII. and his ſon. His pencil, among its other employments, portrayed the beauties of Henry's wives, or of thoſe whom Henry intended to wed; and to procure a juſt report of the latter, he was twice diſpatched to the continent as the ſecret emiſſary of Henry's love. But he was not always a faithful emiſſary; his pencil, if impartial to the ducheſs of Milan, imparted unmerited charms to Anne of Cleves, and enſnared his maſter into a diſtaſteful marriage; for which, while the painter eſcaped unpuniſhed, Cromwell the miniſter loſt his head. Princes in their marriages are now to be pitied; they muſt ſee and chooſe from a flattering portrait, and wed by proxy without inclination; but the diſaſters that Henry taſted in marriage provoke deriſion: Henry, who exalted his female ſubjects to his throne and bed, when ſated with their charms, like an Eaſtern tyrant, diſmiſſed them to the ſcaffold. Holbein lived in England without a competitor, and died (1554) without a ſucceſſor to eclipſe his memory. His works, of which many are loſt or diſperſed abroad, are juſtly celebrated as dear to connoiſſeurs for the perfection of their colouring, dear to antiquaries for their age and ſcarcity *.

Engraving.

To painting may be added a ſubordinate art, that copies and ſerves to diffuſe its deſigns. Engraving was coëval in England with printing; a rude engraving was employed, as a ſubſtitute for illuminating, to decorate the titles and initials of books. Some copperplates were produced at the end of this period †; but theſe are only memorable as the firſt ſpecimens in England of an art that aſpires to imitate, though unable to emulate, the perfection of painting. Poetry and painting will ſtill retain this material difference, that the works of the latter cannot be multiplied like thoſe of the former, not at leaſt in their original luſtre; but the diſadvantage is in ſome meaſure recompenſed by this, that the productions of poetry are more local, confined to a diſtrict, a nation, a language; while thoſe of painting,

* Such is the eulogy pronounced by Mr. Walpole himſelf; a rare inſtance of taſte united to a love of antiquities. *Anec. Paint.* vol. i. p. 94.

† Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers, p. 5.

expreſſive only of natural appearances, are intelligible in every region to every nation.

Poetry, The age of Henry VII. and his predeceſſor Richard is characteriſed by the hiſtorian of Engliſh poetry as fertile in verſifiers, but productive only of one that merits the name of poet *; yet in this exception there is reaſon to ſuſpect that the hiſtorian's judgment was bribed, or his taſte perverted by a love of antiquity. Stephen Hawes, a groom of the chamber to Henry VII. compoſed, among other poems of obſcure merit, the Temple of Glaſs and the Paſtime of Pleaſure; but the one is a tranſcript from Chaucer, the other a prolix and tedious allegory; the conception of which required little invention, and of which the imagery is apparently of little value †. His verſification, however, improves upon Lydgate's, and is far ſuperior to Barclay's or Skelton's, contemporaries curious for the manners of the period, but as poets beneath attention. The truth is, that with every advantage derived from learning, with a language that approached, though it had not attained to its preſent ſtate, Engliſh poetry, till refined by Surry, degenerated into metrical chronicles or taſteleſs allegories.

In Scotland. It was different in Scotland, where poetry, ſuch as Chaucer might acknowledge and Spencer imitate, was cultivated in a language ſuperior to Chaucer's. Dunbar and Douglas were diſtinguiſhed poets, whoſe genius would have reflected luſtre on a happier period, and whoſe works, though partly obſcured by age, are peruſed with pleaſure even in a dialect conſigned to ruſtics. Dunbar, an eccleſiaſtic, at leaſt an expectant of church preferment, ſeems to have languiſhed at the court of James IV. whoſe marriage with Margaret of England he has celebrated in the Thiſtle and the Roſe; an happy allegory, by which the vulgar topics of an epithalamium are judiciouſly avoided, and exhortation and eulogy delicately inſinuated. The verſification of the poem is harmonious, the ſtanza artificial and

* Warton's Hiſt. Poet. vol. ii. p. 165. 210.

† Ibid. Warton has diſſected the poem, but has given no favourable ſpecimens of its particular merits.

pleaſing, the language copious and ſelected, the narrative diverſified, riſing often to dramatic energy. The poem from its ſubject is deſcriptive, but Dunbar improves the moſt luxuriant deſcription by an intermixture of imagery, ſentiment, and moral obſervation. The following is a ſpecimen:

The purpour ſone, with tendir bemys reid,
In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
Throw goldin ſkyis putting up his heid,
Quhois gilt treſſis ſchone ſo wondir cleir,
That all the world tuke comfort, fer and neir,
To luke upone his freſche and bliſsfull face,
Doing all ſable fro the heavenis chace.

And as the bliſsfull ſonne of cherarcley
The fowlis ſung throw comfort of the licht;
The burdis did with open vocis cry,
O luvaris ſo, away thow dully nicht,
And welcum day that comfortis every wicht;
Hail *May*, hail *Flora*, hail *Aurora* ſchene,
Hail princes Nature, hail Venus, Luvis quene.

The Golden Terge is another allegorical poem of Dunbar's, conſtructed in a ſtanza ſimilar to Spencer's, but more artificial, and far more difficult *. In deſcription perhaps it excels, in ſentiment it ſcarcely equals the Thiſtle and Roſe. Its narrative is not interchanged with dialogue; its allegory refers to the paſſions, the dominion of beauty, the ſubjection of reaſon, and is leſs fortunate than the Thiſtle and Roſe, whoſe occult and ſecondary ſignification is an hiſtorical truth that ſubſiſts apart, and however embelliſhed, cannot be obſcured by the oſtenſible emblem. When the paſſions or the mental powers are perſonified and involved in action, we purſue the tale, forgetful of their abſtraction, to which it is relative; but to remedy this, the Golden Terge has a merit in its brevity which

* Like Spencer's it conſiſts of nine verſes, reſtricted however to two rhimes inſtead of three, which Spencer's admits of.

few

few allegorical poems poſſeſs. The allegorical genius of our ancient poetry diſcovers often a ſublime invention; but it has intercepted what is now more valuable, the repreſentation of genuine character and of the manners peculiar to ancient life. Theſe manners Dunbar has ſometimes delineated with humour, in poems lately retrieved from oblivion *; and from them he appears in the new light of a ſkilful ſatiriſt and an attentive obſerver of human nature.

Gawin Douglas, his contemporary, was more conſpicuous by the rare union of birth and learning, and is ſtill diſtinguiſhed as the firſt poetical tranſlator of the claſſics in Britain. Early in youth he tranſlated Ovid's *de Remedio Amoris*, (a work that has periſhed); at a maturer age, Virgil's Eneid into Scottiſh heroics; a tranſlation popular till ſuperceded at the cloſe of the laſt century by others more elegant, not more faithful, nor perhaps more ſpirited †. His original poems are King Hart and the Palace of Honour, allegories too much protracted, though marked throughout with a vivid invention; but his moſt valuable performances are prologues to the books of his Eneid, ſtored occaſionally with exquiſite deſcription. As a poet he is inferior to Dunbar, neither ſo tender nor ſo various in his powers. His taſte and judgment are leſs correct, and his verſes leſs poliſhed. The one deſcribes by ſelecting, the other by accumulating images; but with ſuch ſucceſs, that his prologues deſcriptive of the winter ſolſtice, of a morning and evening in ſummer, tranſport the mind to the ſeaſons they delineate, teach it to ſympathiſe with the poet's, and to watch with his the minuteſt changes that nature exhibits. Theſe are the earlieſt poems profeſſedly deſcriptive; but in deſcription Scottiſh poets are rich beyond belief. Their language ſwells with the ſubject, depicting nature with the brighteſt and happieſt ſelection of colours. The language of modern poetry is more intelligible, not ſo luxuriant, nor the terms ſo har-

* Vide his Poems in Pinkerton's Collection.

† It was finiſhed in ſixteen months; and till Dryden's appeared, ſeems to have been received as a ſtandard tranſlation: till then it was certainly the beſt tranſlation.

monious.

monious. Deſcription is ſtill the characteriſtic, and has ever been the principal excellence of Scottiſh poets; on whom, though groſsly ignorant of human nature, the poetical mantle of Dunbar and Douglas has ſucceſſively deſcended *.

Poetry revived in England under Henry VIII. and was cultivated by his courtiers as a vehicle of gallantry; but by none more than the brave but unfortunate Surry, who had taſte to reliſh the Italian poetry, and judgment to reject their affected though ſplendid conceits. His ſonnets were once celebrated, but are now neglected; unjuſtly neglected, for their merit is conſiderable, and their influence imparted a new character to Engliſh poetry. Surry was inſpired by a genuine paſſion, and his ſonnets breathe the unaffected dictates of nature and love. Tenderneſs predominates in the ſentiment, eaſe and elegance diſtinguiſh the language. From theſe ſonnets, the earlieſt ſpecimens of a poliſhed diction and refined ſenſibility, ſucceeding poets diſcovered the capacity and ſecret powers of the Engliſh tongue. They are not numerous, though ſufficient to effect a reformation in poetry, nor diſcriminated always from the ſonnets of others; but of thoſe whoſe authenticity is certain, the complaint uttered in confinement at Windſor touches irreſiſtibly the heart with woe. Blank verſe, now peculiar to Engliſh poetry, had been recently attempted in Italian and Spaniſh, and was firſt tranſplanted by Surry into ſome tranſlations from Virgil, which diſcover rather the concinnity of rhyme than the ſwelling progreſſion of blank verſe. As a ſpecimen of his poetry our limits only admit of a ſonnet, ſelected for the variety, choice, and compreſſion of its images.

The ſoote ſeaſon that bud, and bloome fourth bringes,
With grene hath cladde the hyll, and eke the vale,
The Nightingall with fethers new ſhe ſinges;
The turtle to her mate hath told her tale:

* Other poets of inferior reputation flouriſhed during this period in Scotland; but it is the purport of this hiſtory to record the progreſſive improvements, not the ſtationary merit of poetry.

Somer

Somer is come, for every ſpray now ſpringes,
The hart hath hunge hys olde head on the pale,
The bucke in brake his winter coate he flinges;
The fiſhes flete with newe repayred ſcale:
The adder all her ſlough away ſhe flynges,
The ſwift ſwallow purſueth the flyes ſmalle,
The buſy bee her honey now ſhe mynges;
Winter is worne that was the flowres bale.
And thus I ſee among theſe pleaſant thynges
Eche care decayes, and yet my ſorrow ſprynges.

In the refinement of poetry the elder Wyat is ſuppoſed to have co-operated with Surry, as both ſtudied in the Italian ſchool *; but he follows at a ſubmiſſive diſtance, with an unpliant genius and untunable numbers. His verſes are amatory and ſatirical, or rather didactic; but in the firſt, as his paſſion was fictitious, its utterance is harſh. With the taſte he adopted the affectation of the Italians, and in his ſonnets labours perpetually at ſome hopeleſs conceit. Yet his numbers burſt ſometimes into melody, and his ſatires exhibit, with much obſcurity, an occaſional ſtrength and propriety of thought and diction.

Dramatic poetry was attempted after the revival of letters, or rather myſteries of the church were converted in the univerſities into regular dramas. Plays on hiſtorical or religious ſubjects were compoſed in Latin for the ſtudents to perform; and the authors probably ſucceeded better in their obſervance of the rules than in their imitation of the divine ſpirit of the Grecian ſtage. Theſe ſpectacles could never be popular; but occaſional *interludes* were written in Engliſh †, and performed by ſtudents in the inns of court, or by itinerant minſtrels in the halls of the nobility. The poetry is worthleſs, memorable only as the firſt productions of the Engliſh drama ‡. Philotus, a comedy in the Scottiſh language, is aſcribed

* Warton's Hiſt. of Poet. vol. iii. p. 28.

† Vide one in the Harleian Miſcell. vol. i. p. 98.

‡ Warton, vol. ii. p. 366.

to the cloſe of this period, and ſome interludes were written by Lindſay of the Mount, a Scottiſh poet, whoſe laurels are faded *.

The imitative arts, as their primary object is the gratification either of ſenſe or paſſion, are not neceſſarily allied to religion, to which occaſionally they have been rendered ſubſervient; and accordingly ſome are rejected by the orthodox, others retained as inſtrumental to devotion. Painting and ſculpture are proſcribed as idolatrous, poetry and muſic cheriſhed as ſacred; nor did the reformation produce in England an immediate alteration on the muſic of the church. Counterpoint, the invention of a former period, was improved in the preſent, particularly by the introduction of diſcords, to provoke attention, or relieve from ſatiety. The plain chants of the church were ſelected by compoſers as a baſis for florid counterpoint and figurative harmony; recent improvements, conſtructed on the continent with all the artificial perplexity of fugue and canon. Such artifices as the laſt were diſregarded, or ſeldom adopted by Engliſh compoſers, whoſe maſſes and other choral productions are characterized as grave in their ſtyle, and according to the rules at that time eſtabliſhed, correct in their harmony, free from imitations, and marked with an originality apparently national. Compared with the recent perfection of muſic, they are deficient however in meaſure and melody, deſign and contrivance; but perhaps it is the misfortune of muſic, that its refinement terminates in a faſtidious delicacy, unwilling to be pleaſed, and in its deſire of novelty rejecting whatever has already delighted †. The productions of theſe early maſters have preſerved their names; and now that flattery is ſilent, Taverner, Shepherd, and Parſons, have obtained, in the annals of muſic, the precedence of their Sovereign. Henry VIII. from the ſkill of a performer, aſpired to the merit of an original

* Pinkerton's Ancient Scot. Poems, Pref. 110. Lindſay's remains are in the Banatyne Manuſcript. I have not found that they are of much value.

† Burney's Hiſt. of Muſic, vol. ii. pp. 461. 466. 507. 555.

compoſer; his inſtruments were, the recorder, the flute, the virginals; and his genius ſometimes condeſcended to furniſh his courts with ballads, and his chapel with maſſes *. His name is forgotten among poets, but his muſic ſeems to have ſurvived his reign; yet of two productions, a motet and an anthem, aſcribed to his finger, the one from its mediocrity is admitted to be genuine, the other is ſuppoſed to exceed the capacity of a royal muſician †.

It is difficult to ſpeak with preciſion of ſecular muſic, of which the written ſpecimens are few, and the traditionary antiquity vague and uncertain. Popular melodies were originally ſimple, acquired with eaſe, and tranſmitted without the aſſiſtance of notation, till adopted by compoſers, disfigured by a multiplicity of new variations, and ſo perplexed by a redundancy of notes, that their difficulty conſtituted their only merit. Such was the employment of ſecular compoſers, who, inſtead of attempting invention in air or melody, produced, it is ſaid, from ſimple ſongs, an elaborate aſſemblage, to the execution of which the ſkill and dexterity of modern performers are confeſſedly unequal ‡. The melodies peculiar to Scotland eſcaped ſuch torture, and ſome of them, from their ſtyle or the ſubject of their verſes, are aſcribed by conjecture to the preſent period ‖. New ſongs are adapted daily to former tunes, and whatever be the antiquity of Scottiſh muſic, (ancient it is, and perhaps the produce of different periods,) the poetry is recent; but conjectures are not admiſſible as a ſubſtitute for hiſtorical certainty.

The improvement of ſecular muſic was perhaps retarded by the imperfect conſtruction of muſical inſtruments. The organ, I believe, was appropriated to the church; the clavicord, virginals, and harp, to the chamber. Wind inſtruments are deſcribed as of various

* Herbert's Hiſt. p. 2. 13. Hollingſhed, vol. ii. p. 806.

† Burney, vol. iii. p. 1. Hawkins's Hiſt. Muſ. vol. ii.

‡ Burney, vol. ii. p. 553.

‖ Arnot's Hiſtory of Edinburgh, App. 8.

conſtructions; but it is obſervable of inſtruments played with keys, or blown by reeds, that the intonation is defective, not ſuſceptible of nice modulation *. The viol was in much requeſt; but its finger-board was fretted, its intonation limited; and it is aſſerted that, before the adoption of the violin, perfection in harmony was unknown to mankind †.

* Figures of theſe inſtruments are to be found in Hawkins's Hiſt. vol. ii.

† Burney, vol. ii. p. 553. n.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER VI.

The Hiſtory of Commerce, Corn, and Shipping in Great Britain, from the Acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Acceſſion of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

Acceſſion of Henry favourable to trade.

THE acceſſion of Henry VII. to the throne of England was an event favourable to the commerce of that kingdom in ſeveral ways. It put an end to a long and ruinous civil war, which had thrown every thing into confuſion, and inflamed the minds of one half of the people with the moſt violent hatred againſt the other; a ſituation in which commerce could not flouriſh *. It placed on the throne a prince in the prime of life, of a ſound and good underſtanding, improved by the obſervations he had made in foreign countries, and fully convinced of the great importance of commerce, both to the crown and to the people, by increaſing the re-

* See vol. v. ch. 6.

venues

venues of the one and the riches of the other. Accordingly we find, that Henry was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he began to turn his thoughts to trade, to remove the obſtructions by which it had been interrupted, and to procure the Engliſh merchants and mariners a free courſe to and favourable reception in all parts of the world. With this view he cultivated peace with all his neighbours, and concluded commercial treaties with almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Europe. Nothing can give our readers a more diſtinct idea of the trade of England in this reign, than by laying before them the ſubſtance of thoſe commercial treaties in as few words as poſſible.

Commercial treaty with France.

The trade between England and France had been interrupted in the late reign, and Henry made ſo much haſte to terminate all diſputes with that kingdom by a truce, in which freedom of trade and commercial intercourſe were ſtipulated, that it was proclaimed in the beginning of October A. D. 1485, even before his coronation *. This truce, which was only for one year, was prolonged for other three years, January 17th A. D. 1486, with additional ſecurities for the freedom of trade †.

With Italy.

About the ſame time Henry diſpatched his almoner into Italy, with a very extenſive commiſſion, to negociate commercial treaties with the king of Naples, and with all the other princes and ſtates of that country. In that commiſſion, he diſcovers that he had very juſt and liberal ſentiments of trade, as beneficial to all nations, by procuring them what they wanted in exchange for what they could ſpare. "The earth (ſays he) being the common mother of all man-"kind, what can be more pleaſant and more humane than to com-"municate a portion of all her productions to all her children by "commerce ‡?" We have no particular account of the ſucceſs of this commiſſion, but it could not be unſucceſsful. The maritime ſtates of Italy could have no reaſon to decline a commercial intercourſe with England.

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 277. † Ibid. p. 281. ‡ Ibid. p. 283.

This

This prudent prince loſt no time to accommodate all differences with his neareſt neighbours the Scots, and to lay open the trade between the two Britiſh kingdoms, for their mutual benefit. He concluded a truce for three years from July 1ſt A.D. 1486 with James III.; the chief object of which was, beſides the ceſſation of all hoſtilities by ſea and land, to procure the free admiſſion and friendly treatment of the merchants and mariners of the one country in the other *. He had it alſo much at heart to eſtabliſh a more cordial peace between the two nations, by ſeveral intermarriages between the two royal families. But in that he was unhappily diſappointed, by the untimely death of king James. Scotland.

Henry granted, June 8th A. D. 1486, a free conduct to Michael de Seprello, Mark Stroze, and all other merchants of Florence, for ten years, to come into his dominions with their ſhips, to diſpoſe of their goods as they pleaſed, to purchaſe and export wool, woollen cloths, tin, lead, and other merchandize, without danger or moleſtation, upon paying the uſual cuſtoms †. Such a ſafe-conduct was not unneceſſary, as the Italian and other foreign merchants had been often inſulted and plundered in the ports of England. Florence.

Henry, in the ſame firſt year of his reign, concluded a commercial treaty with Francis duke of Britanny, (who had been his protector in his diſtreſs,) to continue in force during their joint lives, and one longer. In this treaty many ſtipulations are made that diſcover a thorough knowledge of trade, and an anxious concern to render it mutually beneficial to the ſubjects of the contracting parties ‡. Britanny.

A ſimilar treaty was made about the ſame time with Maximilian king of the Romans, as guardian to his infant ſon Philip duke of Burgundy and Brabant and earl of Flanders. The object and ſtipulations in this were the ſame with thoſe in all other commercial treaties, and a very great trade was carried on between England and the Low Countries §. With Burgundy.

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 285. † Ibid. p. 300. ‡ Ibid. p. 303. § Ibid. p. 320.

The

Reduction of cuſtoms.

The Italian and other foreign merchants paid double cuſtom in England on goods they imported and exported, which was no ſmall diſcouragement to trade. Though Henry certainly loved money too well, and was not very apt to exact leſs than his right, he wiſely conſidered, that by lowering the cuſtoms payable by foreign merchants, he would encourage a greater number of them to frequent his ports, and thereby rather increaſe than diminiſh his revenues. He made the experiment, and granted, February 18th A. D. 1488, to the merchants of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, and of all other Italian cities, for three years, a conſiderable abatement of the cuſtoms on ſome articles of export *. We are not particularly informed of the ſucceſs of this experiment; but we know that the commercial intercourſe between England and Italy was at this time very great, and that the Italian merchants took off great quantities of Engliſh cloth, lead, tin, &c. for which they returned velvets, ſilks, gold lace, with the ſpices and other precious commodities of the eaſt †.

With Denmark, &c.

Henry concluded two commercial treaties with John king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, A. D. 1490, by which he procured ſeveral privileges to his ſubjects who traded to theſe countries, and particularly to the Engliſh fiſhers on the coaſts of Iceland and Norway ‡. In a word, this active intelligent prince had the intereſt of commerce ſo much at heart, that in the four firſt years of his reign he renewed old, or formed new commercial treaties with almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Europe, and thereby procured his trading ſubjects a favourable reception and friendly treatment in all places, which revived the trade of England from that languor and decline into which it had fallen by the confuſions of the late times.

Commercial laws.

This was not the only method by which Henry VII. contributed to revive and increaſe the trade of England. He procured ſeveral laws to be made to promote the ſame patriotic purpoſe. The greateſt

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 335. † Anderſon's Hiſtory of Commerce, vol. i. p. 304.

‡ Rym. ibid. p. 374. 381.

part

part of the foreign trade of England had hitherto been carried on by foreigners in foreign bottoms. Henry was ſenſible that this prevented the increaſe of Engliſh ſhips and Engliſh ſailors; and to remedy this in part, he procured a law to be made in his firſt parliament, that no Gaſcony or Guienne wines (to which the Engliſh had been long accuſtomed, and of which he knew they were very fond) ſhould be imported into any part of his dominions, except in Engliſh, Iriſh, or Welſh ſhips, navigated by Engliſh, Iriſh, or Welſh men, which obliged them to build ſhips and go to ſea, or to want their favourite liquor *. This law was enforced and enlarged by an act made in the third parliament of Henry VII. A. D. 1487, to which the following preamble was prefixed: "That where great "miniſhing and decay hath been now of late time of the navy of "this realm of England, and idleneſs of the mariners within the "ſame, by the which this noble realm, within ſhort proceſs of time, "without reformation be had therein, ſhall not be of ability, nor "of ſtrength and power to defend itſelf." To prevent this it was enacted, that no wines of Gaſcony and Guienne, or woads of Tholouſe, ſhould be imported into England, except in ſhips belonging to the king or ſome of his ſubjects; and that all ſuch wines and woads imported in foreign bottoms ſhould be forfeited †. From this act we may obſerve, that Henry VII. ſo early as A. D. 1487, had ſhips of his own, which he either employed in trade or freighted to his merchants: a practice which he purſued during his whole reign, by which he gained much money, while he increaſed the ſhipping, ſailors, and trade of his dominions.

Diſcoveries.

A few years before the acceſſion of Henry VII. a ſpirit of maritime enterprize and adventure, for the diſcovery of new and unknown countries, had ſprung up in ſome parts of Europe, which ſoon produced very great and ſurpriſing effects. The Portugueſe in particular, animated and directed by their intelligent ſovereign John II. attempted to diſcover a paſſage by ſea to the Eaſt Indies, to obtain a ſhare in the trade of thoſe countries, which had enriched

* Stat. 1 Hen. VII. c. 8. † 4 Hen. VII. c. 10.

the Venetians and other Italian ſtates. In this attempt they ſailed along and explored all the weſt coaſts of Africa as far as the Cape of Good Hope, which they reached A. D. 1487; but there they ſtopped ſhort, and proceeded no further in their diſcoveries for ſeveral years.

Chriſtopher Columbus.

In the mean time, an extraordinary man had reaſoned himſelf into a perſuaſion that there was a great continent and many iſlands beyond the Atlantic Ocean, and had formed the bold deſign of attempting the diſcovery of that New World. This was the juſtly celebrated Chriſtopher Columbus, one of the moſt adventurous, intelligent, and ſagacious ſailors that ever lived, to whom mankind are indebted for bringing one half of the world acquainted with the other. Though Columbus was fully convinced himſelf, he knew it would not be eaſy to convince others of the exiſtence of ſuch a country, and that he could not attempt the diſcovery of it without the aid of ſome powerful prince or ſtate. Being a Genoeſe by birth, he made his firſt application to the republic of Genoa, A. D. 1482; but that ſtate declined embarking in the enterprize. He next applied to John II. king of Portugal, who he knew to be intent on making diſcoveries. King John received him favourably, and ſeemed inclined to engage in the undertaking; but referred him to a committee of his council, with whom he was to ſettle all preliminaries. With this committee he had many meetings; they made many objections, and aſked many queſtions, to which he returned anſwers with unſuſpecting frankneſs. When they had obtained, as they imagined, all the information he was capable of giving, they privately fitted out a ſhip to make the diſcovery. Columbus, juſtly irritated at this ungenerous attempt to deprive him of the honour and profit of his project, which had coſt him ſo much thought, expence and toil, left the court of Portugal in diſguſt A. D. 1484 *.

Sends his brother to England.

Not yet diſcouraged, he next repaired to the court of Spain, and ſent his brother Bartholomew into England, to ſolicit the means of attempting the propoſed diſcovery A. D. 1485. Bartholomew was unfortunately taken by pirates on his paſſage, who ſtripped him of

* Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 557—658.

every

every thing, and chained him to the oar. At length he made his eſcape, and arrived in England A. D. 1489, almoſt naked, and emaciated by his ſufferings. In this ſituation, without credentials, without money, and without friends, he could not procure acceſs to the king or his miniſters; but endeavoured to ſupport himſelf by making maps and ſea charts. When he had recovered his health, and could make a decent appearance, he preſented a map of the world to the king, which procured him an audience of that prince, and an opportunity of explaining the commiſſion he had received from his brother. Henry heard him with attention, examined all circumſtances, and thinking his ſucceſs probable, he agreed to his propoſals, and ſent him back with an invitation to his brother to come into England; but before Bartholomew arrived in Spain, his brother Chriſtopher had ſailed on his ſecond voyage to the iſlands he had diſcovered in the firſt *. Thus it was by the misfortunes of Bartholomew Columbus, and not by the avarice of Henry VII. that the Engliſh loſt the honour of being the firſt diſcoverers of the New World: but it may be juſtly doubted whether this was any real loſs to them, or their poſterity. Spain doth not ſeem to have gained either honour, power, population, or proſperity of any kind, but rather to have been a loſer in all theſe reſpects by the diſcovery.

Diſcovery of Newfoundland, &c.

But though Henry and his ſubjects were thus deprived of the honour of being the firſt diſcoverers of the New World, they were determined to have a ſhare in the diſcovery. John Cabot, a Venetian, had reſided ſeveral years in Briſtol as a merchant and mariner, in which laſt capacity he had acquired great knowledge by many voyages. Having heard of the fame and ſucceſs of Columbus, he preſented propoſals to Henry VII. for attempting ſimilar diſcoveries. His propoſals were readily accepted, and the king granted letters patent, March 5th A. D. 1496, to him and his three ſons, Lewis, Sebaſtian, and Sanctius, to ſail with five ſhips under Engliſh colours for the diſcovery of unknown countries, which had never been viſited by any Chriſtians, and granting to them and their

* Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 557—658.

heirs all the countries they diſcovered, to be held of the crown of England, reſerving to himſelf and his heirs a fifth part of the nett profits *. Beſides this, he fitted out a gallant ſhip for this expedition at his own expence, and ſome merchants of London and Briſtol provided four ſmaller veſſels. With this little fleet John Cabot ſailed from Briſtol in ſpring A. D. 1497, and directing his courſe to the north-weſt, on June 24th he diſcovered the iſland of Newfoundland, and ſoon after the iſland of St. John. He then ſailed down to Cape Florida, and returned to Briſtol with a good cargo and three natives of the countries he had diſcovered on board. He was graciouſly received, and knighted by Henry on his return †. From this well-atteſted account it appears, that the Engliſh were the firſt diſcoverers of the continent of America; and therefore, according to the political caſuiſtry of thoſe times, had a better title than any other European nation to the poſſeſſion of that quarter of the globe ‡. That title, however, at the beſt, is very queſtionable.

Commercial treaty.

Though Henry VII. was thus diſpoſed to encourage and aſſiſt his ſubjects in making foreign diſcoveries, he was not the leſs attentive to the concerns of commerce nearer home. A miſunderſtanding having ariſen between him and Philip duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders A. D. 1493, all the Flemings were baniſhed from England and all the Engliſh from Flanders, and a total ſtop was put to the trade between theſe two countries. This was equally diſagreeable and diſtreſsful to the people of both countries, who had long carried on a great trade with one another, to their mutual advantage. This pernicious interruption of trade was not of long duration. A very correct and comprehenſive commercial treaty, between Henry and Philip archduke of Auſtria and ſovereign of the Netherlands, was ſigned at London February 24th A. D. 1496, in which every precaution was uſed to render the intercourſe between the ſubjects of the

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 595. † Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 4, &c. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 461, &c.

‡ See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 336. 3d edition.

two

two princes ſecure, permanent, and profitable to all concerned *. It was called *intercurſus magnus*, (the great commercial treaty,) and gave no little joy to the merchants and manufacturers of both countries. When the Engliſh returned to Antwerp, (to which they had removed their factory from Bruges a few years before,) they were conducted into that city in triumph, and were received with every poſſible demonſtration of joy.

Act of parliament.

On this occaſion a violent conteſt broke out between the merchants reſiding in the capital, who had been long incorporated under different names, and now called themſelves The Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, and the merchants who reſided in other cities and towns, who called themſelves The Merchant Adventurers of England. The London Company had been long accuſtomed to impoſe a kind of tax or compoſition on the Engliſh merchants reſiding in other places, for liberty to buy and ſell in the great fairs of Flanders, Brabant, and other countries on the continent. This tax was at firſt only half an old noble (3s. 4d.) and was demanded by the London merchants, who then called themſelves The Fraternity of St. Thomas Becket, on a religious pretence, to enable them to do honour to their favourite ſaint, and thereby gain his protection. But by degrees this impoſition was raiſed ſo much, that it now amounted to twenty pounds, to the great diſcouragement of trade. The merchant adventurers therefore, who reſided in the out-ports, applied to parliament for a redreſs of this grievance, and an act was made A. D. 1496, reducing that fine to ten merks ſterling †.

Commercial treaty.

Henry VII. ſtill continued to encourage the trade of his ſubjects by new commercial treaties with foreign ſtates, and even with particular towns. He concluded ſuch a treaty with the magiſtrates of Riga in Livonia A. D. 1498, in which it was ſtipulated, that the Engliſh ſhould pay no tolls or cuſtoms in the port of Riga, and that the merchants of Riga ſhould pay the ſame tolls and cuſtoms in the

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 578. † Stat. 12 Hen. VII. c. 6.

ports

ports of England with other merchant ſtrangers *. They alſo engaged to remit a debt of 10,637 gold nobles due to them by England. The ſtipulations in this treaty were very unequal, and ſo were the contracting parties.

Henry VII. attentive to trade.

It would be tedious to mention all the commercial treaties of Henry VII. It will therefore be ſufficient to remark, that, in his negotiations and treaties with foreign princes and ſtates, he never forgot the concerns of commerce, or neglected to procure ſome advantage to his mercantile ſubjects. He was particularly complaiſant to the citizens and merchants of London, to whom he communicated the earlieſt intelligence of all important events and tranſactions; and by the punctual payment of his debts his credit in the city was unbounded. He even lent conſiderable ſums of money to merchants, to enable them to extend their trade, and ſometimes he became a partner in their adventures, and received his proportion of the profits †.

Weights and meaſures.

Henry VII. was no leſs attentive to the internal than to the external or foreign trade of his dominions, and procured ſeveral wiſe laws to be made, for regulating their commercial intercourſe with one another. Of theſe it will be ſufficient to mention only one, whoſe ſalutary effects were extenſive and of long duration. The great diverſity of weights and meaſures in different parts of England was very perplexing and inconvenient, and ſeveral laws had been made to reduce them to uniformity; but inveterate cuſtom had hitherto proved too ſtrong for all theſe laws. An act was made therefore in the fourth parliament of Henry VII. A. D. 1494, which promiſed to be more effectual, becauſe greater care was taken to ſecure its immediate execution. It was enacted, "That unto the "knights and citizens of every ſhire and city, aſſembled in this "preſent parliament, barons of the cinque ports, and certain bur-"geſſes of burgh towns, before they depart from this preſent par-"liament, be delivered one of every weight and meaſure, which "now our ſovereign lord hath cauſed to be made of braſs, for the "commonwealth of all his ſubjects and lieges within this his realm

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 701. † Campbell, vol. i. p. 330.

"of

" of England, according to the king our ſovereign lord's ſtandard " of his exchequer of weights and meaſures." Theſe knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, are directed to deliver theſe braſs weights and meaſures to the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns which they repreſented, according to a ſchedule annexed to the act, containing their names, in number forty-three. The inhabitants of all theſe cities and towns, and the diſtricts around them, are commanded to provide themſelves before the feaſt of St. John Baptiſt with weights and meaſures, exactly agreeable to thoſe braſs ſtandards, and ſealed with the letter H. crowned, and from thence forward to uſe no other weights or meaſures. The mayors and bailiffs in the ſeveral cities and towns are required to call in all the weights and meaſures of the people within the juriſdictions twice a year, to examine them by the ſtandards, to break and burn ſuch as were found defective, and to fine their proprietors, for the firſt offence, 6s. 8d.; for the ſecond, 13s. 4d.; and for the third, 20 ſhillings and the puniſhment of the pillory *. Though the king and parliament had been at great pains and no little expence in making this law and providing for its execution, it was ſoon after found that a miſtake had been committed, and that the weights and meaſures which had been ſent to the ſeveral cities and towns were not exactly agreeable to the ſtandards in the exchequer. This miſtake was rectified by an act made by the next parliament 1496. By that act the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns to which weights and meaſures had been ſent, were commanded to return them to the exchequer, there to be broken in pieces, and new ones more correct to be ſent in their room. While theſe laws were ſtrictly executed they were not ineffectual. But as the ſtrict execution of them was attended with no little trouble, and various inconveniencies to the magiſtrates of towns and cities, it was gradually relaxed, and the former irregularities in weights and meaſures gradually returned.

Though ſir John Cabot had diſcovered the iſles of Newfoundland and St. John and the coaſt of North America, and had taken poſ- Colonies.

* 11 Hen. VII. c. 4.

ſeſſion of them in the name of the king of England ſo early as A. D. 1497, no attempt was made to eſtabliſh colonies in any of theſe countries. But Henry VII. ſoon after began to entertain thoughts of forming colonies in the New World, or at leaſt to encourage his ſubjects to form them. This appears from a commiſſion which he granted A. D. 1501 to Hugh Elliot and Thomas Aſhurſt merchants in Briſtol, John Gunſalus and Francis Fernandus natives of Portugal, "To ſail with as many ſhips and mariners as they "thought proper, with Engliſh colours, into the parts and coun-"tries of the eaſtern, weſtern, ſouthern, and northern ſeas, to diſ-"cover, recover, and inveſtigate any iſlands, coaſts, and countries "of heathen and infidel parts of the world, and to ſet up the king's "banners and enſigns in whatever town, caſtle, iſland, or continent "they ſhould diſcover, and to hold the ſame for our uſe as our "lieutenants. 2. Whenever any diſcovery ſhall be made, it is our "will that men and women from England be freely permitted to "ſettle therein, and to improve the ſame, under the protection of "theſe grantees *." From hence it appears, that it was the intention of theſe adventurers to eſtabliſh a colony in the country they hoped to diſcover, and that the king approved of their deſign. What diſcoveries they made we are not informed, but it is certain they did not plant a colony; and it will afterwards appear that no permanent colony was eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh in any part of the New World for a whole century after the date of this grant.

Henry's treaſures.

Henry VII. was too fond of money not to be a friend to trade, which added to his own revenues as well as to the riches of his ſubjects; and there is ſufficient evidence that the commerce and wealth of England increaſed conſiderably under his government. A cotemporary hiſtorian thus concludes his character of Henry VII. "Surely this good prince did not devour and conſume the ſubſtance "and riches of his realm; for, by his high policy, he marvelloufly "enriched his realm and himſelf, and yet left his ſubjects in high

* Rym. tom. xiii. p. 37.

"wealth

" wealth and proſperity. The proof whereof is manifeſtly appa-
" rent, by the great abundance of gold and ſilver yearly brought
" into this realm, both in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants
" paſſing and repaſſing out and into this realm with merchandiſe,
" to whom he himſelf of his own goods lent money largely, with-
" out any gain or profit, to the intent that merchandiſe, being of
" all crafts the chief arte, to all men both moſt profitable and neceſ-
" ſary, might be the more plentifuller uſed, haunted, and employed
" in his realms and dominions *." Henry was poſſeſſed of thoſe qualities which contribute moſt effectually to render their poſſeſſors rich. He was well acquainted with all the arts and pretences of ſqueezing money from his ſubjects, and exacted whatever he pretended to be his right with unrelenting rigour; at the ſame time he was an anxious wakeful œconomiſt, and kept moſt exact accounts of all his expences, even the moſt trifling †. But with all his arts of getting and ſaving money, he could not have accumulated ſo great a maſs of treaſure as he left in his coffers at his death, if his ſubjects, particularly his mercantile ſubjects, had not been opulent for thoſe times. The accounts we have of the amount of theſe treaſures are very different. Lord chief juſtice Coke affirms, that they amounted to the enormous ſum of five millions three hundred thouſand pounds ‡. Sir Robert Cotton ſtates them at four millions and a half, beſides wrought plate, jewels, and rich furniture §. Theſe accounts, though ſeemingly well atteſted, are hardly credible. One would rather be inclined to think that there was not ſo much money in the kingdom in thoſe times, before any of the precious metals from the New World had reached England. The account given by Lord Bacon (which hath been already mentioned) is more moderate, and probably nearer the truth.

Trade of Scotland.

James IV. king of Scots, the contemporary and ſon-in-law of Henry VII. was an intelligent and active prince, and ſtudied to promote the proſperity of his ſubjects by promoting trade. With

* Hall, Hen. VII. f. 61.
† See Append. No. iii. No. iv.
‡ 4 Inſtitut. ch. 35.
§ Anſwer to the Reaſons for Foreign Wars, p. 53.

Commercial laws.

this view many laws were made in his reign, all of them well intended; but as trade was then very imperfectly underſtood, few of them were either wiſe or uſeful, and too many of them impracticable or pernicious. Among the uſeful laws may be reckoned thoſe for the uniformity of weights and meaſures, if they could have been carried into execution *; but though theſe laws were often renewed, they were never effectual. The importance of the fiſheries was well underſtood. This appears from the preambles to thoſe acts, obliging all cities, towns, prelates, and barons to fit out buſhes for the fiſheries, of twenty tons and upwards, with a certain length of lines and nets, and a certain number of hands †; nor were theſe acts ineffectual, as the Scots fiſheries were at this time flouriſhing and lucrative.

Wherever there is trade, and impoſts on goods exported and imported, there will be ſmuggling, or attempts to avoid the payment of theſe impoſts, unleſs the riſk of loſs can be made greater and more certain than the proſpect of gain, by making ſuch attempts. To prevent ſmuggling, and to ſecure the payment of the king's cuſtoms, was the object of ſeveral ſtatutes in this period. Theſe ſtatutes were very ſimple, and probably not very effectual. By an act of the firſt parliament of James IV. A. D. 1488, "It was ſtatute "and ordanit, that in time to come, all manner of ſhips, ſtrangers, "and others, come to the king's free burrows, ſic as Dumbarton, "Irvine, Wigtoun, Kirkcudbright, Renfrew, and other free bur-"rows of the realm, to pay their dues and cuſtoms, and take their "cocket as effiers ‡." The ports particularly mentioned in this act are now, and were then, very inconſiderable in compariſon of many others which are not mentioned. But their inhabitants were zealous partizans of that predominant party which had lately ſlain their ſovereign, and this firſt parliament of James IV. was compoſed wholly of the heads of that party. To ſuch a degree will faction ſometimes influence public deliberations.

* Black Acts, James IV. Act 131. † Ibid. Act 81.
‡ Ibid. Act 11.

So

So imperfectly was commerce underſtood at this time in both the Britiſh kingdoms, that they imagined they could bring the balance of trade in their own favour, and add daily to their ſtock of gold and ſilver, merely by making laws to compel all merchants, foreigners as well as natives, to import a certain quantity of coin or bullion in every ſhip, in proportion to the value of the other goods; to lay out all that coin and bullion, together with all the money they received for their goods, in purchaſing the commodities of the country; and not to export any gold or ſilver in coin or bullion, under the ſevereſt penalties. Such laws were made both in England and Scotland in this period *; but they ſerved only to betray the ignorance of thoſe who made them, and could not be executed. When the value of the imports into any country exceeds the value of the exports, the balance muſt be paid in the precious metals, in ſpite of a thouſand laws to the contrary. By another law, equally abſurd and hurtful to trade, no ſhips were ſuffered to ſail from any port in Scotland from the firſt of November to the firſt of February. Sailing in the three winter months was eſteemed too dangerous to be permitted †.

Staple.

The ſtaple of the trade of Scotland was ſeveral times changed. It had been anciently fixed at Campvere in Zealand, whoſe earl married a daughter of James I. From thence it was ſettled at Bruges in Flanders, which in the fifteenth century became the center of trade to almoſt all the nations of Europe. It was removed from thence by act of parliament to Middleburgh in Zealand, where it did not continue, but was reſtored to its ancient ſtation at Campvere. The ſenate and magiſtrates of Middleburgh never deſiſted from importuning James IV. and after his death the duke of Albany, to have the ſtaple returned to their town; and having gained the ſecretary Mr. Panter, by a promiſe of three hundred gold crowns, they entertained great hopes of ſucceſs ‡: but in this they were diſappointed. Secretary Panter acquainted them, that when the affair was debated in council he was ill of a fever; and that the people of Campvere

* James IV. Act 30. † Ibid. ‡ Epiſt. R. R. S. tom. i. p. 276.

had made ſuch intereſt to prevent ſo precious a morſel which had ſo much enriched their town being torn from them, that he imagined they would prevail *. He was not miſtaken. When the city of Antwerp was in its greateſt glory, the emporium of almoſt all the nations of Europe, the ſenate and magiſtrates applied to James V. A. D. 1539, to fix the ſtaple in their city, promiſing peculiar privileges and immunities to his ſubjects. The people of Campvere, alarmed at this application of ſuch formidable rivals, exerted all their influence to retain what they had long enjoyed, and of which they knew the value. To determine this queſtion king James ſummoned a convention of merchants from all the trading towns of the kingdom; and finding the members of this convention almoſt equally divided in their opinions, he granted every one liberty to do what he thought moſt for his advantage †. On this permiſſion ſome of the merchants carried their ſtaple commodities to Antwerp; but as they did not meet with the favour and encouragement they expected, they gradually returned to Campvere. All this competition between ſo many towns ſeems to indicate that the trade of Scotland in this period was not inconſiderable.

Conſervator.

Wherever the ſtaple was fixed, an officer called the Conſervator of the Scots Privileges was ſtationed, with authority to protect the privileges that had been granted to the Scots merchants, and to determine all diſputes that aroſe among thoſe merchants, with the aſſiſtance of four of them as his aſſeſſors. By act of parliament A. D. 1503, the merchants are prohibited from proſecuting one another before any other judges than the conſervator and his aſſeſſors ‡. By another act of the ſame parliament, the conſervator is commanded to come to Scotland once every year, or to ſend a procurator ſufficiently inſtructed to give an account of his tranſactions, and to anſwer to any complaints that have been made againſt him §.

Acceſſion of Hen. VIII. favourable to trade.

The acceſſion of Henry VIII. to the throne of England was no diſadvantage to trade, though he did not underſtand it ſo well, nor attend to it ſo much as his father had done. He was young, oſten-

* Epiſt. R. R. S. tom. i. p. 284.
† Ibid. tom. ii. p. 55.
‡ Black Acts, James IV. c. 116.
§ Ibid. c. 117.

tatious,

tatious, and fond of pleaſure; poſſeſſed of a prodigious maſs of treaſure, and unboundedly expenſive in his houſehold, dreſs, tournaments, diſguiſings, and diverſions of all kinds. He was too well imitated in this ſplendid expenſive way of living by thoſe of the nobility and men of fortune, who frequented the court, and aſpired to the notice and favour of the youthful monarch. This occaſioned an uncommon demand for many coſtly commodities, as clothes of gold and ſilver, velvets, ſilks, embroideries, jewels, plate, wines, ſpices, &c. and that demand was ſupplied by trade. This trade was for ſome time chiefly carried on by the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and Florence, to whom the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given of ſafety and friendly treatment in the ports of England *. By degrees, however, theſe foreigners became ſo unpopular, that it was hardly in the power of government to protect them; and this trade came gradually into the hands of the Engliſh merchants. We may form ſome idea of the great importation of cloth of gold, cloth of ſilver, vandekin, velvet, damaſk, ſattin, ſarcenet, farſton, camblet, and other cloths of ſilk, and of ſilk and gold and ſilver, in the beginning of this reign, from an act of parliament A. D. 1513, in which it is ſaid "that three or four thouſand pieces of theſe cloths were commonly imported in one ſhip †." This trade was more profitable to the merchants than to their country.

Circle of trade enlarged.

That ſpirit of mercantile adventure which had ſprung up in the preceding reign ſtill continued and increaſed, and the circle of trade was gradually enlarged. The trade of the Engliſh in the Mediterranean was become ſo conſiderable, that it was found neceſſary to eſtabliſh a conſul in the iſland of Chios in the Archipelago A. D. 1513 ‡. Though no Engliſh colonies were as yet ſettled in any part of the new world, it appears that the merchants carried on a trade with theſe countries, and even with the iſlands in the Weſt Indies, which had been ſeized and ſettled by the Spaniards; and that they had agents reſiding in ſome of theſe iſlands, particularly in the great iſland of Cuba, for the management of their trade §.

* Rym. tom. xiii. p 271.
† 4 Hen. VIII. c. 6.
‡ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 353.
§ Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 500.

Many

Many voyages were undertaken in this reign for the diſcovery of unknown countries, in order to enlarge the circle of trade; but the accounts we have of theſe voyages are very ſhort and imperfect. It appears that Henry VIII. fitted out a fleet, for making diſcoveries in the South Sea A. D. 1516, and gave the command of it to Sir Thomas Pert vice-admiral of England, and the famous Sebaſtian Cabot; but all we know farther of this expedition is, that it was unſucceſsful, owing to the cowardice of Sir Thomas Pert *. Mr. Thorne of Briſtol was one of the greateſt merchants and boldeſt adventurers in England in this reign. He had not only factors reſiding in Cuba, but he ſent agents in the Spaniſh fleets, furniſhed with great ſums of money, to bring him exact deſcriptions and charts of the ſeas, rivers, and lands, viſited by theſe fleets †. Mr. Thorne, by his letters, earneſtly intreated Henry VIII. not to be diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of his firſt attempts to make diſcoveries, but to perſevere and to direct his reſearches towards the north, for which his dominions were moſt conveniently ſituated. He gave the king alſo ſome very prudent advices for conducting his future voyages of diſcovery ‡; but what regard was paid to the entreaties and advices we are not informed. Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, father of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, made three very ſucceſsful voyages in a ſhip of his own to the coaſt of Brazil, and in his paſſage he traded with the Negroes of Guinea. Mr. Hawkins, by his good behaviour, became ſo great a favourite of the Brazilians, that one of their kings came voluntarily with him into England, and being preſented to Henry VIII. at Whitehall, excited great admiration by the ſtrangeneſs of his dreſs and appearance §. Mr. Hore of London, who was an accompliſhed gentleman as well as an adventurous merchant, was not ſo fortunate as Mr. Hawkins. Having prevailed upon thirty young gentlemen to accompany him in a voyage of diſcovery, they ſailed from Graveſend in April A. D. 1536, with two ſhips, the Trinity and Minion, and about one hundred and twenty men. After a tedious voyage of about two months they diſcovered

* Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 498.
† Ibid. p. 726.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 498, 499.
§ Ibid. p. 700.

the

the iſland of Cape Breton, and ſome time after the iſland ſince called Newfoundland. They ſailed along the coaſts of that iſland, endeavouring, but in vain, to gain ſome communication with the natives, till their proviſions began to fail, and they were by degrees reduced to ſuch extreme diſtreſs, that they came to a reſolution to determine, by caſting lots, which of them ſhould be firſt ſacrificed to the preſervation of their companions. In that awful moment a French ſhip approached, which the periſhing Engliſh immediately aſſaulted and ſeized, and, to their inexpreſſible joy, found her almoſt loaded with proviſions. They removed a ſufficient quantity of the proviſions into their ſhips, and ſet ſail for England. They arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall in October the ſame year; but ſo emaciated, that their neareſt relations could hardly recognize them *. Other evidence, if it were neceſſary, might be produced, to prove that the Engliſh in this reign enlarged the circle of their trade, by viſiting ſeveral countries with which they had formerly been unacquainted.

Henry VIII. endeavoured to encourage commerce by various other methods. He made commercial treaties with almoſt all the princes and ſtates of Europe; in which, and in his other treaties, he took care to ſecure certain privileges to his mercantile ſubjects †. In his reign, and moſt probably by his influence, ſeveral acts of parliament were made for removing all obſtructions to navigation out of the great rivers, and for deepening ſmaller ones, to make them navigable ‡. He repaired the harbours of Scarborough, Southampton, and ſeveral other towns; and on the port of Dover alone he expended between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand pounds. He built a great many ſtrong forts at the mouths of rivers, and the moſt expoſed parts of coaſts, for the ſecurity of ſhipping and of the country. Great pains were taken in this reign to clear the ſurrounding ſeas of pirates; and the king on ſome occaſions diſcovered the greateſt anxiety for the ſafety of his merchants ſhips §. For the improvement of navigation, the famous maritime guild or fraternity called the Trinity-houſe of

Henry VIII. encouraged trade.

* Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 129.
† Rym. tom. xiii. paſſim.
‡ Stat. temp. Hen. VIII.
§ Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 27—33.

Deptford, was inſtituted A. D. 1512; and ſimilar fraternities were ſoon after eſtabliſhed at Hull and Newcaſtle upon Tyne, for the inſtruction and examination of pilots, erecting of beacons, light-houſes, and buoys, and for various purpoſes, to prevent ſhipwrecks *. But it is the peculiar glory of Henry VIII. that he may be ſtiled the founder of the royal navy of England, by appointing a board of commiſſioners of the navy, and by erecting ſtorehouſes for all manner of naval ſtores, and making yards and docks at Woolwich and Deptford for building and equipping ſhips of war. From theſe and other facts that might have been mentioned, it plainly appears, that Henry VIII. paid no little attention to trade, and that his endeavours to promote and encourage it were not altogether in vain.

But though the intentions of Henry and his miniſters were favourable to commerce, their knowledge of it was ſo imperfect, that not a few of their laws and regulations were rather hurtful than beneficial. Of this it would be eaſy to give many examples, but a few will be ſufficient. What could be more unreaſonable in itſelf, or more obſtructive to the freedom of commerce, than that law, which was ſo frequently renewed and ſo ſtrongly enforced, againſt the exportation of gold or ſilver in coin or bullion, and commanding all native merchants to import a certain quantity of theſe precious metals in every ſhip; and obliging foreign merchants to inveſt all the money they received for the goods they imported in the commodities of the country †. Several corporations obtained monopolies by acts of parliament, which muſt have been hurtful both to trade and manufactures; and they obtained them on very ſtrange ſuggeſtions. The bailiffs and burgeſſes of Bridport in Dorſetſhire preſented a petition to parliament A. D. 1529, repreſenting that the people of their town had been in uſe, time out of mind, to make the moſt part of the great cables, halſers, ropes, and other tackling for the royal navy, and for the moſt part of all other ſhips within the realm, by which their town was right well maintained. But that of late years certain evil-diſpoſed perſons in the neighbourhood had begun to make cables,

* Anderſon's Hiſt. Com. vol. i. p. 342. † Stat. 4 Hen. VII. c. 23.

halſers,

halſers, and ropes, by which their town of Bridport was in danger of being ruined, and the prices of cables, halſers, and ropes were greatly enhanced. The firſt of theſe allegations might be true; but the ſecond was certainly a moſt impudent and glaring falſehood. The increaſe of manufacturers could not raiſe the price of the goods manufactured. It muſt have had a contrary effect, which was undoubtedly the real grievance of the good people of Bridport. On this falſe and abſurd ſuggeſtion, an act was made that all the hemp that grew within five miles of Bridport ſhould be ſold only in that town, and that no perſon within five miles of Bridport ſhould make any cables, halſers, ropes, hilters, &c. on pain of forfeiting all the goods they made *; an act no leſs imprudent than it was unjuſt. One other example will be ſufficient to convince us, that very pernicious laws were made in this period, (and perhaps not in this period only,) on very abſurd pretences. The city of Worceſter, the towns of Eveſham, Droitwich, Kidderminſter, and Bromeſgrove, repreſented to parliament A. D. 1533, that the ſaid city and towns, were well inhabited, and their inhabitants well maintained, by making woollen cloths of various kinds; but that of late years, divers perſons dwelling in the hamlets, towns, and villages of the ſhire of Worceſter, for their own lucre, had begun to exerciſe cloth-making of all kinds, to the great decay, depopulation, and ruin of the ſaid city and towns. Upon this repreſentation, an act was made, that no perſon of any degree in Worceſterſhire ſhould make any cloth to be ſold, except ſuch perſons as reſided in the city of Worceſter, or in the towns of Eveſham, Droitwich, Kidderminſter, or Bromeſgrove †. That ſuch reſtrictive laws were unfriendly and hurtful both to trade and manufactures is obvious, though it was certainly not the intention of the legiſlators to hurt them. Good intentions are not ſufficient to make good legiſlators. Prudence and caution to prevent being deceived by intereſted perſons, patient laborious inveſtigation, and a thorough knowledge of the ſubject on which the laws are to be made, are no leſs neceſſary than good intentions.

* Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12. † 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18.

But notwithſtanding theſe and ſeveral other obſtructions to trade which might have been mentioned, there is ſufficient evidence that the commerce of England was conſiderably extended and increaſed in the reign of Henry VIII.

If commerce was but imperfectly underſtood in England in this period, it was ſtill more imperfectly underſtood in Scotland. Several laws relating to trade were made in the reign of James V., but they were all reſtrictive, and tended rather to curb than to encourage a ſpirit for mercantile adventures. None but the inhabitants and freemen of royal boroughs were permitted to engage in trade; and even they were not permitted to engage in it unleſs they had a certain ſtock in money or goods *. While Henry VIII. encouraged his ſubjects to undertake long and dangerous voyages for the diſcovery of unknown countries, James V. made laws to prohibit his ſubjects from putting to ſea in the three winter months †. Trade could not flouriſh under ſuch reſtrictions.

As money and ſhips are two great inſtruments of commerce, without which it cannot be carried on, it is neceſſary to give a brief account of the ſtate of them in every period of this work.

Pound in weight and pound in tale the ſame.

Though a pound is one of the moſt common denominations of money, it never was a real coin, either in gold or ſilver, in any age or country. Such large and ponderous coins would have been in many reſpects inconvenient. But for many ages, both in Britain and in other countries, that number of ſmaller coins which was denominated a pound in computation, or a pound in tale, really contained a pound of ſilver; and they might have been and frequently were weighed, as well as numbered, to aſcertain their value. If the number of coins that were denominated a pound in tale did not actually make a pound in weight, an additional number of coins were thrown into the ſcale to make up the weight. This was a fair and honeſt practice; the departure from which occaſioned many difficulties, miſtakes, and impoſitions in money tranſactions, both in foreign and domeſtic trade.

Began to differ.

* Black Acts, James V. ch. 27. † Ibid. ch. 37. 34. 80.

About

About the beginning of the fourteenth century, Edward I. having exhauſted his treaſures by his long and expenſive wars with Scotland, coined a greater number of pennies, halfpennies, and farthings out of a pound of ſilver than formerly; which gave riſe to the diſtinction between the pound in weight and the pound in tale. The difference at firſt was very ſmall, and hardly perceptible; but it gradually increaſed in every ſucceeding reign; and at the acceſſion of Henry VII. the nominal pound, or the pound in tale, was little more than half a real pound in weight, and contained only as much ſilver as thirty-one ſhillings of our money at preſent *.

Shillings.

Groats, weighing each forty-three grains, had been hitherto the largeſt ſilver coins: but Henry VII., A. D. 1504, coined ſhillings, then commonly called feſtoons, each weighing 144 grains, equal to three groats, and to twelve pennies. They were fair and beautiful coins, for thoſe times; but they are now become ſo exceedingly rare, that it is imagined that no great numbers of them were coined †.

Silver Coins.

Henry VII. made ſeveral alterations in the form and devices of the coins of England. Inſtead of the full face that appeared on the coins of former kings, and which bore little or no reſemblance to the prince intended to be repreſented, his face appears in profile, and bears a great reſemblance to his real countenance. Still further to diſtinguiſh his coins from thoſe of preceding or ſubſequent kings of the ſame name, the number VII. was added immediately after the name: this practice hath been followed by all his ſucceſſors. He laid aſide the open crown of former kings, and appears upon his coins with an arched imperial crown, ſurmounted by the globe and croſs. To prevent clipping, he cauſed a circle to be made at the very edge of his coins. The ſilver coins of Henry VII. were ſhillings or feſtoons, groats, half-groats, pennies, half-pennies, and farthings, of the ſame weight and value with thoſe of his two predeceſſors, Edward IV. and Richard III ‡.

* See vol. ii. p. 488, &c. vol. iii. p. 539. vol. iv. p. 548. vol. v. p. 517.
† Folkes on Coins, p. 19. edit. 1763.
‡ M. Leake, p. 179. See vol. v. p. 519.

Gold coins. Henry VII. coined a great deal of gold as well as of ſilver; but his gold coins in general bore the ſame names, and were of the ſame weight and value with thoſe of his two predeceſſors, which have been already deſcribed *. He was however the firſt king of England who coined thoſe large and beautiful pieces of gold called ſovereigns, value forty-two ſhillings of thoſe times, and half-ſovereigns, value twenty-one ſhillings: he coined alſo quadruple ſovereigns, weighing each an ounce of gold; but theſe laſt were undoubtedly deſigned for medals, and not for current coins †. The gold coins of Henry VII., as they are enumerated in an act of parliament A. D. 1503, were ſovereigns and half-ſovereigns, ryals, half-ryals, and quarter-ryals, nobles, and half-nobles ‡. All the coins of Henry VII., both of gold and ſilver, were of ſtandard purity. He poſſeſſed too much money, and loved it too well, to ſink its value by too great a number of baſer metals.

Henry VIII. Henry VIII. coined a great deal of money in his long reign. In the former part of it, his coins were of the ſame kinds and of the ſame weight and fineneſs with thoſe of his predeceſſors, which have been deſcribed. But towards the end of his reign, after he had ſquandered all his father's treaſures, the grants he had received from parliament, and the great ſums he had derived from the diſſolution of the religious houſes, he began to diminiſh his coins both in weight and fineneſs. This diminution at firſt was ſmall, in hopes perhaps that it would not be perceived; but after he had got into this fatal career, he proceeded by rapid ſteps to the moſt pernicious lengths. In the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, ſilver money of all the different kinds was coined, which had only one half ſilver and the other half alloy. He did not even ſtop here; in the laſt year of his reign he coined money that had only four ounces of ſilver and eight ounces of alloy in the pound weight; and the nominal pound of this baſe money was worth only nine ſhillings and three-pence three farthings of our preſent money ‖. He began to debaſe his gold coins at the ſame

* M. Leake, p. 179. See vol. v. p. 519. † Leake, p. 182.
‡ 18 Hen. VII. c. 5. ‖ M. Folkes, p. 27.

time,

time, and proceeded by the ſame degrees.—But it would be tedious to follow him in every ſtep. In this degraded and debaſed condition Henry VIII. left the money of his kingdom to his ſon and ſucceſſor Edward VI. This ſhameful debaſement of the money of his kingdom was one of the moſt imprudent, diſhonourable, and pernicious meaſures of his reign; it was productive of innumerable inconveniences and great perplexity in buſineſs of all kinds, and the reſtoration of it to its ſtandard purity was found to be a work of great difficulty.

Intereſt of money.

It had long been a great obſtruction to trade and to improvements of every kind, that lending money upon intereſt was declared by the church to be uſury, and highly criminal in chriſtians. This prevented laws being made for regulating the rate of intereſt; and the money lenders (many of whom were Jews) took advantage of the neceſſity of the borrowers, and exacted moſt exorbitant intereſt. They had invented alſo ſeveral curious devices to elude the penalties of the laws againſt uſury. Of theſe evils many complaints had been made; and by an act of parliament A. D. 1545, the intereſt of money was fixed at ten per cent.; and if any perſon took more, he was to forfeit three times the ſum lent, the one half to the king, and the other to the informer. In the ſame act, the various tricks and devices that had been practiſed by the money-lenders, to eſcape the penalties of the laws againſt uſury, are enumerated and prohibited *.

Scotland.

The coins of Scotland were originally the ſame with thoſe of England, in weight, purity, and value; and continued to be ſo till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when they began to fall a little below them. This difference in the coins of the two Britiſh kingdoms gradually increaſed; and not long after the beginning of our preſent period, the nominal pound of Scotland was only equal to one-third of the nominal pound of England. This appears with the cleareſt evidence, from the contract of marriage between king James IV. and the princeſs Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry VII. A. D. 1502. In one article of that contract it is ſtipulated, that the

* 37 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

princeſs

princeſs ſhould be infeoffed in lands of the yearly value of 2000l. Engliſh, or 6000 Scots. By another article, king James is bound to pay to his queen 1000l. Scots, or 500 marks Engliſh, yearly, to be diſpoſed of as ſhe pleaſed *. As the nominal Engliſh pound at that time was equal to thirty-one of our preſent ſhillings, the Scots pound, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, was equal to ten ſhillings and four-pence ſterling. But towards the end of this period A. D. 1544, the nominal pound of Scotland had ſunk to one-fourth of the nominal pound of England. This appears from a contract of marriage between Matthew earl of Lennox and the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the queen-dowager of Scotland by her ſecond huſband the earl of Angus, and niece to Henry VIII. By one article in that contract, king Henry engaged to ſettle an eſtate in England on the earl of Lennox and the lady Margaret, and their heirs, of the yearly value of 6,800 marks Scots, which is equal (ſays the record) to 1700 marks Engliſh †. James IV. and V. coined a good deal of money both of gold and ſilver; for a particular deſcription of which the reader muſt be referred to the work quoted below ‡; the introducing of it here would be tedious, and unſuitable to the deſign of general hiſtory. It may however be obſerved, that the kings of Scotland aſſumed the arched imperial crown upon their coins about the ſame time with the kings of England; that their coins were not inferior in their fabrication to thoſe of England; and that the gold coins of James V. called bonnet, (becauſe they have a bonnet on the king's head,) were the moſt elegant and beautiful coins in Europe in thoſe times.

Expence of living.

As money was certainly more plentiful in Britain, and the prices of proviſions and the other neceſſaries of life were higher in this than in the preceding period, we have reaſon to believe that the expence of living was only ſix, or rather five times cheaper in nominal pounds than it is at preſent ‖. Various evidences of this might be produced;

* Rym. tom. xii. p. 787—791. † Ibid. tom. xv. p. 31.

‡ Numiſmata Scotiæ, by Adam de Cardonnel.

‖ See Fleetwood's Chronicon Pretioſum, p. 112—120.

but

but one deciſive proof will, it is hoped, be thought ſufficient. By an act of parliament A. D. 1545, it was provided, that when the church of a ſmall pariſh, whoſe benefice did not exceed ſix pounds a year, was ſituated within a mile of another church, the ſmall pariſh might be annexed to that other church. For this two reaſons are aſſigned: 1ſt, That it would ſave the expence of keeping up two churches. 2d, That ſix pounds a year was too ſcanty a living for a pariſh prieſt. And may not the ſame thing be ſaid of five times ſix, or thirty pounds at preſent? By another clauſe in the ſame act it is provided, that if the pariſhioners of the ſmall pariſh annexed ſhall within a year raiſe their benefice to eight pounds a year, the annexation ſhall be diſſolved; becauſe, in the opinion of this parliament, eight pounds was a competent living for the miniſter of a ſmall pariſh. And can more be ſaid of five times eight, or forty pounds a-year in our times? If we wiſh therefore to form a judgment of the real riches of perſons in the different ranks in ſociety at two different and diſtant periods, we muſt not only take into the account the quantity of money which they poſſeſſed, but chiefly the quantity of all other things which that money could have purchaſed. Thus, for example, the wages of a common labourer in our preſent period was only three-pence a-day; but he was really as rich, and could live as well as a labourer in our times who earns fifteen pence a-day. The ſame reaſoning will hold good with reſpect to perſons in all the other ranks in ſociety. Money is not only a capital article in commerce, but it is a kind of commercial barometer. When money is ſcarce it is dear, and all other things are cheap. When money abounds it is cheap, and all other things are dear. This bears hardeſt upon ſtipendiaries, who have a certain fixed income in money; becauſe, as money increaſes, the value of their income gradually decreaſes, and in time becomes quite incompetent.

As ſhips are no leſs neceſſary to foreign and even to coaſting commerce than money, the ſtate of ſhipping requires ſome of our attention in every period.

The ſhips that had been formerly employed by the merchants of Britain in foreign trade were in general ſmall, many of them under fifty, and few of them above one hundred and fifty tons. A few ſhips of greater burthen are mentioned by our hiſtorians, but they are mentioned as a kind of prodigies *. But after the diſcovery of the New World, when more diſtant voyages were undertaken, the merchants of England began to build larger and ſtouter ſhips. In this they were aſſiſted and encouraged by Henry VII., who built ſeveral great ſhips, which he freighted to the merchants when they were not employed in the public ſervice. The ſhip in which Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth made three ſucceſsful voyages to the Braſils and the coaſt of Guinea, (the firſt in 1530,) is repreſented as a ſhip of uncommon magnitude, a ſtout tall ſhip, of two hundred and fifty tons †.

But if the merchant ſhips were now in general larger and better built than thoſe of preceding times, the ſhips deſigned for war were, it is ſaid, augmented in ſize and ſtrength in a much greater proportion. About the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the great importance of ſuperiority at ſea was well underſtood; and the ſovereigns of the ſeveral maritime ſtates of Europe began to vie with each other which of them ſhould have the largeſt and ſtouteſt ſhips of war. Henry VIII. built ſeveral great ſhips; particularly one named the Regent, of 1000 tons, which required a crew of eight hundred men ‡. The king of France had alſo a number of great ſhips, of which the Cordelier was by far the greateſt, and contained accommodation for eleven hundred men. Theſe two noble ſhips, the Regent and Cordelier, having grappled with one another in a ſea-fight off the port of Breſt A. D. 1512, they were both burnt, with every perſon on board ‖. To replace the Regent, Henry VIII. ſoon after built another ſhip of the ſame burthen, but far more ſplendid and ornamental, called the Hary Grace Dieu §. King James IV. of Scotland, we are told, engaged alſo in this noble conteſt, and re-

* See vol. v. p. 504. 512.
† Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 700.
‡ Archeologia, vol. vi. p. 201.
‖ Hall, f. 22.
§ Arch. vol. v. p. 209.

ſolved

ſolved to build a greater ſhip than any that had yet appeared. Lindſay of Pitſcottie, who gives the moſt circumſtantial deſcription of this famous ſhip, which was called the Great Michael, ſays, that he received his information from Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, who was her quarter-maſter, and Robert Bartyne, who was maſter-ſkipper. As this writer ſeems to have been ſo well informed, it may not be improper to give his deſcription of this famous ſhip in his own words, changing only a few of them that would be unintelligible to an Engliſh reader.

" In this ſame year (1512) the king of Scotland bigged a great " ſhip, called the Great Michael, which was the greateſt ſhip and of " the moſt ſtrength that ever ſailed in England or France: for this " ſhip was of ſo great ſtature, and took ſo much timber, that, except " Falkland, ſhe waſted all the woods in Fife, which was oak wood, " beſides all timber that was gotten out of Norroway; for ſhe was " ſo ſtrong and of ſo great length and breadth, to wit, ſhe was " twelve-ſcore feet of length, and thirty-ſix feet within the ſides. " All the wrights of Scotland, yea and many other ſtrangers, were " at her device, by the king's commandment, who wrought very " buſily in her; but it was year and day ere ſhe was complete. " This great ſhip cumbered Scotland to get her to the ſea. From " that time that ſhe was afloat, and her maſts and ſails complete, " with ropes and ancores effiering thereto, ſhe was counted to the " king to be thirty thouſand pounds of expences, beſides her artil- " lery, which was very great and coſtly to the king, and beſides " all the reſt of her furniture *. She had three hundred mariners to " ſail her; ſhe had ſix-ſcore gunners to uſe her artillery, and had a " thouſand men of war, beſides her captains, ſkippers, and quarter- " maſters. If any man believe that this deſcription of the ſhip is not " of verity as we have written, let him paſs to the gate of Tilli- " barden, and there before the ſame ye will ſee the length and " breadth of her planted with hawthorn by the wright that helped

* 30,000l. Scots at that time contained as much ſilver as 15,000l. ſterling at preſent, and was equal in efficacy to 50,000l.

" to make her *." Such is the deſcription of this ſhip given by Pitſcottie, and he certainly believed it to be true. It is probable, however, that he was miſinformed in ſome things, particularly that ſhe had a thouſand fighting men on board, which is hardly credible.

King James ſent this great ſhip with two other gallant ſhips, the Margaret and the James, and a fleet of ſmaller veſſels, having an army on board, to the aſſiſtance of the king of France, againſt a threatened invaſion of that kingdom by the Engliſh, which ſoon after took place †. The Great Michael never returned to Scotland, but was ſold by the duke of Albany to the king of France A. D. 1514, for 40,000 franks ‡; a very great ſum in thoſe times. James IV., who had a taſte for maritime affairs, appears to have formed the deſign of raiſing a royal navy; but, by his untimely death, that deſign was blaſted. Henry VIII., who may be juſtly ſtiled the founder of the Engliſh navy, had formed the ſame deſign about the ſame time; but as he ſurvived king James upwards of thirty years, and was at the head of a much greater, more powerful, and opulent nation, he made much greater progreſs in the execution of that deſign; and at his death he left a fleet greatly ſuperior to that of any of his predeceſſors, and not inferior to that of any other prince in Europe. Some of Henry's predeceſſors had a few ſhips, which they employed ſometimes in trade, and ſometimes in war; but they did not deſerve the name of a navy. At the death of Henry VIII., the navy of England was on a very different footing; it conſiſted of fifty-three ſhips belonging to the crown, and only equipped for war. Some of theſe ſhips were of great magnitude: the Henry Grace de Dieu was of 1000 tons; ſhe carried 19 braſs and 103 iron guns; and her complement of men conſiſted of 349 ſoldiers, 301 mariners, and fifty gunners. There was another ſhip of 700 tons, two of 600, and two of 500, and the tonnage of the whole fleet was 6255 tons ‖. More evidence, if it was neceſſary, might

* Pitſcottie, p. 107.
† Ibid. p. 110.
‡ Epiſt. R. R. Scot. tom. i. p. 214.
‖ Archeologia, vol. vi. p. 220.

be produced to prove, that the ſhips employed in England, and even in Scotland, both in trade and war, in this period, were in general larger, ſtronger, and better built than in any former time; which is a ſtrong preſumptive proof that the commerce, power, and opulence of the country had increaſed.

The trade of England was ſtill carried on, for the moſt part, by two great companies; the company of the German merchants of ſteelyard, and the company of the merchant adventurers of England. The firſt of theſe companies was the richeſt, the moſt ancient, and for ſeveral ages the moſt favoured by the kings of England, to whom they made valuable preſents. This company was compoſed almoſt wholly of foreigners, and was far from being popular. They became at length ſo unpopular, that their perſons were often inſulted and their goods plundered by the populace of London. The company of merchant adventurers conſiſted wholly of Engliſhmen, and every Engliſh merchant was admitted a member of it on paying a ſmall fine. It appears ſo to have been the intention of government to divide the trade of England between theſe two companies; and certain branches of it were allotted to each of them in their charters, with ſtrict prohibitions not to exceed their bounds. But the love of gain is not to be reſtrained by prohibitions lurking in charters. Theſe two companies encroached on each others privileges, and brought bitter complaints againſt one another before the king and council. The complaints of the merchant adventurers were well-founded; the injuries they had received from the other company were very great, and ought to have been redreſſed: but their antagoniſts had powerful protectors at court, which enabled them to repel all attacks during the whole reign of Henry VIII. In the ſucceeding reign, the complaints of the merchant adventurers prevailed, and the privileges enjoyed by the merchants of the ſteelyard were, after mature deliberation, revoked, and their corporation aboliſhed, by the privy council. It appeared that they had exported in one year 44,000 pieces of cloth; and as they

enjoyed an exemption from *alien* duties, they had defrauded the revenue, and injured the private adventurers, by colouring, or paſſing under their own names, the merchandize of other foreigners to a large amount *.

* Anderſon, vol. i. p. 383.

THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER VII.

Hiſtory of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Cuſtoms, Languages, Dreſs, and Diverſions of the People of Great Britain, from the Acceſſion of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Acceſſion of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

AMONG nations whoſe government is monarchical, the ſupreme magiſtrate is exalted to a power, and invoked by titles ſcarcely compatible with human nature; while the people, from whom his authority originates, and on whoſe breath his exiſtence depends, are in hiſtory regarded only as ſubſervient to him. Their annals are adjuſted and marked by his reign, filled with his public tranſactions or ſecret policy; and as every atchievement is aſcribed to his auſpices, it is his life rather than their hiſtory that is recorded for the benefit of ſucceeding generations. From the public tranſactions, or the dark and diſhoneſt intrigues of princes, the tranſition to the private

vate character of the people is grateful; yet there our attention is ſtill irreſiſtibly attracted to the ſovereign, whoſe example either extends to ſociety, or whoſe court is an index to the manners, cuſtoms, and taſte of the age.

Spirit of the Engliſh.

It is obſervable that the ſpirit of a nation is ſubject to frequent and ſudden viciſſitudes; that it paſſes from the extremes of religious frenzy, or civil diſcord, to a ſtate of inactive and cold indifference. The Engliſh, after a long interruption, obtained by the union of the rival roſes the bleſſings of a permanent government and domeſtic concord, and were unwilling to forfeit theſe by the raſh renewal of their former troubles. The power of the nobles was broken, and their numbers diminiſhed; the policy of the crown had ſuppreſſed their retainers; war, or the progreſs of ſociety, had either deſtroyed or enfranchiſed their bondſmen; nor were armies ready to ſtart, as formerly, at the ſound of their trumpets. *Their* depreſſion, and the diſuſage of ſlavery, produced a ſalutary alteration on the ranks of ſociety, removing the materials as well as the cauſes of future commotions; but on the removal of theſe, an important change is perceptible in the ſpirit both of the government and people. The regal power, counteracted hitherto by that of the nobles, ſubſiſted, after the decline of their influence, without oppoſition and without reſtraint. Government was ſanguinary, the people were paſſive, and ſubmiſſive to rapacious vindictive tyrants, at whoſe pleaſure the laws were either ſuperſeded or perverted. The ſcaffold ſtreamed with the blood of the nobles, and the flames of perſecution conſumed the religious; but the people ſuffered with patience, reſigned the conſtitution to their monarch, and received as their religion whatever his caprice or his paſſions might dictate. Other nations, amidſt the remains of chivalry, (the force of which was not yet exhauſted,) diſcovered in their government much of their preſent moderation and lenity; and the contemporary reigns of Charles and of Francis exhibit deſpotic authority mitigated by refinement, mild in its exerciſe, and unſtained by ſanguinary exertions of power. In England, a tyrannical government argues a more barbarous ſtate of ſociety. The people were inured to bloodſhed by the civil wars; and while their

their own ſecurity remained unaffected, beheld the fate of their ſuperiors with ſupine indifference, or perhaps with a ſecret malignant pleaſure. Government, it is true, was always vigilant to ſuppreſs their murmurs; and Henry VIII. condeſcended repeatedly to court their affections; religious conteſts ſerved to balance their hopes and their fears; and the religious parties into which they were divided applauded alternately every tyrannical action of Henry's reign. Perhaps they eſteemed his character; but theirs is marked by a tame ſervility, unexampled hitherto in the annals of England.

Manners.

Their manners, though comparatively rude, attained in the preſent period to conſiderable refinement; of which, however, it is difficult to aſcertain the preciſe degree, impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the minute gradations. Foreigners who viſited the country have tranſmitted a favourable report of the inhabitants; and Polydore Virgil, with a viſible partiality, pronounces that theirs reſembled the Italian manners *; but Eraſmus informs us, that their manners participated of thoſe nations from whom they originated, exhibiting a mixture neither ſo refined as the French, nor ſo rude as the German †. The reſort of foreigners was conſiderable, and apparently acceptable to all ranks, the plebeians excepted ‡, who, like their own maſtiffs, are ſtill noted for their antipathy to ſtrangers. The nobility and gentlemen of opulence began to travel for improvement through Europe, to ſtudy the languages, and acquire the refinement of different courts §; and this intercourſe with foreigners at home and abroad contributed, without ſupplanting, to correct the rudeneſs of the national manners. If the character, however, of a court be aſſumed from the ſovereign, theſe manners, in the court of Henry VII.,

* Hiſt. p. 15.

† Eraſmi Colloq. diverſoria ad finem. Eraſmus promiſed a deſcription of Engliſh inns, which it is to be regretted he did not execute.

‡ Pol. Virgil, p. 15. Stowe, p. 505. Hall, Hen. VIII. p. 62.

§ Surry, Wyat, and others, had travelled; and it is ſaid that the firſt of the Bedford family diſtinguiſhed at court was a Mr. Ruſſel, who had acquired by travelling the languages of the continent, and was employed by Sir John Trenchard his kinſman to attend on Philip of Auſtria as an interpreter during his journey to court.

muſt

muſt have been rude indeed. On arriving at a village where Catherine of Arragon, after landing in England, was lodged for the night, Henry was told that the princeſs had already retired to reſt; but he announced his intention of viſiting her bed-ſide, obliged her to riſe and dreſs to receive him, and affianced her that evening to his ſon prince Arthur *. Henry VIII. affected more gallantry, and his court was diſtinguiſhed by ſuperior politeneſs; but that romantic gallantry, which was congenial to Francis and to James IV., was adopted through emulation, and ſat with viſible conſtraint upon Charles, who diſregarded, and upon Henry, who forgot his youthful profeſſions of reſpect for the fair. His paſſions were impetuous, his gallantry was indelicate, yet his character brave, frank, and generous like his grandfath r Edward, though, like his father Henry, rapacious and jealous, attracted the nobility, and encouraged a magnificence unknown till then in the Engliſh court. The nobility, who had formerly ſhunned the court, unleſs at ſeaſons when their appearance was neceſſary †, began to frequent it in Henry's reign; they exchanged their ſolitary dignity for ſocial intercourſe, exhauſted their revenues in oſtentatious magnificence, and while their exiſtence literally depended on the ſmiles or frowns of a capricious maſter, acquired the frivolous, the pleaſing refinement of courtly manners.

But the poliſh of courts is imparted only to a portion of ſociety, and the refinement of the people may be eſtimated perhaps by their means of improvement, their early education, and domeſtic manners. Their education in the preſent period was extremely defective. Schools were rare; and before the reformation, young men were educated in monaſteries, women in nunneries; where the latter were inſtructed in writing, drawing, confectionary, needle-work, and, what were regarded then as female accompliſhments, in phyſic and ſurgery ‡. The acquiſitions of the former were confined to writing,

* Leland's Collectanea, vol. v. p. 354.

† During parliament, or once a year, to perform their homage.

‡ Vid. a tract written in the laſt century, and publiſhed from a MS. of Mr. Aſtle's in the Antiq. Repertory, vol. iii. p. 43.

and

and a tincture probably of barbarous Latin *; but ignorance was ſtill ſo common, that Fitzherbert recommends to gentlemen unable to commit notes to writing, the practice of notching a ſtick to aſſiſt their memory †. When removed from theſe ſeminaries to the houſes of their parents, both ſexes were treated in a manner that precluded improvement. Perhaps the beſt criterion of civilized ſociety is the free intercourſe and reciprocal confidence between parents and their offſpring; a ſituation in which an indulgent equality ſuperſedes authority, and conciliates mutual eſteem and affection. But domeſtic manners were ſevere and formal; a haughty reſerve was affected by the old, and an abject deference exacted from the young. Sons, when arrived at manhood, are repreſented as ſtanding, uncovered and ſilent, in their father's preſence; and daughters, though women, were placed like ſtatues at the cupboard; nor permitted to ſit, or repoſe themſelves otherwiſe than by kneeling on a cuſhion, till their mother departed. Such auſtere manners were prevalent even in France ‡, and peculiar rather to the age than the nation; but the Engliſh, I am afraid, diſcover a latent unfeeling ferocity in the relentleſs rigour of their domeſtic tribunals. Omiſſions were puniſhed by ſtripes and blows; and chaſtiſement was carried to ſuch exceſs, that the daughters trembled at the ſight of their mother, and the ſons avoided and hated their father ‖. Theſe circumſtances indicate that the manners of the people were ceremonious and ſtately, their refinement artificial, adopted only in their external intercourſe, not habitual, nor retained to purify domeſtic life.

Chivalry, though its influence diminiſhed daily, ſtill ſubſiſted as a ſplendid ſpectacle, ſupported by the mutual emulation of princes, their enthuſtaſtic gallantry, or their predilection for arms and exploits of valour. Francis and James IV. imbibed the genuine ſpirit Chivalry.

* A ſpecimen, not indeed very intelligible, of the Latin acquired at Eton, may be found in Fenn's Orig. Letters, vol. i. p. 300. † Huſbandry, p. 86.

‡ "At Roſny are ſtill ſhewn two ſtone benches, where the illuſtrious Tully enjoyed domeſtic comfort, himſelf ſeated, and the reſt of his family ſtanding uncovered near a bench facing him." Vid. Mirabeau's Conſiderations on the Order of Cincinatus; note AA. ‖ Vid. Tract, ut ſupra—Fenn's Letters, paſſim.

of chivalry; and in an age when craft began to predominate in politics, their conduct was often prepoſterouſly adjuſted by the precipitate dictates of romantic honour. The introduction of refinement and taſte in Scotland is aſcribed to the eſpouſals of James and Margaret; but although the people were fierce and untractable, the court was poliſhed, and the king, whoſe deportment during the celebration of his nuptials was remarked and recorded, diſplayed the courteſy of an accompliſhed knight, and a delicacy far ſuperior to the Engliſh monarchs *. Henry VIII. delighted in chivalry; its ſpirit neither perverted his judgment nor improved his heart; but its tournaments gratified his taſte for magnificence and his paſſion for arms. On theſe amuſements, in which he engaged as a conſtant combatant, his father's treaſures were profuſely expended. His weapons ſometimes were unuſual, at leaſt at tourneys, the battle-axe and two-handed ſword †; but theſe, I ſuppoſe, were *rebated* or blunted, as the ſpears were with which the combatants were furniſhed. Yet on one occaſion his life was endangered by his favourite Brandon, who ſhivered a ſpear on his helmet, without perceiving that his vizor was open, and his face expoſed to a mortal blow ‡. At his interview with Francis in *the field of the cloth of gold*, his ſtrength and dexterity were both conſpicuous in a tournament perhaps the moſt ſplendid of the age. The two kings, who, with fourteen companions, had undertaken to encounter all who challenged, entered the liſts with their aſſiſtants, ſumptuouſly arrayed in the richeſt tiſſues; and in the preſence of their queens awaited the appearance of thoſe knights whom the fame of their tournament was ſuppoſed to have attracted. Their opponents were ready, twelve gentlemen richly habited. Francis began; and after performing ſucceſſive courſes, and breaking ſeveral ſpears with applauſe, was ſucceeded by Henry, who ſhivered his ſpear at the firſt encounter; at the ſecond, demoliſhed his antagoniſt's helmit. Their juſtings were continued for five days with equal ſplendour and ſimilar ſucceſs; and the minute deſcriptions of the

* Vid. An account of Margaret's journey to Scotland, and reception there, in Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 265. † Herbert's Hiſt. p. 13. ‡ Hall, 122.

attire

attire of the knights and the trappings of the horſes, of their quaint devices and feats in arms, aſſure us that theſe ſpectacles were highly eſtimated *. The mock encounters with princes appear at preſent unimportant and trivial, as thoſe of the mimic monarchs on the ſtage; yet if a ſervile or brutal exhibition delighted by its maſſacre the refined and rational nations of antiquity, how ſuperior, as a ſpectacle, is the image of war, where kings and heroes are the only combatants?

Simplicity of the times.

Theſe, inſpected at a diſtance, were magnificent times, yet diverſified withal, when examined cloſely, with ſimplicity of manners, and plainneſs or penury in the chief comforts of modern life. Margaret, on her marriage with James IV., made her public entry into Edinburgh, riding on a pillion behind the king †. The apartments of Hampton-court had been furniſhed, on a particular occaſion, each with a large candleſtick, a baſon, goblet, and ewer, of ſilver; yet the furniture of Henry's chamber, independent of the bed and cupboard, conſiſted only of a joint-ſtool, a pair of andirons, and a ſmall mirror ‡. The halls and chambers of the wealthy were ſurrounded with hangings, ſometimes with arras, and repleniſhed with a cupboard, long tables, or rather looſe boards placed upon treſtles, forms, a chair, and a few joint-ſtools ‖. Their beds were apparently comfortable, often elegant; but thoſe of inferior condition ſlept on a mat, or a ſtraw pallet, under a rug, with a log for a pillow. Glaſs windows were confined to churches and manſions, and carpets were only employed to garniſh the cupboard §. The floors, compoſed of clay, and covered either with ſand and ruſhes, were foul and loathſome, collecting and retaining for twenty years the offals of the table, and the putrid excretions of dogs and men; and Eraſmus, from whom this deſcription is taken, attributes juſtly to the uncleanlineſs of the Engliſh, the frequent and deſtructive viſitations of the plague ¶.

* Hall, 77. † Leland's Coll. vol. iv. p. 284.
‡ Supra, ch. v. ſect. 1. Strutt, vol. iii. p. 69. ‖ Id. 65.
§ Hollingſhed, p. 188. Tract ut ſupra. Vid. Strutt. ¶ Epiſt. 432.

Virtues.

The morals are leſs flexible than the manners of a people; and thoſe virtues that in former ages diſtinguiſhed the Britiſh, ſubſiſted in the preſent with little alteration. The Engliſh were generous and brave as formerly, fond of war and intrepid in danger. Their hoſpitality continued, not indeed in its former profuſion, but corrected rather than abated by the changes produced on the modes of life. Their active virtues have already been enumerated in our former volumes, in a manner that renders repetition unneceſſary. Their predominant vices afford a more copious and ungrateful ſubject; for the reformation detected the profligate lives of the monks and clergy, and the eloquence of the pulpit, acquiring from the reformers a new direction and additional vigour, touched with freedom or aſperity the vices of the people.

Vices of the clergy.

Ignorance, a venial imperfection in the laity, becomes criminal in thoſe who profeſs to teach or to diſcover the way to ſalvation; but perhaps the ignorance formerly conſpicuous both in the monaſtics and the ſecular clergy, diminiſhed after the dawn of reformation and letters. Their pravity did not diminiſh however, but reſiſted, at leaſt in England, the cenſures of their enemies, and the ſenſe of their own impendent danger. The viſitations that preceded the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries diſcovered, if credit be due to the inſpectors, crimes the moſt degrading to human nature. Hypocritical ſanctity and holy frauds are congenial to every monaſtic inſtitution; and the counterfeit relics impoſed on the vulgar, or the artifices practiſed to ſupport their credit, are to be regarded as the eſtabliſhed trade and profeſſion of religious orders. Intemperance is alſo to be expected wherever aſcetics have obtained a relaxation from rigid diſcipline; nor is their guilt inexpiable, if, after indulging in evening collations, they aſſembled irregularly, and drank to matins. But the reports are replete with other crimes of a deeper complexion; the lewdneſs of the monks, the incontinence of the nuns, the abortions forcibly procured by the latter, and the monſtrous luſts which the former indulged *. The particulars would ſtain and diſhonour our

* Strype, vol. i. ch. 34 and 35. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. vol. i. p. 241. Antiq. Repertory, vol. iii. p. 166.

page; yet an hiſtorian, anxious for the dignity of human nature, might wiſh to believe, that the reports of the viſitors were inflamed by zeal, and perverted by an intereſted and malignant policy. It is difficult to conceive that they would venture, unſupported by evidence, to accuſe a community of crimes repugnant to human nature; and their veracity ſeems to be vindicated by their extreme ſolicitude to preſerve ſome convents whoſe conduct was exemplary. But theſe crimes were apparently notorious; nor is their exiſtence doubtful, or the licentious lives of the regulars diſputable, when their debaucheries had already attracted the papal indignation, and their crimes incurred the cenſures and menaces of Morton the primate. If, at the commencement of this period, the monks of St. Alban's had begun, in different convents, to diſplace the nuns and ſubſtitute proſtitutes, it is not probable that their morals were afterwards improved or their diſcipline re-eſtabliſhed *.

Their hoſpitality.

The monks, however, had a merit in their liberal hoſpitality and charity. Their tables were open to ſtrangers, and, as the cheer was excellent, much frequented by the neighbouring gentlemen. At St. Alban's, and probably at other abbies, every traveller found an hoſpitable reception for three days; and was then permitted, if his conduct was ſatisfactory, or his buſineſs important, to protract his ſtay †. The fragments of their luxury furniſhed an extenſive charity; and their indulgence to their tenants, whoſe rents were always moderate, endeared them to the peaſants. In Scotland, where the regulars were not, I believe, ſo diſſolute, ſimilar hoſpitality was ſupported in monaſteries; and in the abbey of Aberbrothwick, about nine thouſand buſhels of malt ſeem to have been annually expended in ale ‡. But theſe communities were prejudicial, even by their charities, to the increaſe of induſtry; and their diſſolution aſſures us that the moſt venerable inſtitutions, however ſanctioned by time or ſupported by prejudice, may be ſuppreſſed when uſeleſs, without detriment or danger to ſociety. It is probable that forty thouſand were diſcharged from different religious houſes; and it is certain that a

* Supra, ch. ii. † Antiq. Rep. vol. iii. p. 61. ‡ Chartulary.

number

number ſuperior to that of the clergy at preſent was abſorbed with facility into the maſs of the people.

Vices of the people.

From the morals of the clergy, the tranſition to thoſe of the laity is natural; and Henry, after diſlodging vice from the cloiſters, proceeded, in the ſame ſtrain of reformation, to cleanſe the ſtews. Theſe were a range of buildings in Southwark, on the banks of the Thames, privileged by patent as brothels, regulated by ſtatute, and tolerated as a neceſſary drain for corruption, from the reign of Henry II. to the laſt year of Henry VIII. The wretched proſtitutes were then expelled, the ſtews were *put down* by ſound of trumpet *, and their ſuppreſſion was perhaps attended with more ſolemnity than that of the convents. Their ſuppreſſion failed however to extirpate lewdneſs; and Latimer, whoſe ſermons are replete with a barbarous eloquence, inveighs bitterly at its ſubſequent prevalence: "You have "put down the ſtews," ſays this rude declaimer, "but what is the "matter amended? What availeth that? Ye have but changed the "place, and not taken the whoredom away. I adverti ſe you, in "God's name, to look to it. I hear ſay there is now more whore-"dom in London than ever there was in the Bank. There is more "open whoredom, more *ſtewed* whoredom †." The vices obnoxious to clerical cenſures are not always pernicious to ſociety, nor is their magnitude certain, when tranſmitted through the medium of intemperate zeal. But Latimer's propoſal, in a court ſermon, for reſtraining adultery by a capital puniſhment, atteſts its prevalence ‡; nor is any inferior infliction too ſevere for a crime that embitters life, and corrodes the deareſt connexions of nature; a crime, in its ultimate conſequences, ſubverſive either of ſocial intercourſe, or productive of an utter relaxation of morals.

The vices and the follies peculiar to the age are neceſſarily the chief topics of pulpit eloquence; and, if credit were due to this ſevere reformer, the ſtateſmen and judges were corrupted by bribery, the people profligate, deſtitute of charity, immerſed in vice, and de-

* Stowe's Survey, by Strype, vol. ii. p. 7. Howel, Londonopolis, p. 337.

† Latimer's Sermons, p. 43. ‡ Id. 103.

voted

voted to perdition *. Wherever government is arbitrary, the adminiſtration of juſtice is perverted and partial; and judges ſubſervient to regal influence are certainly not inacceſſible to ſecret corruption. The unmeaning oaths to which the Engliſh have in every age been addicted are peculiarly offenſive to pious ears, and in ſome minds generate a perſuaſion, that a people habituated to profane ſwearing are diſaffected to the Deity whoſe name they diſhonour, impervious to religion, and inſenſible of virtue. It may be obſerved, however, with more propriety, that habitual ſwearing diminiſhes our ſenſe of the obligation attached to judicial oaths. Perjury was ſtill the predominant vice that tainted the morals of every rank, and infected even the breaſt of the ſovereign. Juries were perjured; their verdicts were generally procured by bribery; their corruption was notorious, and encouraged openly by Henry VII. in the iniquitous proſecution of his own ſubjects †. Princes claim and obtain an exemption from vulgar honeſty; and that which is fraud and perfidy in private life, is dignified, in their tranſactions, by the appellation of policy: yet the reader muſt obſerve, with ſome ſurpriſe, the repeated examples contained in this hiſtory, of princes corroborating, by mutual oaths and the rites of religion, thoſe treaties which they had previouſly determined to fruſtrate or violate. Their treaties are at preſent neither more permanent nor more ſecure; but the intervention of oaths is wiſely omitted as a ſuperfluous adjection, not obligatory on the lax morals peculiar to princes.

To theſe crimes may be added theft and robbery, which were ſtill ſo prevalent that twenty-two thouſand criminals are ſaid to have been executed by the rigid juſtice of Henry VIII. Robbery was ſeldom attended with murder, and was probably ſtill regarded as an occupation, of which the guilt might be extenuated by courage and ſucceſs ‡. Murders and aſſaſſinations are frequent however in Scottiſh hiſtory, for the people were cruel, fierce, and ungovernable; and, Robbery.

* Latimer's Sermons, p. 18. 46. 55. 63. 66. 84.

† Stowe, 485. 11 Hen. VII. c. 21. 23 Hen. VIII. c. 3. Barrington's Obſerv. on the Stat. p. 410.

‡ Hollingſhed, p. 186. 199. 246.

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to judge from the deſperate crimes of the nobility, their manners were neither more ſoftened nor their paſſions better controlled and regulated. But whatever be the crimes of a people, there is in human nature a reforming principle that ultimately corrects and amends its degeneracy; and hiſtory furniſhes repeated examples of nations paſſing from even a vicious effeminacy, to an enthuſiaſm that regenerates every virtue. Such a change was effected, in a partial degree, by the reformation; which, recalling its proſelytes from the errors and abuſes of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, taught them to renounce the diſſipation and vices of the age, to aſſume the badge of ſuperior ſanctity and more rigid virtue, to ſuffer in adverſity with patience, and to encounter perſecution and death with fortitude. Sectaries, from the conſtant circumſpection requiſite in their conduct, contract an habitual and gloomy ſeverity; and foreigners, ever more obſervant than natives, diſcovered, in the preſent period, ſymptoms of that puritanical ſpirit which at the diſtance of a century was deſtined to give liberty to England and law to kings *.

Religion.

The reformation might reflect diſcredit on recent miracles; but the period is ſtill diſtinguiſhed by exceſſive credulity. The aſtrologers in 1523, from the approach of eclipſes and planetary conjunctions, predicted inceſſant rains and deſtructive inundations: the people were alarmed; many retired to the high grounds for ſafety; the abbot of Bartholomew in Smithfield built a houſe, which he ſtored with proviſions, on Harrow of the Hill; and thoſe who repoſed in the promiſe to Noah, were ſtill apprehenſive of a partial inundation, and collected meal ſufficient for ſubſiſtence till the waters ſubſided. But the year elapſed with little rain, and the aſtrologers redeemed their credit by confeſſing a miſtake in their calculations of an hundred years †. The reformers probably were leſs credulous; but, believing that the pope was antichriſt, they expected, as his power was partly broken, the ſpeeedy arrival of Chriſt in judgment; and, in every unuſual appearance of the heavens, perceived, with a mixture of hope and trepidation, thoſe ſigns ſuppoſed to announce the ceſſation

Credulity.

* Eraſmi Epiſt. 127. Scaliger. 21. † Hall. Hen. VIII. 123.

of

of time, and deſtruction of the world *. An Egyptian experiment repeated by James IV. exhibits the ſuperſtitious credulity of the Scots. Whether to diſcover the primitive language of the human race, or to aſcertain the firſt formation of ſpeech, he incloſed two children with a dumb attendant in Inchkeith, an uninhabited iſland of the Forth; and it was believed that the children, on arriving at maturity, communicated their ideas in pure Hebrew, the language of Paradiſe †.

I would mention as an inſtance of credulity, the belief of a monſtrous production of the human ſpecies, but the concurrence of grave hiſtorians atteſts and renders the fact indiſputable. This monſter was born in Scotland, and its appearance ſuggeſted the idea of twins fortuitouſly conjoined in the womb, united at the navel into a common trunk, and terminating below in the limbs of a male, but diſparted above into two bodies, diſtinct and proportioned in all their parts, each endued with ſeparate members, and animated each by a ſeparate intelligence. Their ſenſations were common when excited in the loins or inferior extremities; peculiar to one, and unfelt by the other, when produced on the particular body of either. Their perceptions were different, their mental affections unconnected, their wills independent, at times diſcordant, and again adjuſted by mutual conceſſion. They received, by the direction of James IV., ſuch liberal education as the times afforded; attained in muſic to conſiderable proficiency, and acquired a competent knowledge of various languages. Their death was miſerable: at the age of twenty-eight the one expired; and his body corrupting, tainted and putrified his living brother ‡.

* Latimer, 247. † Pitſcottie, 104.

‡ Buchanan, 242. Pitſcottie, 103. Hawthornden, 69.

> Mortua, quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis,
> Componens manibuſque manus, atque oribus ora
> Tormenti genus! et ſanie taboque fluentes
> Complexu in miſero, longa ſic morte necabat. VIRGIL.

Cuſtoms.

The feudal ſyſtem was productive, among other prepoſterous cuſtoms, of early marriages, formed without diſparagement of rank or birth, but without regard to diſparity of age or repugnance of ſentiment. Vaſſals during their wardſhip were at the abſolute diſpoſal of their lord, who literally ſold them, while minors, in marriage; and prudent fathers, to fruſtrate his rapacity, were careful to accelerate, before their death, the nuptials of their offſpring. The cuſtom extended beyond the neceſſity from which it originated, and the death of prince Arthur is to be aſcribed to the premature conſummation, at the age of fifteen, of his marriage with Katherine. When, on her divorce from Henry, a proof of that delicate circumſtance was requiſite, the opinion of two witneſſes, the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewſbury, was founded on their own marriage at the age of prince Arthur; and it is remarkable that Herbert, the hiſtorian of theſe tranſactions, was himſelf married at the ſame age, to a woman of twenty *. Chivalry was the ſeaſon of romantic love; yet as mankind are actuated chiefly by intereſt, marriage, with few exceptions, has in every age been a ſordid bargain.

The mode which is ſtill peculiar to Britain, of ſaluting ladies, appears to have excited the ſurpriſe of foreigners; and Eraſmus, who approved of it as a laudable cuſtom, avers with pleaſantry, that whether you viſit, depart, or return, whether you aſſemble by concert, or encounter by accident, you cannot ſtir in England without an interchange of luſcious kiſſes †. An interchange not ſo diſintereſted was ſupported at court, where, on the new year, the king accepted, from his nobles and clergy, of gifts from five to fifty pounds, and repaid them either with ſmiles or occaſional preſents of gilt plate ‡. On ſolemn feſtivals, the king and his nobles beſtowed each his *largeſs* on the guards or attendants, and an herald proclaimed the different donations with much ſolemnity; but James IV. delicately ſuppreſſed

* Herbert's Hiſt. p 270. Herbert's Life, p. 26.

† Epiſt. 65. In the deſcription of Margaret's journey to Scotland, which was written by an herald, every kiſs that ſhe received is recorded with care. Lel. Col. vol. iv.

‡ Strype, vol. i. p. 138. Walpole's Anec. vol. i.

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at his marriage, the mention of his own, when his queen's was publiſhed *. Marriages, chriſtenings, and eſtabliſhed feſtivals, furniſhed frequent occaſions for convivial intercourſe; but the gentlemen are deſcribed as aſſembling at other times in fields or foreſts, with hawks and hounds, and bugles ſuſpended in ſilken baldricks †. There, under the pretext of hunting, they had often concerted rebellions, or convoked their military retainers to arms; and an early ſtatute of Henry VII.'s ſtill prohibits their hunting in vizors, or during the darkneſs and concealment of night ‡.

Scots.

The domeſtic manners of the Scots have ſeldom attracted hiſtorical notice; and their advances in refinement are to be collected or conjectured from their peculiar cuſtoms, their progreſs in the arts, and their improvement in the various comforts of life. Their morals, contraſted with thoſe of their anceſtors, are arraigned as degenerate by their hiſtorian Boethius, who accuſes their intemperance, cenſures their luxury, and laments their departure from the frugal moderation and rugged virtues of the ancient Scots ‖. His deſcription, however, of theſe primitive obdurate virtues is far from attractive; and what *he* denominates vicious intemperance and exceſſive luxury, may be fairly interpreted an increaſing refinement and ſuperior elegance in ſocial life. The nobles, who reſorted ſeldom to cities, preſerved in their caſtles their former rude but hoſpitable magnificence, which increaſed their retainers and ſtrengthened their power, ſecured their ſafety, or enabled them to proſecute their deadly feuds. The people were divided into factions by thoſe lords to whom they attached themſelves, whoſe intereſt they eſpouſed, and whoſe quarrels they adopted §; and the clans peculiar at preſent to the Highlands, were probably once univerſal in Scotland. In the Highlands, and on the borders, clans were perpetuated by a conſtant warfare, that inured the people to the fierceneſs and rapine of a predatory life. As thieves and plunderers their character was proverbial; yet their depredations,

* Strype, vol. i. p. 138. Walpole's Anec. vol. i.

† Tract, ut ſupra, in the Antiq. Report.

‡ 1 Hen. VII. ch. 7.

‖ Boethius Deſcrip. Scot. p. 12.

§ Major's Hiſt. p. 32.

committed generally on hoſtile tribes, aſſume an appearance of military virtue; and their mutual fidelity, their obſervance of promiſes, and in the Highlands, their inviolable attachment to their chieftains, are circumſtances ſufficient almoſt to redeem their character *. The Chattan clan, during the minority of James V., had made a deſtructive incurſion into Murray, but after their return were aſſailed and oppreſſed by ſuperior forces; and two hundred of the tribe, rather than betray their chieftain or diſcloſe his retreat, preferred and ſuffered an ignominious death †.

Language. The mutability of language to the learned, whoſe fame depends on its duration, an inceſſant topic of ſerious regret, ſeems to be counteracted by the art of printing; which, in proportion as it diſſeminates a taſte for letters, re-acts as a model on colloquial ſpeech, and operates, if not entirely to repreſs innovation, at leaſt to preſerve the ſtability and perpetuate the radical ſtructure of language. Such ſtability the Engliſh language has acquired from printing, and at the diſtance of three centuries, ſtill exhibits the ſame phraſeology and ſyntactical form, varied only by thoſe alterations eſſential to the progreſſive refinement of ſpeech. The language of the period, if neceſſary to diſcriminate its peculiar ſtyle, was unpoliſhed and oral; its character is rude ſimplicity, neither aſpiring to elegance, nor ſolicitous of eaſe, but written as it was ſpoken, without regard to ſelection or arrangement. Reduced to modern orthography, it is only diſtinguiſhable from the common colloquial diſcourſe of the preſent period, by a certain ruſt of antiquity, by phraſes that are abrogated, or words that are either effaced or altered. Theſe, however, are not numerous; and we may conclude from the compoſitions of the learned, that the language of the people differed little from the preſent, unleſs in pronunciation, which, to judge from orthography, was harſh, and ſuch as would now be denominated provincial or vulgar. Whatever has been ſince ſuperadded, either by a ſkilful arrangement or the incorporation of foreign or claſſical words and idioms, is more the province of critical diſquiſition than hiſtorical reſearch; yet it me-

* Leſly's Hiſt. pp. 56. 61. † Id. 425.

rits obſervation, that the firſt attempts at elegance are aſcribable, in poetry to Surry, in proſe perhaps to ſir Thomas More, whoſe Engliſh ſtyle, as it was modelled on his Latin, is conſtructed with art, and replete with inverſions, approaching to that which, in contradiſtinction to the vulgar, may be juſtly denominated a learned diction.

This hiſtory has already furniſhed ſufficient ſpecimens both of the Scottiſh and Engliſh languages, which, deſcended from the ſame Gothic original, and nearly ſimilar in former periods, divaricated conſiderably during the preſent. This is to be attributed to the alteration and improvement of the Engliſh, for the Scottiſh was more ſtationary; nor is there in the language a material difference between the compoſitions of James the Firſt and thoſe of Bellenden *, Dunbar, and Douglas; each of whom, by the liberal adaptation of Latin words, enriched and poliſhed his vernacular idiom. But for the union of the crowns, which in literature rendered the Engliſh the prevalent language, the Scottiſh might have riſen to the merit of a civil dialect, different rather in pronunciation than ſtructure; not ſo ſolemn but more energetic, nor leſs ſuſceptible of literary culture.

Dreſs. Dreſs, ſubmitted to the guidance of taſte or vanity, is firſt diſplayed in magnificence; then, when the improvement of manufactures has rendered magnificence cheap and common, in the inceſſant change and variety of faſhion. The dreſs of the period was coſtly, and in its faſhions ſubject to frequent fluctuation; ſo coſtly, that the wardrobes of the nobility in fifty years had increaſed to twenty times their former value †; ſo changeable, that the capricious inconſtancy of the national dreſs was quaintly repreſented by the figure of an Engliſhman naked, in a muſing poſture, with ſheers in his hand, and cloth on his arm, perplexed amidſt a multiplicity of faſhions, and uncertain how to deviſe his garments ‡. Theſe faſhions it

* Bellenden, archdeacon of Murray, tranſlated Livy and Hector Boethius into Scotch; the latter was publiſhed, the former is in MSS. in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh.

† Fitzherbert's Huſbandry, p. 96. ‡ Camden's Remains, p. 17.

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is impoſſible now to diſcover, but the general dreſs of the period may be deſcribed from prints and pictures with ſufficient preciſion.

Its faſhions.

The dreſs of the nobility during the reigns of Richard and Henry the Seventh, was groteſque and fantaſtical, ſuch as renders it difficult at firſt to diſtinguiſh the ſex. Over the breeches was worn a petticoat; the doublet was laced, like the ſtays of a pregnant woman, acroſs a ſtomacher, and a gown or mantle with wide ſleeves deſcended over the doublet and petticoat down to the ankles. Commoners were ſatisfied, inſtead of a gown, with a frock or tunick ſhaped like a ſhirt, gathered at the middle, and faſtened round the loins by a girdle, from which a ſhort dagger was generally ſuſpended. But the petticoat was rejected after the acceſſion of Henry the Eighth, when the *trauſes* or light breeches, that diſplayed the minute ſymmetry of the limbs, was revived, and the length of the doublet and mantle diminiſhed. The faſhions which the great have diſcarded, are often retained by the lower orders, and the form of the tunick, a Saxon garment, may be ſtill diſcovered in the waggoner's frock; of the trauſe, and perhaps of the petticoat, in the different trouſers that are worn by ſeamen. Theſe habits were again diverſified by minute decorations and changes of faſhion: from an opinion that corpulence contributes to dignity, the doublet was puckered, ſtuffed, and diſtended around the body; the ſleeves were ſwelled into large ruffs; and the breeches bolſtered about the hips; but how ſhall I deſcribe an artificial protuberance, groſs and indecent, in the age of Henry the Eighth, if we judge from his, and the portraits of others, a familiar appurtenance to the dreſs of the ſovereign, the knight, and mechanic, at a future period retained in comedy as a favourite theme of licentious merriment *?

* The codpiece, on which Shakeſpeare is often ſo witty, made its firſt appearance, I believe, at the French court. It appears in a portrait of Henry by Holbein, and became ſo prevalent, that we diſcover it even in the picture of a common beadle. Vide Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii.

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The doublet and breeches were ſometimes ſlaſhed, and with the addition of a ſhort cloak, to which a ſtiffened cap was peculiar, reſembled the national dreſs of the Spaniards. The doublet is now transformed into a waiſtcoat, and the cloak or mantle, to which the ſleeves of the doublet were transferred, has been converted gradually into a modern coat; but the dreſs of the age was juſtly cenſured as inconvenient and clumſy. "Men's ſervants," to whom the faſhions had deſcended with the cloaths of their maſters, "have ſuche "pleytes," ſays Fitzherbert, "upon theyr breſtes, and ruffes uppon "theyr ſleves, above theyr elbowes, that yf theyr mayſter, or "theym ſelfe, hadde never ſo greatte neede, they coude not ſhoote "one ſhote to hurte theyr ennemyes, tyll they had caſte of theyr "cotes, or cut of theyr ſleves *." The dreſs of the peaſantry was ſimilar, but more convenient, conſiſting generally of trunk hoſe, and a doublet of coarſe and durable fuſtian †.

Magnificence.

The materials employed in dreſs were rich and expenſive; cloth of gold, furs, ſilks, and velvets, profuſely embroidered. The habits of Henry VIII. and his queen, on their proceſſion to the Tower previous to their coronation, are deſcribed by Hall, an hiſtorian delighting in ſhows and ſpectacles. "His grace wared in his upperſt "apparrell a robe of crimſyn velvet, furred with armyns; his jacket "or cote of raiſed gold; the placard embrodered with diamonds, "rubies, emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche ſtones; a greate "bauderike aboute his necke, of large balaſſes. The quene was "appareled in white ſatyn embrodered, her haire hangyng downe "to her backe, of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to be-"hold, and on her hedde a coronall, ſet with many riche orient "ſtones ‡."

Female dreſs.

The attire of females was becoming and decent, ſimilar in its faſhion to their preſent dreſs, but leſs ſubject to change and caprice §. The large and fantaſtic head-dreſſes of the former age

* Fitzherbert's Huſbandry, p. 96.

† For a more particular account of the dreſs of this period vid. Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. p. 75. plates 1. 12, 13, 14.

‡ Hall, p. 3. § Polydore Virgil, p. 15.

were

were ſuperſeded by coifs and velvet bonnets, beneath which the matron gathered her locks into tufts or *tuſſocks*; but the virgin's head was uncovered, and her hair braided and faſtened with ribbons *. Among gentlemen, long hair was faſhionable through Europe till the emperor Charles, during a voyage, devoted his locks for his health or ſafety †; and in England Henry, a tyrant even in taſte, gave efficacy to the faſhion by a peremptory order for his attendants and courtiers to *poll their heads* ‡. The ſame ſpirit induced him, probably, by ſumptuary laws to regulate the inordinate dreſs of his ſubjects. Cloth of gold or tiſſue was reſerved for dukes and marquiſes; if of a purple colour, for the royal family. Silks and velvets were reſtricted to commoners of wealth or diſtinction; but embroidery was interdicted from all beneath the degree of an earl. Cuffs for the ſleeves, and bands and ruffs for the neck, were the invention of this period; but felt-hats were of earlier origin, and were ſtill coarſer and cheaper than caps or bonnets §. Pockets, a convenience unknown to the ancients, are perhaps the lateſt real improvement on dreſs; but inſtead of pockets, a looſe pouch ſeems to have been ſometimes ſuſpended from the girdle ‖.

Scotland. The Scottiſh was apparently the ſame with the Engliſh dreſs, the bonnet excepted, peculiar both in its colour and form. The maſks and trains, and ſuperfluous finery of female apparel, had been formerly prohibited; but faſhion is ſuperior to human laws, and we learn from the ſatirical invectives of poets, that the ladies ſtill perſiſted in retaining their finery and muzzling their faces ¶.

* Latimer, p. 107. Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 179.

† Whether in conſequence of a vow or a head-ach is diſputed by hiſtorians, Herbert, p. 316. ‡ Stowe, p. 571.

§ Strutt, vol. iii. p. 83. 4 Hen. VII. c. 8. by which the price of the beſt hats is limited to 20d. of the beſt caps to 2s. 8d.

‖ Strutt, plates 1. 14. vol. iii.

¶ Black Acts, p. 43. The Statute provides, "That no woman cum to kirk nor "mercat with hir face muſſalit." Dunbar and Lindſay inveigh at the extravagance of the ladies in dreſs.

The

The diet of the peaſantry is ſubject, in different periods, to few alterations; becauſe it conſiſts of the common produce of the ſoil, prepared in the ſimpleſt manner for food. Their bread-corn in England was rye or barley, ſometimes oats mixed with pulſe; a food preferred for its nutrition to wheat, which, till rendered by a better cultivation cheap and abundant, was uſually confined to the tables of the wealthy *. Theſe tables were more luxurious and expenſive than formerly; diſtinguiſhed by the variety of delicate viands, as well as by the quantity of ſubſtantial fare †; and Polydore expatiates with viſible complacency on the various pleaſures of thoſe tables at which he had feaſted; on the juicy flavour of the mutton, and the ſweetneſs of the beef, eſpecially when ſlightly ſalted; on the tenderneſs of the young geeſe and the Kentiſh hens; the delicacy of the partridges, pheaſants, and quails, and the fatneſs of the larks, thruſhes, and blackbirds, of which incredible numbers were caught in winter, and preſented almoſt at every table. But his taſte was peculiarly gratified by the varieties and abundance of excellent fiſh, which, to a churchman, renders the mortification even of the appetite luxurious; he diſcriminates the gurnard, whiting, mullet, turbot, breme, and ſturgeon; depreciates the mackerel as dry, the ſhad as inſipid; extolls the rich and delicious oyſters, and approves of the recent tranſlation of the pike from fens and lakes into gentlemen's ponds ‡. To theſe the carp might be added, introduced from the continent in the preſent period as ſtore for ponds ‖; and from theſe particulars, to a foreigner important, we may conclude that few delicacies were wanting at feaſts. Vegetables, however, were ſparingly provided; and as regular markets were not general, country families killed a number of beeves at Michaelmas, and ſubſiſted till Whitſuntide on ſalted meat §.

* Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 449.

† Fitzherbert's Huſbandry, 97. According to this writer, the table was four times more expenſive than in former times. ‡ Polydore Virgil, p. 13.

‖ Hollingſhed, p. 46. Anderſon quotes the following diſtich:

"Turkeys, carps, hops, piccarel, and beer,
"Came into England all in one year." Hiſt. Com. vol. i. p. 354.

§ Northumberland Houſehold Book.

Manner of living.

Their cookery cannot now be appreciated, or diſtinguiſhed, otherwiſe than by a profuſion of hot ſpices with which every diſh was indiſcriminately ſeaſoned *. Dinner and ſupper were ſerved in th hall, where the firſt table was placed in a ſort of receſs, or elevation, at the upper end, and reſerved for the landlord and his principal gueſts, while viſitors, leſs reſpectable, were ſeated with the officers of the houſehold at long and narrow tables that occupied the ſides and the middle of the hall. The rank of the gueſts was again diſcriminated by their arrangement, by their ſituation above or below the ſaltceller, which was placed invariably in the middle of the table, and the uſher was carefully inſtructed to diſplace ſuch as might ſeat themſelves unmannerly above their betters. The chief ſervants attended always above the ſaltceller, beneath which the table was probably crowded with poor dependents, whom the gueſts deſpiſed, and the ſervants neglected. The ſervants were marſhalled, and the diſhes ſerved, by orders iſſued aloud from the uſher †; and at table none preſumed to taſte of the diſhes till they were drawn ſucceſſively upwards to the principal perſonage, from whom they deſcended again to the reſt of the company ‡. Churchmen affected peculiar ceremony, and the abbot of St. Alban's dined with greater ſtate than the nobility themſelves. His table was elevated fifteen ſteps above the hall, and in ſerving his dinner, the monks, at every fifth ſtep, performed a hymn. He dined alone at the middle of his table, to the ends of which gueſts of diſtinguiſhed rank were admitted; and the monks, after their attendance on the abbot was over, ſat down to tables at the ſides of the hall, and were ſerved with equal reſpect by the novices ‖. At Wolſey's entertainment of the French ambaſſadors, the company were ſummoned by trumpet to ſupper, and the courſes were announced by a prelude of muſic. The ſecond courſe contained upwards of an hundred devices or ſubtilties;

* Above 100 lb. of ſpices were employed annually in the Northumberland family. *Northumberland Houſehold Book.*

† Vid. Notes in the Northumberland Houſehold Book. This mode of living was retained by ſome great families till the middle of the laſt century. Ibid.

‡ Hollingſhed, 166. ‖ Antiq. Repert. vol. iii. p. 61.

caſtles,

caſtles, churches, animals, warriors juſting on foot and on horſeback; others dancing with ladies; "all as well counterfeited," ſays the hiſtorian, "as the painter ſhould have painted on a cloth or "wall *." Such entertainments were not of a ſhort duration; the dinner hour was eleven in the forenoon, the ſupper ſix in the evening; but the dinner was often prolonged till ſupper, and that protracted till late at night †. Breakfaſt ſeems to have been a ſolitary meal, not univerſal, but, like the collation after ſupper, confined to a few in their private apartments ‡. But it was not probably an unſubſtantial meal; and the collation, the ſlighteſt repaſt of the age, conſiſted often of brawn, jellies, ſweetmeats, ale, brandy, and ſpiced wines ‖.

In Scotland.

The diet of the Scots was worſe, and more penurious than that of the Engliſh. The peaſants ſubſiſted chiefly on oatmeal and cabbages, for animal food was ſparingly uſed, even at the tables of ſubſtantial gentlemen. An Engliſh traveller, who experienced the hoſpitality of a Scottiſh knight, deſcribes the table as furniſhed with large platters of porridge, in each of which was a ſmall piece of ſodden beef, and remarks, that the ſervants entered in their blue caps without uncovering, and, inſtead of attending, ſeated themſelves with their maſter at table. *His* meſs was better however than theirs, a boiled pullet with prunes in the broth; but his gueſt obſerved, "no "art of cookery, or furniture of houſehold ſtuff, but rather rude "neglect of both §." Forks are a recent invention, and in England the table was only ſupplied with knives; but in Scotland every gentleman produced from his girdle a knife, and cut the meat into morſels for himſelf and the women; a practice that firſt intermixed the ladies and gentlemen alternately at table. The uſe of the fin-

* Stowe, p. 535. Cavendiſh.

† Warton's Hiſt. Poet. vol. iii. p. 343. n. Antiq. Rep. p. 154. 186. Latimer, 108.

‡ Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 150. Hollingſhed, 170.

‖ Vid. The Articles of a Collation enumerated in Squire Meldrum, a Scottiſh Poem, by Sir David Lindſay of the Mount.

§ Moryſon's Itinerary, part iii. p. 155. Moryſon's journey into Scotland was in 1598; but his landlord ſeems to have retained the manners of the former age.

gers in eating required a ſcrupulous attention to cleanlineſs, and ablution was cuſtomary, at leaſt at court, both before and after meals *. But the court and the nobility emulated the French in their manners, and adopted probably their refinements in diet. The Scottiſh reader will obſerve, that the knights dinner was compoſed of two coarſe diſhes peculiar to Scotland †; but others of an exquiſite delicacy were probably derived from the French, and retained, with little alteration, by a nation otherwiſe ignorant of the culinary arts. The Scots, though aſſimilating faſt to the Engliſh, ſtill reſemble the French in their tables.

Liquors. Ale and Gaſcony wines were the principal liquors; but mead, cyder, and perry were not uncommon. Hops were ſtill ſcarce, and ſeldom employed in ale, which was brewed therefore in ſmall quantities, to be drank while new. At the king's table ale was prohibited as unfit for uſe till five days old ‡. The wines, whatever was their quality, were certainly ſuperior to our preſent harſh and aſtringent port; yet Eraſmus complains repeatedly that good wine was unknown in England. His frail and ſickly conſtitution required wine of a peculiar age and quality; and it is probable that his poverty deterred him from procuring the beſt ‖. The wine was ſtill circulated in a large cup, from which the company drank alternately §. The Engliſh were ſober, the Scotch intemperate; they are accuſed at leaſt by their own hiſtorians of exceſſive drinking, an imputation long attached to their national character ¶.

Diverſions. Martial diverſions have been already deſcribed, and the ſports of the field are, in different ages, purſued with an uniformity almoſt permanent. In England hunting has ever been a favourite diverſion, and hawking has only been ſuperſeded by the fuſil; but it was ſtill practiſed with unabating ardour, and cultivated ſcientifically as a liberal art. Treatiſes were compoſed on the diet and diſcipline

* Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 283.

† The one was, ſalt-meat and oatmeal boiled together; the other, a fowl boiled with leeks and prunes—both national diſhes.

‡ Strutt, vol. iii. p. 72. 108.

‖ Epiſt. 124. 144. § Id. 447. ¶ Boethius, p. 15. Moryſon, 156.

proper for the falcon; the genus was diſcriminated like ſocial life, and a ſpecies appropriated to every intermediate rank, from an emperor down to a knave or peaſant; nor were gentlemen more diſtinguiſhed by the blazoning of heraldry, than by the particular hawks they were entitled to carry *. The long bow was alſo employed in fowling, a ſport in which much dexterity was requiſite; but archery was even a female amuſement; and it is recorded that Margaret, on her journey to Scotland, killed a buck with an arrow in Alnwick Park †. The preſervation of the feathered game was enforced in the preſent age by a ſtatute, the firſt that was enacted of thoſe laws which have ſince accumulated into a code of oppreſſion ‡.

Hunting.

The Scottiſh monarchs hunted in the Highlands, ſometimes in a ſtyle of eaſtern magnificence. For the reception of James V., the queen his mother, and the pope's ambaſſador, the earl of Atholl conſtructed a palace or bower of green timber, interwoven with boughs, moted around, and provided with turrets, portcullice, and drawbridge, and furniſhed within with whatever was ſuitable for a royal abode. The hunting continued for three days, during which, independent of roes, wolves, and foxes, ſix hundred deer were captured; an incredible number, unleſs we ſuppoſe that a large diſtrict was ſurrounded, and the game driven into a narrow circle to be ſlain, without fatigue, by the king and his retinue. On their departure the earl ſet fire to the palace, an honour that excited the ambaſſador's ſurpriſe; but the king informed him that it was cuſtomary with Highlanders to burn thoſe habitations they deſerted. The earl's hoſpitality was eſtimated at the daily expence of a thouſand pounds, at preſent equivalent at leaſt to three thouſand pounds ſterling ||.

Maſques and pageants.

During the preſent period, ſeveral games were invented or practiſed to the diſuſe of archery, for the promotion of which, bowls, quoits, cayles, tennis, cards, and dice, were prohibited by legiſlature as unlawful games §. Tennis, however, was a royal paſtime, in which Henry VIII. in his youth delighted much; and a match is

* Strutt, vol. iii. p. 124. † Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 278.
‡ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 11. || Pitſcottie, 146. § 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

recorded

recorded between him and the emperor, the prince of Orange, and the marquis of Brandenburgh *. But the favourite amuſements of court, next to tournaments, were maſques and pageants; the one an Italian diverſion ſubſervient to gallantry, the other a vehicle of groſs adulation. The maſques were deſtitute of character, humour, and dialogue; they were conducted in dumb ſhow, and their merit conſiſted in the groteſque diſguiſes of a part of the company, who entered as ſtrangers to dance with the ladies. The maſque and pageant were often united; for the pageant was properly a piece of machinery, an artificial mountain, a ſhip, a caſtle, in which the maſquers were introduced into the hall, or from which, in ſolemn proceſſions, allegorical perſonages recited pedantic and long panegyrics.

Theatrical amuſements.

Curioſity is naturally excited concerning the preſent ſtate, which is properly the origin, of the Engliſh drama; that ſtate which preceded its youthful vigour, when Shakeſpeare delineated human nature, even in the mildneſs of a fairy creation. But hiſtorical informations are not ſatisfactory, and we can only conclude that the revival of letters diſcredited myſteries, and propagated a purer taſte for dramatic compoſition. We diſcover that a comedy from Plautus was performed at court, where at Chriſtmas plays, or rather ſhort interludes, were often repreſented †. But the revival of letters introduced the drama into ſchools and colleges; plays were compoſed by profeſſors, and performed by their pupils; nor did grave lawyers, at their annual feſtivals, diſdain the laurels acquired on the ſtage ‡. Theſe however were temporary ſtages; but the church is ſtill to be regarded as an eſtabliſhed theatre, licenſed, not indeed by divine permiſſion, for the gratuitous exhibition of religious ſpectacles. Diſpoſſeſſed by the reformers, or interdicted from preaching by the king's ſupremacy, the popiſh clergy ſeceded to ſecular ſtages, and

* Hall, 98. † Id. p. 3. 67. 256.

‡ Warton's Hiſt. Poet. vol. ii. 366. At Gray's-Inn, during the celebration of Chriſtmas, a play was exhibited by the ſtudents ſo offenſive to Wolſey, that he impriſoned the author, a ſerjeant Roe, and deprived him of his coif. Hall, 154.

endea-

endeavoured to diſcredit the goſpellers by farces more efficacious and popular than their former ſermons. The reformers retaliated, by converting the myſteries of the church into a ſatirical repreſentation of the corruptions of popery; and repeated ordinances were afterwards neceſſary to ſuppreſs theſe ludicrous polemics of the church and ſtage *. In churches the performers were chiefly the choiriſters; at court they were probably minſtrels, of whom a company followed queen Margaret from England, and exhibited ſeveral plays or myſteries at the Scottiſh court †. The minſtrels, who diſappeared under Henry VIII. were probably converted, by the prevalence of theatrical amuſements, into itinerant players; in the ſucceeding reign, an eſtabliſhed and apparently a numerous profeſſion ‡.

Bear-baiting.

A more ignoble, perhaps a more popular ſpectacle, conſiſted of bears; "of which," ſays Eraſmus, "many herds are maintained in "Britain, for the purpoſe of dancing." Bear-baiting was a favourite diverſion, exhibited as a ſuitable amuſement for a princeſs ‖.

Domeſtic diverſions.

The winter ſolſtice, when the ſun regains his northern direction, was celebrated by our remote and idolatrous anceſtors; and chriſtianity, unable to ſuppreſs the feſtival, transferred it under the ſame name to a different day. At Chriſtmas, or the feaſt of *Yule* §, peculiar diſhes have been always employed, and every domeſtic diverſion adopted that tends to cheer or to diſſipate the gloom of winter. To regulate, or rather to promote ſuch paſtimes, a lord or abbot of miſrule was created ¶; but of theſe amuſements, perhaps, the moſt

* Warton, vol. iii. p. 198. Burnet's Hiſt. Ref. vol. i. p. 318.

† Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 299, 300. Twenty-pence was the eſtabliſhed price of each play exhibited at Chriſtmas in the Northumberland family, and the annual expence of ſuch repreſentations amounted only to 33 ſhillings. *North. Houſehold Book.*

‡ Warton ut ſupra. Pinkerton juſtly remarks that the minſtrel, in the entertainment of queen Elizabeth at Killingworth, is introduced as a character of former times. Scottiſh Ballads, Pref. 74.

‖ Eraſmi Adagia, p. 361. Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 299.

§ Feſtis Iolenſis, as it is tranſlated from the Scandinavian language. Vid. Baillie's Lettres ſur les Sciences et ſur l' Atlantide.

¶ In Scotland, the Abbot of Unreaſon. Arnot's Hiſt. Edin.

rational

rational was the recital of old and romantic tales. The domeſtic amuſements, in a period ſubſequent to the preſent, are thus enumerated: "The ordinary recreations which we have in winter are "cardes, tables and dice, ſhovel board, cheſſe play, the philoſo-"phers game, ſmall trunkes, balliards, muſicke, maſkes, ſinging, "dancing, ule-games, catches, purpoſes, queſtions; merry tales of "errant knights, kings, queens, lovers, lords, ladies, giants, dwarfs, "thieves, fayries, goblins, friars, witches, and the reſt *." Among theſe amuſements cards began to predominate, to be prohibited by parliament, and licenſed by the king. Gaming became more inordinate and ruinous †; but let not cards be therefore depreciated; an happy invention, which, adapted equally to every capacity, removes the invidious diſtinctions of nature, beſtows on fools the pre-eminence of genius, or reduces wit and wiſdom to the level of folly.

* Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 271.

† Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiii. p. 330. vol. xiv. p. 707. Fitzherbert, 98.

APPEN-

APPENDIX

TO THE

SIXTH BOOK.

N° I.

BIRCH MS. 4160. 5. collated with HARL. MS. 482. fol. 128.

[The original of this, in an old written hand, is in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, 18th Auguſt 1616.]

PERKIN WARBECK's *Proclamation, publiſhed in the Time of his Rebellion in the Beginning of the Reign of* HENRY VII.

RICHARD, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, prince of Wales: To all thoſe that theſe our preſent letters ſhall ſee, hear, or read, and to every of them, greeting. And whereas we, in our tender age, eſcaped, by God's great might, out of the Tower of London, and were ſecretly conveyed over the ſea to other divers countries, there remaining certain years as unknown; the which ſeaſon it happened one Henry, ſon to Edmond Tydder, earl of Richmond created, ſon to Owen Tydder, of low birth, in the county of Wales, to come from France and entered into this our realm, and by ſubtle falſe means to obtain the crown of the ſame unto us of right appertaining. Which Henry is our extreme and mortal enemy; as ſoon as he had knowledge of our being alive, imagined, compaſſed, and wrought all the ſubtle ways and means he could deviſe to our final deſtruction, inſomuch as he hath not only falſely ſurmiſed us to be a feigned perſon, giving us nicknames, ſo abuſing your minds, but alſo, to deter and put us from our entry into this our realm, hath offered large ſums of money to corrupt the princes in every land and country; and that we have been retained with and made importune labour to certain of our ſervants about our perſon, ſome of them to murder our perſon, and other to forſake and leave our righteous quarrel and to depart from our ſervices, as by Sir Robert Clyfford and other was verified and openly proved; and, to bring his curſed and malicious intent aforeſaid to his purpoſe, he hath ſubtilly

and by crafty means levied outrageous and importable ſums of money upon the whole body of our realm, to the great hurt and impoveriſhing of the ſame: All which ſubtle and corrupt labours by him made, to our great jeopardy and peril, we have, by God's might, graciouſly eſcaped and overpaſſed as well by land as by ſea, and be now with the right high and mighty prince our deareſt couſin the king of Scots; which, without any gift or other thing by him deſired or demanded to the prejudice or hurt of us or our crown or realm, hath full lovingly and kindly retained us, by whoſe aid and ſupportation we, in proper perſon, be now, by God's grace, entered into this our realm of England, where we ſhall ſhew ourſelves openly unto you; alſo confounding our ſaid aforeſaid enemy in all his falſe ſayings, and alſo every man of reaſon and diſcretion may well underſtand that him needed not to have made the foreſaid coſtages and importune labour if we had been ſuch a feigned perſon as he untruly ſurmiſeth, aſcertaining you how the mind and intent of the foreſaid noble prince our deareſt couſin is, that if that he may find or ſee our ſubjects and natural liege people, according to right and the duty of their allegiance, reſort lovingly unto us with ſuch power as by their puiſſance ſhall move, be able of likelyhood to diſtreſs and ſubdue our enemies, he is fully ſet and determined to return home again quietly with his people into his own land, without doing or ſuffering to be done any hurt or prejudice unto our realm, or to the inhabitants of the ſame. Alſo our great enemy, to fortify his falſe quarrel, hath cauſed divers nobles of this our realm whom he hath ſuſpect and ſtood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered, as our couſin the lord Fitzwater, ſir William Stanley, ſir Robert Chamberlayne, ſir Simon Montford, ſir Robert Radcliffe, William Daubeney, Humphrey Stafford, among others, beſides ſuch as have clearly bought their lives; ſome of which nobles are now in the ſanctuary. Alſo he hath long kept and yet keepeth in priſon, our right entirely well-beloved couſin Edward, ſon and heir to our uncle duke of Clarence, and others, withholding from them their rightfull inheritance, to the intent they ſhould be of might and power to aid and aſſiſt us at our need, after the duty of their leigeance. He hath alſo married by compulſion certain of our ſiſters, and alſo the ſiſter of our foreſaid couſin the earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of the blood royal, unto certain of his kinſmen and friends of ſimple and low degree; and putting apart all well-diſpoſed nobles, he hath none in favour and truſt about his perſon but biſhop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovell, Oliver King, ſir Charles Somerſet, David Owen, Ryſely, ſir Joſeph Turberville, Tylere, Robert Litton, Guildeforde, Chumley, Emſon, James Hobart, John Cutte, Garthe, Hanſey, Wyot, and ſuch other caitiffs and villains of ſimple birth; which, by ſubtle inventions and putting of the people, have been the principal finders, occaſioners, and counſellors of the miſ-rule and miſchief now reigning in England. Alſo we be credibly informed, that our ſaid enemy, not regarding the wealth and proſperity of this land, but only the ſafeguard and

ſurety

ſurety of his perſon, hath ſent into divers places out of our realm the foreſaid nobles, and cauſed to be conveyed from thence to other places the treaſure of this our realm, purpoſing to depart after, in proper perſon, with many other eſtates of the land, being now at his rule and diſpoſition; and if he ſhould be ſo ſuffered to depart, as God defend it ſhould be, to the greateſt hurt, jeopardy, and perill of the whole realm that could be thought or imagined: Wherefore we deſire and pray you, and nevertheleſs charge you and every of you, as ye intend the ſurety of yourſelf and the commonwealth of our land, your native ground, to put you in your moſt effectual devoirs with all dilligence, to the utmoſt of your powers, and ſtop and let his paſſage out of this our realm; aſcertaining you, that what perſon or perſons ſhall fortune to take or diſtreſs him, ſhall have for his or their true acquittal in that behalf after their eſtate and degrees, ſo as the moſt low and ſimpleſt of degree that ſhall happen to take or diſtreſs him, ſhall have for his labour one thouſand pounds in money, and houſes and lands to the yearly value of one hundred marks to him and his heirs for ever. We remembering theſe promiſes, with the great and execrable offence daily committed and done by our foreſaid great enemy and his adherents, in breaking the liberty and franchiſes of our mother holy church, to the high diſpleaſure of Almighty God; beſides the manifold treaſons, abominable murders, manſlaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by diſmes, taſks, tollages, benevolences, other unlawful impoſitions and grievous exactions, with many other heinous offences, to the likely deſtruction and deſolation of the whole realm, as God defend, ſhall put ourſelf effectually in our devoir, not as a ſtep-dame, but as the very true mother of the child, languiſhing or ſtanding in perill to redreſs and ſubdue for the foreſaid miſchief and miſrules, and to puniſh the occaſioners and haunters thereof after their deſerts, in example of others. We ſhall alſo by God's grace, and the help and aſſiſtance of the great lords of our blood, with the council of other ſade perſons of approved policy, prudence, and experience, dreading God, and having tender zeal and affection to indifferent miniſtrations of juſtice and the public weal of the land, peruſe and call to remembrance the good laws and cuſtoms heretofore made by our noble progenitors kings of England, and ſee them put in due and lawful execution, according to the effect and true meaning they were firſt made or ordained for; ſo that by virtue thereof, as well the diſinheriting of rightfull heirs as the injuries and wrongs in anywiſe committed and done unto the ſubjects of our realm, both ſpiritual and temporal, ſhall be duly redreſſed, according to right, law, and good conſcience; and we ſhall ſee that the commodities of our realm be employed to the moſt advantage of the ſameth intercourſe of merchandizes betwixt realm and realm, to be miniſtred and handled as ſhall now be to the commonweal and proſperity of our ſubjects; and all ſuch diſmes, taſks, tollages, benevolences, and lawful impoſitions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearſed, utterly to be foredune and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in ſuch caſes as our noble progenitors, kings of England, have

of old time been accuſtomed to have the aid, ſuccour, and help of their ſubjects and true liegemen.

Alſo we will, that all ſuch perſons as have imagined, compaſſed, or wrought privily or apparently ſince the reign of our foreſaid enemy, or before any thing againſt us, except ſuch as ſince the reign have imagined our death, ſhall have their free pardon for the ſame, of their lives, lands, and goods, ſo that they at this time, according to right and the duty of their allegiances, take our righteous quarrel and part, and aid, comfort, and ſupport us with their bodys and goods.

And over this we let you wotte, that upon our foreſaid great enemy, his adherents and partakers, with all other ſuch as will take their falſe quarrel, and ſtand in their defence againſt us with their bodys or goods, we ſhall come and enter upon them as their heavy lord, and take and repute them and every of them as our traitors and rebels, and ſee them puniſhed according and upon all our ſubjects, that according to right and the duty of their leigance will aid, ſuccour, and comfort us with their powers, with their lives or goods, or victual our hoſt for ready money; we ſhall come and enter upon them lovingly as their natural leige lord, and ſee they have juſtice to them equally miniſtered upon their cauſes: wherefore we will and deſire you and every of you, that incontinent upon the hearing of this our proclamation, ye, according to the duty of your allegiance, are ready yourſelves in your beſt defenſible array, and give your perſonal attendance upon us where we ſhall then fortune to be; and in your ſo doing ye ſhall find us your right, eſpecial, and ſingular good lord, and ſo to ſee you recompenſed and rewarded as by your ſervice unto us ſhall be deſerved.

N° II.

The Confeſſion read by PERKIN WARBECK *when ſet in the Stocks on a Scaffold at Cheapſide. Extracted from* Grafton, p. 929. Hall, 49.

FIRST, it is to be knowne, That I was borne in the towne of Turney in Flaunders, and my father's name is John Olbeck, which ſayde John Olbeck was comptroller of the ſaid towne of Turney, and my mother's name is Katheryn de Faro; and one of my grandſires upon my father's ſide was named Diryek Olbeck, which dyed; after whoſe death my grandmother was maryed unto Peter Flamme, that was receaver of the forenamed towne of Turney, and deane of the botemen that rowe upon the water or ryver called Leſchelde; and my graundſire upon my mother's ſide was Peter de Faro, which had in his

keeping the keyes of the gate of Saint John's within the ſame town of Turney; alſo I had an uncle called Maiſter John Stalyn, dwelling in the pariſhe of Saint Pyas within the ſame towne, which had maried my father's ſiſter, whoſe name was Jone or Jane, with whome I dwelled a certayne ſeaſon; and after I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learn Flemiſhe in a houſe of a couſin of mine, an officer of the ſaid towne, called John Stienbeck, with whom I was the ſpace of halfe a yere; and after that I returned again to Turney, by reaſon of the warres that were in Flaunders; and within a yere followying I was ſent with a marchaunt of the ſaid towne of Turney named Berlo, to the marte of Andwarpe, where I fell ſick, which ſickneſſe continued upon five moneths; and the ſaid Barlo ſent me to borde in a ſkinner's houſe that dwelled beſide the houſe of the Engliſhe nation; and by him I was from thence carried to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the ſigne of the Olde Man, where I abode the ſpace of two moneths; and after this the ſayd Barlo ſet me with a marchant of Middelborough to ſervice for to learne the language, whoſe name was John Strewe, with whom I dwelled from Chriſtmas til Eaſter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the company of ſir Edward Bramptone's wyfe, in a ſhip which was called the Quene's ſhip; and when I was come thether, then I was put in ſervice to a knight that dwelled in Luſhborne, whiche was called Peter Wars de Cogna, wyth whome I dwelled an whole yere, whiche ſayde knight had but one eye; and becauſe I deſyred to ſee other countries, I toke licence of him, and then I put myſelfe in ſervice with a Briton, called Pregent Meno, the which brought me with him into Ireland, and when we were there arrived in the towne of Corke; they of the towne, becauſe I was arayed with ſome clothes of ſilke of my ſayde maiſter's, came unto me and threaped upon mee that I ſhould be the duke of Clarence ſonne that was before time at Duellin; and foraſhmuch as I denied it, there was brought unto me the holy Evangeliſts and the croſſe by the maior of the towne, which was called John le Mellen, and there in the preſence of him and other I tooke my othe as the truthe was, that I was not the forſayde duke's ſonne, nor nonne of his blood: and after this came unto me an Engliſhman, whoſe name was Stephen Poytron, with one John Water, and layde to me in ſwearyng great othes, that they knew well that I was king Richarde's baſtard ſonne; to whom I anſwered with like othes, that I was not; and then they adviſed me not to be afearde, but that I ſhould take it upon me boldly, and if I would ſo do, they would ayde and aſſiſt me with all their power againſt the king of England, and not only they, but they were aſſured well that the erles of Deſmond and Kildare ſhould do the ſame; for they forced not what parte they tooke, ſo that they might be revenged upon the king of England, and ſo againſt my will made me to learne Engliſhe, and taught me what I ſhould do and ſay; and after this they called me duke of Yorke, ſecond ſonne of king Edward the fourth, becauſe king Richarde's baſtard ſonne was in the handes of the king of England; and upon this the ſayde John Water, Stephen Poytron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with many other,

as the forſayde erles, entered into this falſe quarell: and within a ſhort time after the French king ſent an ambaſſador into Ireland, whoſe name was Loyte Lucas, and mayſter Stephyn Fryam, to advertiſe me to come into Fraunce; and thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flaunders, and from Flaunders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and ſo into England.

N° III.

Diſſertation on the Character of PERKIN WARBECK, *and on the Crimes imputed to* Richard *the Third.*

THIS Appendix the author lived not to execute; and it is much to be regretted that no memorial remains of his opinion on a ſubject ſo long controverted, and ſtill ſo obſcure. The character of Richard, and the tranſactions during his troubled reign, are inſeparable from the controverſy concerning Warbeck; and of that controverſy a particular examination is conſidered as requiſite to complete this volume. Hiſtorical diſſertation admits of minuter reſearch and more critical diſquiſition than general hiſtory; nor am I reſponſible if in ſome particulars theſe reſearches correſpond not entirely with the text of our author.

Moſt hiſtorians repreſent the murder of Richard's nephews as the neceſſary ſequel of his former crimes. He meditated, it is ſaid, at an early period, his acceſſion to the throne, and for that purpoſe promoted the execution of Clarence, his brother, and procured from parliament the attainder of his iſſue. On the death of Edward IV. he intercepted the perſon of the young king, and impriſoned his kinſmen, conducted him with pomp and ſeeming reſpect to the Tower, obtained or extorted from the privy council the office of protector, profeſſed in public, and with repeated oaths, his allegiance to his nephew, but concerted ſecretly to deſpoil him of his crown. Alike regardleſs of the ties of friendſhip, of oaths, and of bloodſhed, he executed, without trial, Haſtings his friend, Gray, Rivers, Vaughan, and others, from whom he apprehended obſtruction to his ſchemes; and then circulated abſurd reports, to perſuade the people that his nephews were baſtards, and himſelf the legitimate heir of the crown. It was inſinuated that Richard alone was legitimate, as his brothers had ſprung from their mother's illicit amours, and aſſerted that Edward's previous marriage with Elizabeth Lucy rendered his connexion with the queen adulterous, and their iſſue ſpurious. The laſt topic was employed by Buckingham, who harangued the citizens on Richard's pretenſions; and obtaining a few faint acclamations, he proceeded next day, with the mayor and aldermen, to tender the crown to Richard, who, after much affected importunity, conſented

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to reign. Such an uſurpation was to be ſecured by the murder of the young princes; and is it credible that Richard, the perjured Richard, whoſe ſteps to the throne were marked with blood, would abſtain from the devoted lives of his nephews? Their removal was requiſite for his ſecurity; for conſpiracies were forming to reſtore them to liberty, and reinſtate them in their rights. That they were removed by murders is demonſtrated by their ſudden diſappearance, and the ſubſequent prevailing report of their death; by Richard's inability to produce them in order to diſpel ſuch rumours; by his propoſed alliance with their ſiſter Elizabeth, whoſe right to the crown was only valid in the event of their death; and by the united teſtimony of the principal Yorkiſts, who, aſſured that the princes were dead, joined the Lancaſtrians to dethrone the tyrant. The particulars of the murder were afterwards inveſtigated, authenticated by the confeſſion of the ſurviving aſſaſſins, and in a ſubſequent age, corroborated by the accidental diſcovery of the bodies. Warbeck, who perſonated the younger brother, was therefore an impoſtor. His ſtory is incredible; thoſe who diſpatched his brother ſpared him from compaſſion, and connived at his eſcape. In that event, inſtead of conſuming his early youth as an obſcure wanderer, he muſt have ſpeedily re-appeared in the Netherlands at his aunt the ducheſs of Burgundy's court; and the partiſans of York muſt have been ſoon appriſed of his miraculous eſcape: but he appeared not till nine years afterwards, not till the ſupport which the ducheſs had given to another impoſtor, diſcloſed her ignorance of his eſcape, and her readineſs to concur in every ſimilar impoſture, diſtreſſing to Henry; and the evidence, apparently ſo complete, is fortified and rendered irreſiſtible by Warbeck's voluntary confeſſion at the gibbet, when he had nothing to expect from Henry's clemency, and nothing farther to apprehend from his power.

The preceding is certainly a plauſible narrative, if not entirely conſiſtent with hiſtorical truth; nor is its truth conteſted, unleſs by a few, whoſe opinion, however, the reſult of judicious and accurate inquiries, is entitled to peculiar reſpect and attention*. The controverſy between them reſolves into four general diviſions or portions, I. The crimes attributed to Richard's youth; II. His uſurpation or acquiſition of the crown; III. The fate of his nephews; and IV. The pretenſions and character of Perkin Warbeck. But it is neceſſary previous to ſuch inquiries to aſcertain the credit due to original authorities, and theſe have been properly reduced to the unknown continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland Abbey, to Rous, Fabian, and ſir Thomas More: the three firſt were contemporary with Richard, the laſt with Warbeck; but Fabian was a wretched annaliſt, more attentive to the ſucceſſion of mayors and ſheriffs, than to the tranſactions of princes; and Rous, a recluſe prieſt, ſeems to have written without information, but with all the bigotry and prejudice of the Lancaſtrian

* With the reſpected names of Carte and Walpole, may I inſcribe that of the late Dr. Henry &

party.

party. The Chronicle of Croyland is leſs partial; the author is favourable to Edward's memory, and expreſſes ſome regret at the indignities offered to Richard's body. Sir Thomas More is a copious hiſtorian, and his narrative of Richard's uſurpation, and the murder of his nephews, has been tranſcribed in every ſubſequent Chronicle, adopted by Polydore Virgil, and followed almoſt implicitly by modern hiſtorians. To theſe Bacon has been added as an original authority; a character to which Buck is equally entitled, as both had acceſs to original papers that are now deſtroyed. But in theſe inquiries it is chiefly neceſſary to guard againſt the impoſing authority of great names.

I. An impartial hiſtorian muſt exculpate Richard of the crimes imputed to his early youth *, the murder of Henry VI., of his ſon prince Edward, and perhaps of Clarence. According to the Croyland Chronicle, prince Edward, the duke of Somerſet, the earl of Devonſhire, and others, were ſlain at the battle of Tewkſbury, or afterwards, *ultricibus quorumdam manibus*; according to Fabian, Edward, on receiving a blow from the king, was diſpatched by his ſervants; but in the next century, hiſtorians, improving on the ſtory, devolved this menial office on Clarence, Dorſet, Haſtings, and Glouceſter †. The death of Henry happened, according to Fabian, on the eve of Aſcenſion, the night after king Edward's triumphal arrival in London; a concurrence of circumſtances ſufficient to afford juſt ſuſpicion of a violent death. It was variouſly related, ſays Fabian; but the prevailing report was, that Richard ſtabbed him. The Croyland Chronicle is leſs explicit: Taceo hoc temporum interſtitio, inventum eſſe corpus regis Henrici, in turrem Londiniarum exanime; parcat Deus, et ſpatium pœnetentiæ ei donet, quicunque tam ſacrilegas manus in Chriſtum Domini, auſus eſt immittere. Unde agens tyranni patienſque glorioſi martyris, titulum mercatur ‡. The narrative indicates the popular rumour, that the martyr periſhed by the tyrant's (probably Richard's) hands; but we diſcover from Hollingſhed that the death of Henry, as recorded in certain contemporary writers, was occaſioned by extreme grief for the loſs of his ſon, his own diſaſters, and the ruin of his friends ‖. This, though aſſerted by writers, "favouring altogether," ſays Hollingſhed, "the houſe of "York," is the more probable, as Richard ſeems to have entertained too much reſpect for the good old king, to be the unneceſſary and officious inſtrument of his death. After his acceſſion, he removed the body of Henry from Chertſey, and interred it with royal ſolemnity at Windſor §; a circumſtance imputable only

* Richard, who periſhed prematurely at the age of thirty-two, was a youth of eighteen at the battle of Tewkſbury. It is not likely that ſuch a boy would be employed to aſſaſſinate Henry and his ſon.

† Hall, Grafton, Hollingſhed. Stowe, a more judicious author, adheres ſtrictly to Fabian. Buck quotes an ancient MS. Chronicle in Sir Robert Cotton's cuſtody, to prove that Richard, though preſent, drew not his ſword. Buck apud Kennet. See Chron. Croyl. p. 555.

‡ Id. p. 556. ‖ Hollingſhed, vol. ii. p. 690. § Rous, p. 217. Stowe, 424.

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to a veneration either for the illuſtrious deſcent or the piety of a monarch who, becauſe he was a fool, was reputed a ſaint. The pretended rumour is contradicted therefore, both by contemporary evidence and a fair interpretation of Richard's conduct, who would not, after an interval of twelve years, revive, by any indiſcreet hypocriſy, a rumour ſo prejudicial to his own reputation. But the following remarkable information is contained in a late edition of Shakeſpeare: "It has been obſerved to me by Mr. Edderton, that it appears on the face of the "public accounts allowed in the Exchequer for the maintenance of Henry VI. "and his numerous attendants in the Tower, that he lived to the twelfth of June, "which was twenty-two days after the time aſſigned for his pretended aſſaſſi-"nation; was expoſed to public view at St. Paul's for ſome days, and interred "at Chertſey with much ſolemnity, and at no inconſiderable expence *." If the fact be ſuch, and I ſee no reaſon to queſtion the authority, what becomes of our ancient chroniclers? I will not ſpeak of their accuracy; but what reliance can be placed in their truth? If Henry died not on the night of Edward's triumphal entry, there is no foundation for the ſuſpicion of violence; and we muſt conclude that Fabian and the monk of Croyland, writing at a diſtant period, (Fabian died in 1512,) forgot the regular ſucceſſion of events, and adopted a ſubſequent vain ſurmiſe, in order to render their ſaint a martyr †. Theſe crimes originated therefore from the ſame Lancaſtrian prejudices that accuſed Richard of murdering his wife, whoſe death was occaſioned by a lingering malady, and accelerated, as the monk of Croyland conjectures and inſinuates, not by poiſon, but her huſband's neglect ‡.

The execution of Clarence is aſcribed, by our older hiſtorians, to the queen's inſtigations, whoſe interceſſion might have certainly ſaved him, and whoſe brother Rivers was enriched by his forfeiture; but I cannot diſcover that Richard was a gainer, that he obtained a larger portion of his wife's inheritance ‖. The queen's relations were ambitious and inſolent; Clarence impatient, impetuous, and haughty; and, as they domineered at court, his imprudent oppoſition, and perhaps the temptation of a rich confiſcation, provoked his fate. Their procedure was conformable to the court intrigues of the period; they began by accuſing and convicting his domeſtics and friends, in order to impel him to ſome deſ-

* Malone's Shakeſpear, vol. xi. p. 653.

† Hollingſhed, to render the murder indiſputable, aſſerts that the wounds bled afreſh at St. Paul's.

‡ Chron. Croyl. p. 572.

‖ Rymer Fœd. vol. xii. p. 95. The hypocritical language of this donation is curious, and ſeems to faſten the murder indiſputably on Rivers. "Sciatis quod nos, inclitæ memoriæ noſtræ reducentes "de grandibus injuriis, gravaminibuſque offenſis, non ſolum cariſſimo conſanguineo noſtro *Antonio* "*comiti Ryvers*, verum etiam nobilibus parentibus ſuis, per *Georgium nuper ducem Clanciæ* indigne per-"petratis, et quod *idem dux*, die quo obiit et antea, voluit et intendebat quod *prædictus comes* omnino "recompenſaretur." The grant inſinuates that Clarence, at his death, made a nuncupative will in Rivers' favour; a proof that his conduct required exculpation.

perate counſels. Buckingham, connected them with the queen's party by his marriage with her ſiſter, was created high-ſteward to pronounce the ſentence; and Clarence's fate is the counterpart of Humphrey duke of Glouceſter, who periſhed in the former reign by the machinations of queen Margaret and Suffolk her minion. Richard, who had alſo quarrelled with the queen's relations, acted with more circumſpection than Clarence; yet the ſame influence that ruined his brother might have been directed afterwards againſt himſelf: nor is it probable that he would weaken his own ſecurity by conniving indirectly at the deſtruction of Clarence. The queen's influence was formidable, and exerted for the worſt purpoſes, to aggrandize her family by the depreſſion or ruin of the principal nobility. Haſtings once was committed to the Tower, and his life endangered by the accuſation of Rivers *; and Richard, from the ambitious views of the queen and her kindred, and their influence during an unprincipled reign, had certainly ſome reaſon to apprehend that Clarence's fate might extend to himſelf.

II. Theſe tranſactions then give us no indications of Richard's character, his ambition, his cunning, or prediſpoſition to cruelty. The ſucceeding events are more deciſive: the young king intercepted; Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan apprehended, and with Haſtings executed, without even the formality of a trial. Glouceſter, as firſt prince of the blood, was conſtitutionally protector; but the queen had certainly projected meaſures for retaining her influence during the minority, and ſecuring the regency to herſelf or her brother. She had ordered Rivers to raiſe an army; a meaſure calculated not for eſcorting the king, but for preſerving to themſelves the poſſeſſion of his perſon, intimidating their enemies, and uſurping the government. When the ſcheme was detected and counteracted in council, the eſcort was limited to two thouſand men; and whether theſe troops were brought forward, ſome artifice ſeems to have been employed at Nottingham in detaching Gray, Rivers, and Vaughan from the king's attendants. There they were arreſted; and the hints caſually furniſhed by hiſtorians of Dorſet's entering the Tower, removing the treaſures of the late king, and employing them partly in preparing a fleet, demonſtrate that the Grays were accuſed with reaſon of conſpiring to ſeize the adminiſtration, by retaining the perſon of the young king †. So far Glouceſter is juſtifiable, as he only anticipated thoſe whoſe ambition threatened diſturbance to the ſtate. But the ſubſequent execution of theſe noblemen and of Haſtings, Richard's friend and confederate, muſt be aſcribed to a premeditated ſcheme of uſurpation. The protector aſpired to the crown, and ſecured it by the previous removal of every obſtacle; and in theſe ſanguinary tranſactions we diſcover the firſt certain indications of his ambitious deſigns.

Yet our progreſs is arreſted by an unexpected difficulty—Edward's marriage with lady Eleanor Butler,—a fact better authenticated than hiſtorians imagine.

* Sir Thomas More. † Ibid. Walpole's Hiſtoric Doubts.

The

The Croyland Chronicle, and a paſſage (a vague paſſage) in the Memoirs of Commines, were regarded as the only evidence, till the rolls of Richard's parliament were diſcovered and publiſhed. Yet theſe authorities, ſeparately, are not ſatisfactory: the marriage is mentioned by Commings and the monk of Croyland as a pretext adopted to juſtify Richard's uſurpation; nor are the rolls of parliament of more authority than any atteſtation of a falſehood that might be extorted then from a ſervile, or obtained to-day from a venal, parliament. But there is another authority leſs controvertible, the reſpected authority of Sir Thomas More.

His hiſtory is a highly-coloured though unfiniſhed performance, publiſhed originally in Engliſh, afterwards in Latin, the language in which it was probably firſt compoſed. The Engliſh copy is inſerted in Hall, Graſton, Stowe, and Hollingſhed; but a licentious and faulty paraphraſe by Strype or Kennet has, with moſt authors, ſuperſeded the original *. The hiſtory from its very commencement is partial; it expatiates on Richard's perſonal deformity and monſtrous birth, his perverſeneſs and pravity *while ſtill in the womb*; aſcribes the murder of Henry to his dagger, the death of Clarence to his intrigues and ambition; and proceeds to relate ſuch myſterious and ſecret tranſactions as the death of the actors precluded from tranſpiring. At the death of Haſtings, in explaining the pretext employed by Richard for baſtardiſing his nephews, the hiſtorian pauſes, ſuſpends his narration; reverts to the period of Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Gray, and that for the expreſs purpoſe of demonſtrating that his previous marriage or precontract with another was an obſolete calumny already refuted. He informs us that the ducheſs of York, diſapproving of the propoſed connexion with Elizabeth Gray, endeavoured to diſſuade her ſon from the marriage. "The king was inflexible; and his mother" (I tranſlate it from the Latin) "in-"cenſed at his diſobedience, concerted other meaſures for impeding the match. "Elizabeth Lucy, a lady of noble birth and exquiſite beauty, had been de-"bauched by Edward. On the approach of the nuptials, when the banns were "publiſhed, the ducheſs his mother, as if to abſolve her conſcience, objected "with tears, that her ſon was already eſpouſed to Elizabeth Lucy, their faith "plighted, and their nuptials conſummated. The marriage was therefore inter-"rupted, either by the prieſt's refuſal or the king's reluctance to celebrate the "rites, till an aſperſion, to which his mother's ſcruples had contributed weight "and authority, was examined and diſproved. Elizabeth Lucy, though in-"ſtructed ſecretly, and inſpired with ambitious views by the ducheſs, con-"feſſed, when interrogated on oath, that whatever were her expectations, no "matrimonial obligation had been contracted by Edward. Thus the pretended

* With Hume, it certainly ſuperſeded the original, when he aſſerted that More mentioned Lady Butler as well as Elizabeth Lucy's marriage, and treated them both lightly as rumours. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 455, note M. Lady Butler's name is not once mentioned by More; but her ſtory is inſerted in Kennett's Verſion.

" marriage was detected, and its falſehood publiſhed, previous to the king's " marriage with Elizabeth Gray. Theſe circumſtances," the hiſtorian concludes, " are detailed perhaps with too much prolixity; but it is neceſſary to " know that the ſole objection which the Protector diſcovered againſt Edward's " marriage was a calumny long exploded and antiquated."

This paſſage, diveſted of its rhetoric, diſcloſes an important hiſtorical fact—that Edward's marriage with lady Gray was interrupted for a time by his own mother; that ſhe appeared in church when the banns were publiſhed, and with tears prohibited the celebration of the marriage, as her ſon was already contracted to another. Her allegation, the more authoritative as it proceeds from a mother, is diſproved by Elizabeth Lucy's confeſſion: the hiſtorian dwells on this as a confutation of the calumny. Surely were theſe circumſtances admitted as truth, when a mother, terrified at the violation of a ſacramental obligation, (marriage then was eſteemed a ſacrament,) prohibits her ſon's nuptials, a reaſonable ſuſpicion may be entertained that her objection was not without foundation, that a monarch, impetuous in his paſſions, and arbitrary like Edward, might either extort or fabricate the pretended confeſſion.

But in this pretended confeſſion there is no truth. The pretext of Richard's uſurpation was his brother's precontract, not with Lucy, but with lady Eleanor Butler. Shaw therefore, if inſtructed by the Protector, could not preach on Edward's precontract with Elizabeth Lucy; nor could Buckingham adopt ſuch an injudicious topic in haranguing the citizens. Richard could not reſort to an objection abſolutely preclusive of his own pretenſions; for Elizabeth Lucy had a ſon by Edward, Arthur Plantagenet, afterwards lord Liſle, whoſe legitimacy muſt have been recogniſed with his mother's marriage, and his title eſtabliſhed to the crown itſelf. The fact is indiſputable, that Richard's nephews were excluded as ſpurious, on account of their father's marriage with Eleanor Butler. " Oſtendebatur in quodam rotulo perganieni, quod filii regis Edwardi erant " baſtardi, ſupponendo illum præcontraxiſſe cum quadam Alienora Boteler, " antequam reginam Elizabeth duxiſſet uxorem." Cron. Croyl.— " Edward " was and ſtood married, and troth plight to one dame Eleanor Butler, daughter " to the earl of Shrewſbury, with whom the ſaid king Edward had made a pre- " contract of matrimony long time before he made the pretended marriage " with Elizabeth Gray." Roll of Parliament.—What then does More's information amount to? He informs us that the objection was not deviſed by Richard, but that it had been agitated previous even to Edward's marriage. Does he diſprove it? He ſubſtitutes a different female, and on her confeſſion, which muſt be fictitious, argues againſt the exiſtence of the marriage. The concluſion is inevitable, that the king's marriage with Eleanor Butler ſtands authenticated by her mother's atteſtation, and refuted by no contradictory evidence.

I venerate

I venerate too much the character of ſir Thomas More, not to attribute, if poſſible, his miſtakes to ignorance; but I am afraid that his narrative diſcovers in the ſequel an intended and artful deviation from the truth. Fabian informs us, that Shaw preached on Sunday, to the diſparagement of Edward's children, and *abucion* of the audience; that on Tueſday Buckingham harangued the citizens aſſembled in Guildhall; and that Richard, aſſuming on Thurſday the regal dignity, was conducted to Weſtminſter and inſtalled as king. Fabian in theſe particulars could not be miſtaken, though he knew not, or neglected to mention a public inſtrument produced on Thurſday at Barnard's caſtle, conceived in the name of the lords and commons, containing a recital of Richard's titles, and a ſupplication for his immediate aſſumption of the crown. This, the Croyland Chronicle aſſures us, was the *pretext* and *colour* employed to juſtify the Protector's uſurpation; but ſir Thomas More, in oppoſition to every hiſtorical evidence, has deviſed a different pretext and colour. Buckingham and the lords of his party, attended by the mayor and aldermen and a multitude of citizens, proceeded on Wedneſday to the Protector's reſidence, who, affecting to miſtruſt their intentions, appeared at a gallery to receive their addreſs. Buckingham announced the deſire of the people; Richard, after much declamatory dialogue, is perſuaded to reign; and the hiſtorian concludes with ſome facetious and pertinent remarks on this ſcenic exhibition. Theſe circumſtances are certainly poſſible, but they could not have eſcaped the obſervation of Fabian. A citizen and a ſpectator apparently of every public ſolemnity, he could not have failed to mention the convocation of the citizens in conſequence of Buckingham's requeſt on Tueſday, their proceſſion to Barnard's caſtle, and their interview with the Protector; tranſactions of far more pomp and importance than Shaw's ſermon at Paul's croſs, or Buckingham's ſpeech at Guildhall. The events of Sunday, of Tueſday, and of Thurſday, are in Fabian recorded with care; the tranſactions of Wedneſday are repreſented by More as the neceſſary ſequel of thoſe on Tueſday as occaſioned by the acclamations of a few apprentices, and Buckingham's public requeſt to the citizens to attend him on the morrow. The ſilence both of Fabian and the monk of Croyland diſproves theſe incidents, and demonſtrates that they were interpolated by More to ſupply the unoccupied interval between Buckingham's harangue on Tueſday, and the ſupplication preſented to Richard on Thurſday. His intention is obvious to ſuppreſs the real pretext or colour employed to vindicate Richard's acceſſion, and for that purpoſe he diverts our attention to a different day, and ſubſtitutes a different and a falſe pretext. The ſupplication, ſtill engroſſed in the rolls of parliament, eſtabliſhes Richard's title on Edward's prior marriage with Eleanor Butler, and the conſequent illegitimacy of his offſpring by Elizabeth Gray. More, inſtead of refuting, evades the plea, ſubſtitutes Lucy to conceal the marriage of Eleanor Butler, and creates a ſeries of fictitious tranſactions to ſuppreſs the knowledge of Richard's titles, and obſcure the proximate cauſe of his acceſſion to the throne.

Lucy,

Lucy, preferred it ſeems as a daughter by the ducheſs of York, was, according to More, *nec ignobilis, quem forte virginem rex corrupet.* She was the daughter of one Wiat, the wife of one Lucy, obſcure perſons; and if More was ignorant of her marriage with the latter, (a circumſtance preclufive of her contract with Edward,) he muſt have been ſenſible that neither the Wiats nor the Lucys were then ennobled. His inadvertence has retained a circumſtance hiſtorically certain. Lord Butler's widow was of noble birth; her father was the earl of Shrewſbury, her mother the former duke of Buckingham's daughter, and her marriage with Edward is ſtill atteſted by more than common hiſtorical evidence. Had the hiſtorian maintained inſtead of controverting the exiſtence of the marriage, our aſſurance would have depended on his veracity; but his attempt to confute it by the ſuppreſſion of certain circumſtances, and the ſubſtitution of others, demonſtrates that the fact was inconteſtible, too ſtrong to be fairly ſtated, and too ſtubborn to be openly reſiſted. His extreme anxiety, his ſolicitude to convince us that the accuſation was calumnious, betrays his knowledge and conviction of its truth. He had explored it to the ſource, traced it backward to Richard's mother, to the diſtant period of Edward's marriage. He aſſures us that it was not invented by Richard, and explains it at length, *ut melius cognoſcatur quam falſam olim revictam, rejectamque calumniam pretexuit. Ne ignoraretur protector, Edwardi filiis natalium vitium objecturus, nihil reperiſſe quod illius matrimonio objicerit, præter excuſſam olim et antiquatam calumniam.* Yet this antiquated calumny, ſo long and ſo induſtriouſly exploded, cannot bear a relation without the moſt material deviation from truth. His very ſolicitude to explain, his induſtrious reſearches to diſcover, the truth, are evidence againſt him. He had diſcovered its origin at Edward's marriage (1463), and muſt have underſtood its application at Richard's acceſſion in 1483. In every particular he ſuppreſſes the truth, and but for a caſual diſcovery in the ſequel of his hiſtory, compared with a paſſage in the Memoirs of Commines, the world would have ſtill been ignorant that lady Butler's marriage with Edward was examined in council, that it was ſupported by the depoſitions of different witneſſes, and eſtabliſhed by the teſtimony of Stillington, the biſhop who performed the ceremony.

An hiſtorian, with whoſe philoſophical genius the minute details of hiſtory were ſcarcely compatible, has remarked, that the ſtatute declaring the illegitimacy of Edward's children appeared, on Henry's acceſſion and marriage with Elizabeth, too deſpicable to be reverſed by parliament*. Henry's policy in ſuppreſſing that ſtatute affords additional proof of Edward's marriage with Eleanor Butler, and an adequate ſolution of More's intentional perverſion of the fact. The Year Book informs us, that the judges, aſſembled by Henry to conſult together on the repeal of the ſtatute, propoſed, that it ſhould be "taken "off the rolls, annulled, cancelled, deſtroyed, and burnt," without being re-

* Hume's Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 457. note M.

hearſed,

hearſed, its contents divulged, or more than a few words of the preamble recited. The reaſon aſſigned was, that the ſtatute, becauſe it was "falſe, "ſhameful, and ſeditious, ought to be put in perpetual oblivion; for if any "part of the ſpecialty of the matter had been rehearſed, then had it re-"mained in remembrance always." The ſtatute would have been deſtroyed without the ceremony of being reverſed, but an act was neceſſary to indemnify thoſe to whoſe cuſtody the rolls were entruſted *. The ſtatute was abrogated therefore in parliament, taken off the rolls and deſtroyed; and thoſe poſſeſſed of copies were directed, under the penalty of fine and impriſonment, to deliver them to the chancellor; "ſo that all things ſaid or remembered in the bill "and act be for ever out of remembrance and forgotten †." The ſtatute was abrogated without recital, in order to conceal its purport, and obliterate if poſſible the facts it atteſted; and a propoſal for reading it, that Stillington biſhop of Bath might be reſponſible for its falſehood, was over-ruled and ſtifled by the king's immediate declaration of pardon ‡. Its falſehood would have merited and demanded detection, not concealment; and Stillington, whoſe evidence had formerly eſtabliſhed the marriage, was, if perjured, an object of puniſhment, not of pardon. But why this precaution to efface all knowledge of Edward's pre-contract, the pretext of Richard's uſurpation or acceſſion? The ſuppreſſion of the ſtatute without inquiry into its truth, or explanation of its purport, demonſtrates that the recital was dangerous, the fact inconteſtible; otherwiſe it is not conceivable that Henry would prohibit an inveſtigation ſo neceſſary to vindicate his own acceſſion and his queen's legitimacy, or pardon Stillington, whom he never forgave; and whoſe negotiations to procure the delivery of Henry, when an exile in Britanny, into Richard's hands, had rendered him ſo peculiarly ob-

* Touts les juſtice in l'Exchequer chambre, par le commandement le roi, communerent pour le reverſal del' bil et act, qui baſtard les enfants le roi E. IV. et Eliz. ſa femme. Et priſteront ſa direcſion pour ceo, que le bill et l'act fuit cy, faux et ſlandireux, q'ills ne voill *reherſes le matter ne l'effect de la matre* mes taut ſelemnit que Ric. fiſt un faux et ſeditioux bill, a eſtre mis a luy, qui commence ſic, pleaſeth it your highneſs to conſider theſe articles enſuing, &c. ſans pl. reherſal. And this was the conſideration of the juſtices, that they rehearſe no more of the matter, that the matter might be and remain in perpetual oblivion for the falſeneſs and ſhamefulneſs of it. And if any part of the eſpecialty of the matter, &c. Nota icy bien la policy. Nota enſeint q'ill ne puiſſoient eſtre pris hors del record ſans act del parliament pour l'indemnite et jeopardie d'eux q'avoient les records in lour gard.—Year Book, Hilary Term, 1 Hen. I.

† Ref. Parl. 1 Hen. note 18.—But for the Year Book, it would be impoſſible, from the ſhort recital of the preamble, to diſcover which of Richard's acts was reverſed by this ſtatute. Hume's miſtake was unavoidable, as he overlooked the Year Book which Carter had quoted.—Vol. ii. p. 824.

‡ Et meme le jour le bill fuit leu en parliament chambre, mes fuit mouve per aſcun deux que ſer., bon ordre que ceſtuy qui fiſt ceo faux bill reformera ceo, et diſcient que le eveſque de B. (Stillington then biſhop of Bath and Wells,) fiſt le bill, et les ſeigniors vouloeint aver luy in le parliament chambre a aver luy reſpondre a ceo. Et le roy diſait, que il avoit luy pardonner et pour ceo il ne vouloit plus fait a luy; quod nota, conſtantia regis. Et quidam epiſcopi fuerunt contra ipſum.—Year Book, ibid.

noxious, that his deſtruction was effected afterwards, on the falſe pretext of his having participated in Lincoln's rebellion *. But that which Henry interdicted, the hiſtorian †, publiſhing under his tyrannical auſpices, durſt not venture to revive or inveſtigate. His danger would have been conſiderable, had he aſſigned as the means of Richard's acceſſion, the bill of ſupplication engroſſed in a ſtatute eraſed from the record, the knowledge of which was intercepted, and the poſſeſſion even of a copy prohibited as criminal; but his deſtruction would have been inevitable had he perpetuated a fact which the legiſlature, obſequious to the deliberations of the judges and the injunctions of Henry, had determined to conſign to perpetual oblivion. In concealing Edward's marriage with Eleanor Butler, More co-operated directly with Henry's intentions, and in creating a refutable, fictitious marriage with Elizabeth Lucy, endeavoured to diſcredit all traditionary remembrance of Richard's title.

I obſerved that the authorities ſeparately were not ſatisfactory; collectively they are forcible, perhaps concluſive. Stillington's evidence has been rejected as that of an unprincipled prieſt, actuated either by ſervility to Richard, or revenge for the injuries ſuſtained from Edward. We now diſcover, that at a period long previous to Richard's acceſſion, Edward's mother was appriſed of his marriage, and ſtrove ineffectually to preſerve him from bigamy; that her information originated either from the injured lady, or from Stillington the prieſt, who pronounced the ceremony, and in whoſe hands the contract was depoſited; that Edward, whether to recover the contract, or to revenge and puniſh the diſcloſure of his ſecret, diſgraced and impriſoned the biſhop, nor releaſed him till a ſevere fine was extorted ‡; that the teſtimony of the latter, thus corroborated by Edward's reſentment, was with other depoſitions produced and ſuſtained as ſatisfactory in council; that it was afterwards recognized in full parliament ‖; and finally, that it was eſtabliſhed inconteſtibly in the ſucceeding reign by the tacit confeſſion of Henry, who endeavoured to ſuppreſs the fact; and if thoſe hiſtorians who, in order to diſprove it, converted a regular marriage, ſolemnized according to the rites of the church, into a ſuppoſed pre-contract with a different woman; and attempted, on her fictitious confeſſion, to obviate the exiſtence of a previous marriage. More than that, we obtain the unequivocal teſtimony of Buckingham;

* Godwin de Preſul. Angl. v. Stillington.

† More's Hiſtory was written according to Graſton in 1508.

‡ L'eveſque de Bath mit en avant a ce duc de Gloceſtre, qui ledit Edward, eſtant fort amoureux d'une dame d'Angleterre lui promit de l'epouſer, pourveu qu'il coucha avec elle, ce que la conſentit; et dit l'eveque *quil les avoit epouſez* et n'y avoit que lui, et eux deux. En plain parlement, le duc de Gloceſtre fit degrader les deux filles du dit Edward, et declara baſtardes, ſous couleur de quelque cas quil preuver par un eveſque de Bath in Angleterre qui autrefeis avoit un grand credit avec Edward, et puis ſa deſapointa, et tient en priſon, et le rançonne pour un ſomme d'argent; le quel eveſque diſait qu'Edward avoit promis fei de marriage a une dame quil nommoit, et en avoit faits la prommiſſe entre *les mains du dit eveque*.—Mem. de Commines, vol. i. pp. 437. 497.

‖ En plein parliament, Commines.

who,

who, on the death of his grandfather at the battle of Northampton, became, at the age of five, a ward of the crown, and according to feudal uſage was ſelected during his minority as an advantageous huſband for the queen's ſiſter *. During his early youth, while educated under the tuition of Edward, he was probably ignorant of lady Butler's marriage; but his ſubſequent confederacy with Richard againſt his wife's relations, can be attributed only to a keen reſentment at the diſcovery of the injury his couſin had ſuſtained. His intereſt during the adminiſtration of the Woodvilles was equivalent to whatever he could expect with Richard; and unleſs ſome ſecret diſguſt be admitted, he had no temptation to deſert his connections. No rational motive could actuate his conduct, but that conviction which he felt and expreſſed, and thoſe paſſions which would prompt a proud and indignant ſpirit to renounce his intereſts, and relinquiſh every political connection, to ſacrifice even the lives of his friends, in order to revenge the diſhonour of his family. That conviction of which he aſſures us, when alone preſumable as a motive, from the tenor of his conduct, is an indiſputable teſtimony to the truth of the marriage. "Richard," he informs us, "brought in "inſtruments, authentic doctors, authorities of the law, with depoſitions of di-"vers witneſſes, teſtifying Edward's children to be baſtards; which depoſitions "then I thought to be *as true* as now I know them to be falſe and feigned †." His belief is certain; his ſubſequent incredulity may be regarded as a gratuitous conceſſion to Morton, with whom, in concerting rebellion, a diſavowal of his former conviction was a decency not to be omitted by hiſtorians. Whether he was afterwards diſabuſed of error, or perverted by ambition, may be juſtly queſtioned, when his deliberate conviction had already adjudged the crown to Richard. "When the ſaid depoſitions were before us (lords ſpiritual and "temporal, evidently the council) read, and diligently heard, Richard ſtood up, "bareheaded, ſaying, "Well, my lords, even as I and you would that my "nephews ſhould have no wrong, ſo I pray you do me nothing but right; for "theſe witneſſes and ſayings of famous doctors be true, for I am only the indubi-"table heir to Richard Plantagenet duke of York, adjudged to be the very heir "to the crown of this realm by the authority of parliament." Which things, "(ſays Buckingham,) ſo by learned men for verity to us declared, cauſed me and "others to take him for our lawful and undoubted prince and ſovereign lord ‡." "I am unwilling unneceſſarily to criminate human nature; and as Richard's conduct, previous to his appointment to the protectorate, may receive an explication on juſtifiable motives, I will not preſume that, in the allegiance ſworn to his nephew, he was intentionally perjured; that he meditated ſchemes to ſupport his pretenſions, or was conſcious even of his right to the crown. Were conjecture

* Dugdale's Baronage.—Buckingham's education was committed by Edward to his ſiſter the ducheſs of Exeter. Id.

† Grafton, Hall, in continuation of More.—See in the note above, the quotation from Comines.

‡ Id.

admiſſible in hiſtorical controverſy, I would advance, as a reaſonable ſuppoſition, that the ducheſs of York, a prudent woman, who had guarded the ſecret from the inconſiderate Clarence *, had concealed it with equal circumſpection from Richard, nor diſcloſed it till his return from the north after Edward's death, when his power as protector enabled him to vindicate his title, and exclude a baſtard race from the throne. But whatever was the period at which his ambition commenced, his right of ſucceſſion, as the heir of Richard Plantagenet his father, is to me indiſputable. Clarence's iſſue was excluded by attainder, and Edward's marriage with lady Butler is eſtabliſhed at preſent by ſuch evidence as it is poſſible either to obtain or expect, ſuch as would be tranſmitted through the medium of an hoſtile faction, always malignant, and ultimately victorious. If the records of the Yorkiſts have periſhed with their family, the truth, though ſuppreſſed by their enemies, may be ſtill traced in the partial and contradictory narratives of thoſe hiſtorians, who, at a ſubſequent period, diſfigured the annals of a ſhort reign, diſquieted and unfortunate, but not inglorious.

III. The preceding diſcuſſions, as preparatory to our inquiries concerning the young princes confined in the Tower, give us few indications of Richard's character, his hiſtorical character, and no aſſurance whatever of the fate of his nephews. Inſtead of a perjured traitor, we recognize the legitimate ſovereign of England. Inſtead of a violent uſurpation, we diſcover an acceſſion, irregular according to modern uſage, but eſtabliſhed without violence on a legal title. The crimes imputed to his youth diſappear; and in the execution of Rivers, Gray, and Haſtings, if the ultimate object was to ſecure his ſucceſſion, ſome intermediate myſterious cauſe will be ſuſpected by thoſe whoſe inquiries have taught them to peruſe our ancient hiſtorians with extreme miſtruſt †.

Richard,

* See vol. v. ch. 1. ſect. 5.

† The execution of Gray and Rivers may be conſidered as a juſt retribution for the murder of Clarence; nor is Richard's morality highly cenſurable, if he inflicted a juſt revenge on his brother's murderers, without reverſing the attainder of his iſſue, that eſtabliſhed his own ſucceſſion to the crown. The effect of the attainder was too remote, conſequential, and precarious, to involve Richard in a ſhare of the murder; and acquitting him of any participation in that crime, we muſt allow that, according to the ſpirit of thoſe times, his revenge was juſtifiable, prompted at leaſt by a laudable reſentment. Haſtings's execution is more myſterious. More's information has been conſidered as traditionary, gleaned from his converſe with Richard's cotemporaries; but a tradition recorded by Harrington (1596) aſſigns his hiſtory to Morton, (Malone's Shakeſpeare, vol. v. p. 562.) and a Latin Hiſtory of Richard, compoſed by that prelate, was preſerved in the laſt century by Roper, a deſcendant of More, to whom as a favourite pupil the book had devolved. (Buck. apud Kennett, 546.) That ſuch was the ſource of his information, the ſubſtratum on which he conſtructed his hiſtory, is farther confirmed by the Engliſh edition, which, extending beyond the period of Richard's acceſſion, comprehends the murder of his nephews, the ſecret diſaffection of Buckingham, and terminates abruptly in the midſt of an intereſting converſation between the latter and Morton.

Richard, according to theſe hiſtorians, aſſuming on the ninth, or the nineteenth of June, the regal dignity, was crowned on the ſixth of July, and thereafter began a progreſs through Glouceſter, Warwick, and Coventry, northward to York; during which the young princes were ſecretly murdered. Theſe events are recorded as paſſing in rapid ſucceſſion, as connected together; the execution of Haſtings with Richard's acceſſion, the death of the princes with his coronation, and immediate removal from London. The public records correct theſe dates; the acceſſion took place on the twenty-ſeventh of June, about a fortnight after the execution of Haſtings, and the coronation was celebrated on the ſixth of July, in the preſence of almoſt every peer of the realm *. The progreſs north commenced in the beginning of September, and till that period we are aſſured that the princes continued alive.

During this expedition aſſociations were formed, and various inſurrections projected for their delivery; but when theſe were matured, and Buckingham proclaimed as the leader of the enterprize, a report prevailed that the princes

Morton. The converſation is reſumed and continued by Hall and Graſton in a manner equally minute and circumſtantial, nor apparently leſs authentic; and as the particulars could only be obtained from Morton, I conclude that they and More had acceſs to the ſame original information, and attribute the materials of the hiſtory in queſtion to Morton, the ornamental and claſſical varniſh to More. This diſcovery may exculpate More from the imputation of propagating deliberate falſehood. Not a ſpectator merely, but an actor chiefly inſtrumental in Richard's deſtruction; Morton's knowledge and intentional miſrepreſentation of Edward's marriage and Richard's title beſtows additional confirmation on both. The ſeizure and execution of Haſtings, at which he was preſent, is preceded in his hiſtory by dreams and omens, and related with circumſtances ſo ridiculous that they provoke a ſmile amidſt all the tragic declamation of the drama. The Protector, at a council held in the Tower, requeſted a diſh of ſtrawberries from Morton for dinner, retired for an interval, but returning with a countenance expreſſive of wrath and vengeance, exclaimed of the ſorcery practiſed on his perſon by the queen, Jean Shore, and Haſtings her paramour, and bared his withered arm as a proof of their guilt. The moſt prominent circumſtances are hiſtorically certain; a cry of treaſon was raiſed without, the Protector's armed attendants on his opening the door ruſhed into the council, apprehended Haſtings, the primate, and Morton; and while the latter were impriſoned, the former was conducted to immediate execution. [Fabian.] But the intermediate circumſtances are falſe and abſurd; Jean Shore was the miſtreſs of Dorſet, not of Haſtings, and, from an original letter of Richard's, was treated certainly with peculiar lenity. (Hiſtorical Doubts, p. 118.) But why theſe dreams and predictions of Haſtings's death? Shall we believe that Richard's arm was withered and uſeleſs, Richard a warrior, expert at arms? or if ſecret, that he would expoſe his diſhonour; if notorious, that he would render it the abſurd pretext for the murder of his friend? What do theſe multiplied abſurdities amount to? The artificial glare with which the whole is ſurrounded, generates a ſuſpicion that ſome treaſon was detected and puniſhed; a conſpiracy in which Morton had participated with Haſtings, and was therefore deſirous to remove from view.

* Compare Graſton's liſt of the peers preſent at the coronation with the lords ſummoned to parliament in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII, and it will appear that their number amounted to about thirty-ſix, of whom thirty-two attended the coronation, and in all probability concurred in preſenting the bill of ſupplication. Henry's firſt parliament was not attended by half the number.—See Parliamentary Hiſt.

had ſuffered a violent death. Such is the conciſe and barren account of contemporary writers, whoſe narrations rather atteſt the exiſtence of the rumour than the truth of the murder, and to whom the manner in which it was perpetrated was then unknown. Succeeding hiſtorians have adopted that which, among different traditionary ſtories, appeared the moſt probable to ſir Thomas More. Richard, during his progreſs, preſaging danger from the lives of his nephews, diſpatched an attendant from Glouceſter with orders to Brakenbury for their immediate death. Brakenbury reſiſted the diſhoneſt propoſal, and Green the meſſenger returned with his refuſal to Richard at Warwick, who complaining to a page that his commands were unexecuted, was directed to ſir James Tyrell (then aſleep with his brother in the next apartment) as an aſpiring man, depreſſed by Ratcliffe, and likely to perpetrate whatever was enjoined. Tyrell accordingly was commiſſioned next morning to receive for a ſingle night the keys and the command of the Tower from Brakenbury, and repairing to London employed Dighton and Foreſt to ſtifle the princes while aſleep at midnight. The bodies were buried at the bottom of the ſtaircaſe, but were afterwards removed by the chaplain; and Tyrell, having performed his commiſſion, haſtened back to Richard, by whom he was knighted, much honoured, and highly rewarded.

It has been obſerved with truth, that theſe circumſtances are improbable, and partly falſe; that Richard, before his departure from London, would have ſounded Brakenbury in deviſing the murder; nor would ſuch a propoſal be entruſted either to a letter, or to verbal credentials; that Richard would not have communicated his diſappointment ſo freely; nor was Tyrell, already knighted and maſter of the horſe, in a ſituation to be either depreſſed by Ratcliffe, or recommended to the King's notice by a nameleſs page; and finally, that Brakenbury on his refuſal would not have been ſuperſeded for the palpable purpoſe of murder, nor again entruſted with the command of the Tower *.

But the ſtory is not deſtitute of evidence, the confeſſion of the aſſaſſins to be noticed in the ſequel, and the accidental diſcovery in the laſt century of bones correſpondent in ſize to thoſe of the princes buried in the Tower under the rubbiſh of a ruinous ſtaircaſe. They were found, it is ſaid, in a cheſt or coffin at the depth of ten feet, in rebuilding a ſtaircaſe conducting from the king's lodgings to the chapel in the White Tower, and were depoſited as the remains of the princes by Charles II. in Weſtminſter Abbey †. Their identity has been inferred from their ſize and irregular interment, indicating, as the ground was not conſecrated, a ſecret murder; from the coincidence of the place with hiſtorical deſcription, and from the preſumption that no children unconnected with the crown were expoſed in the Tower to a violent death ‡. To me the inference

* Walpole's Hiſt. Doubts, p. 53.
† Sandford's Genealog. Hiſt.
‡ Hume's Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 459, note M.

appeared

appeared at firſt to be ſtrong and concluſive; but there are difficulties not to be ſurmounted or obviated:—1. The coincidence of place is extremely doubtful. The princes, according to a tradition preſerved in the Tower, were lodged in a building near the water-gate, and Tyrell, as we are informed, remained till the murder was finiſhed at the bottom of the ſtaircaſe, beneath which he interred their bodies *. They were buried therefore under the ſtairs of their lodging; but Henry, to whom the aſſaſſins diſcloſed the place, ſought ineffectually to diſcover the bodies, and concluded at laſt that the chaplain, who was then dead, had removed them elſewhere. Their bodies therefore muſt have been transferred from the ſtaircaſe of their lodging to that of the chapel; and thoſe who were preſent at the diſcovery and inſpected the bones, admitted that they were found not in the place where Tyrell had depoſited, but where the prieſt had removed them †. That place was unknown, its coincidence with the ſituation of the bodies is conjectural, nor is it probable that a ſtaircaſe ſhould be twice ſelected to conceal their remains; but it is certain that the chaplain, when directed by Richard to remove their bodies to a place leſs unſuitable to the ſons of a king, would have given them a regular interment in conſecrated ground.—2. The identity of the bones is uncertain. The Tower was both a palace and a ſtate priſon, the receptacle of Lollards, heretics, and criminals, within which thoſe who died by diſeaſe or violence were always buried: the diſcovery therefore of bones is neither ſurpriſing nor, perhaps, uncommon; but we muſt guard againſt the extreme credulity perceptible in the officers, who, perſuaded that the princes were ſecretly interred in the Tower, appropriated every ſkeleton to them. Bones found at a former period in a deſerted turret were regarded as the remains of one of the princes; though ſome entertained a ludicrous ſuſpicion that they belonged to an old ape who had clambered thither and periſhed ‡. As to the bones in queſtion, we are merely informed that their ſize correſponded with the age of the princes; and without aſſurance of the time at which, from the ſtate of the bones, they were probably interred, we are required to believe, that during a period of two centuries they remained unconſumed, and the cheſt in which they were depoſited entire. We know not whether the ſituation indicated a ſecret murder by an irregular interment in unconſecrated ground; they were buried beneath the ſtaircaſe of a conſecrated chapel in ground which, previous to the erection of the ſtaircaſe, had perhaps been conſecrated as a place of interment; they were

* Bacon, p. 608. The place where the princes were confined has been denominated the Bloody Tower.

† See Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory, where, on the authority of the king's ſurgeon, who was preſent at the diſcovery, the place where the bones were found, is explicitly marked, and admitted to be different from the place where Tyrell interred them. Whoever examines the ſituation of the chapel, and its diſtance from the ſtaircaſe, ſtill ſhewn in the Bloody Tower, muſt be convinced that the bones were not diſcovered where Tyrell was ſaid to have buried the bodies.

‡ Buck. p. 552.

buried

buried ten feet beneath the ſurface, a depth to which the murderers had no leiſure, the prieſt no occaſion, to penetrate; his buſineſs was to inter them decently, not to conceal them; and on the ſuppoſition of their removal to conſecrated ground, who can diſtinguiſh their remains from others? But the depth of a grave on the outſide of a chapel indicates people that had died of the peſtilence, and were buried precipitately in the ſame coffin without the church, and at ſuch a diſtance from the ſurface as to prevent the danger or the dread of contagion. I know not that children of royal blood were alone expoſed in the Tower to a violent death; but the diſcovery of a ſkeleton in the ruins of the Baſtile would have been no proof that the man in the iron maſk was aſſaſſinated *.

There is another objection to More's relation, if eſtabliſhed, abſolutely preclusive of the fact. A ſingular, and, for Richard's memory, a providential concurrence of circumſtances enables us to aſcertain the duration, and to trace the particular ſtages of that progreſs, in the courſe of which the ſuppoſed deſtruction of his nephews was planned and accompliſhed. He was at Weſtminſter on Sunday the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, where he ratified a league with the king of Caſtile, and at York on the ſeventh of September, the day preceding his ſecond coronation †. Windſor, Oxford, and Glouceſter, are ſpecified as the three firſt ſtages of his journey; and he ſeems to have carried his queen to Windſor, with the Spaniſh ambaſſadors, on Monday the firſt of September, and leaving them there, to have proceeded on Tueſday to Oxford, where, at the requiſition of the Univerſity, he releaſed Morton, it is ſaid, from the Tower. At Woodſtock, which he probably reached that evening, the popular clamour induced him to diſafforeſt an extenſive circuit, annexed by his brother to Whichwood foreſt ‡; and at Glouceſter, whither he arrived on the morrow, he honoured his ducal city by the creation or appointment of a mayor and ſheriffs. Theſe circum-

* When the identity of place is removed, it is obvious that the preſumption ariſing from the ſize of the bones is ſlight in itſelf, and obviated both by the diſcovery of ſimilar bones at a former period, and the certainty that private murders were not uncommon, and interments frequent and cuſtomary in the Tower. Arthur lord Liſle, the brother of theſe princes, was buried, with many others, in the Tower.

† Rymer, vol. xii.

‡ Rous, p. 216. Chr. Croyl. More. The different ſtages of the progreſs are to be diſcovered by an inſpection of theſe writers; the duration of it is aſcertained by Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xii. There is a letter, however, in Drake's Eboracum, from John Kendal, Richard's ſecretary, to the mayor of York, dated at Nottingham the 23d of Auguſt, (without any year,) informing the mayor, that the court had been worſhipfully received throughout the progreſs, and deſiring pageants to be prepared for their reception at York, p. 117. Ex lib. Chart. in Cuſt. Com. Ebor. Were the date certain, the letter could not invalidate the authority of the records publiſhed by Rymer; but it was written undoubtedly in the enſuing year, and dated, as I ſuſpect, on the 23d of September, on which day Richard was certainly at Nottingham, Rym. vol. xii. Drake apprehending that it was written previous to the coronation in the former year, and knowing that the progreſs was over, and that Richard was not at Nottingham on the 23d of September, altered, as I imagine, the date to Auguſt.

ſtances

ſtances poſtpone his arrival in Glouceſter till Wedneſday the third, and he muſt have reſumed his journey on Thurſday in order to accompliſh it within the period limited. Paſſing through Worceſter, he was rejoined at Warwick on Thurſday by the queen and the Spaniſh ambaſſadors from Windſor; and proceeding through Coventry and Leiceſter, he arrived on Friday at Nottingham, on Saturday at Pontefract, and on Sunday at York. With the train and impediments of a court, which limited the daily progreſs to fifty miles, the time allotted, of which the two firſt days were expended neceſſarily at Windſor and Oxford, was barely ſufficient for performing the journey. Green then, if diſpatched from Glouceſter, or on the road thither, had no time to return to London on Wedneſday, execute his commiſſion to Brakenbury, and rejoin Richard on Thurſday at Warwick; a journey upwards of two hundred miles, before the eſtabliſhment of regular poſts. Tyrell, commiſſioned to ſuperſede Brakenbury, departed early on Friday from Warwick; yet we are aſſured that, returning after the execution of his orders, he overtook the king previous to his arrival on Sunday at York. The wardrobe roll, in which were inſerted as an article of expenditure, robes provided for Edward, affords no preſumption, as was once ſuſpected, that the young prince walked in proceſſion at his uncle's coronation; but its information is otherwiſe material, that previous to the progreſs northward, ſir James Tyrell, knighted during the former reign, was maſter of the horſe, and in that capacity received conſiderable deliveries from the wardrobe, to be employed in the approaching coronation at York *.

The preſumption thence ariſing of his attendance at the coronation is confirmed by More's narrative of his haſtening after the murder to Richard, who received him with marked approbation and honour, circulated a report of the death of his nephews, and *then* proſecuted his journey to York. Tyrell therefore was preſent, and officiated at the coronation as maſter of the horſe. The dates are inſurmountable, authenticated by public inſtruments; they reduce this ſtrange tranſaction to three days; and we are required to believe, that Tyrell, who, diſpatched from Warwick on Friday, could not arrive at the Tower till Saturday, nor perpetrate the murder till midnight, departed from London on Sunday morning, and rejoined the king on the road previous to his arrival that evening at York. We are required to believe, that two conſecutive journies of five hundred miles were performed by Green and Tyrell in four days, and theſe with the interruption of two nights and the day preparatory and previous to the murder. Such journies, with our modern roads and relays of horſes, may be practicable at preſent; but when I review the particulars and conſider the period, I conclude without heſitation, that the fact related by More is impoſſible:

* See Mill's account of the wardrobe roll in the Archeologia, vol. i. from which it appears that the wardrobe-keeper had taken the opportunity of charging, in the diſburſements for Richard's coronation, the robes formerly provided for the lord Edward. See alſo Hiſt. Doubts, p. 65.

he

he knew not, it is evident, that the progreſs was ſtrictly limited to ſeven days; but finding the month of Auguſt unoccupied, appropriated that period to Richard's progreſs; and ſir James Tyrell's adventures prolonged the ſtay of the former at Glouceſter, Warwick, and other cities, till the latter rejoined him, and about the end of Auguſt conducted them both to York before the departure of either from London. The time aſſumed was requiſite for the various tranſactions recorded; reſtricted to the ſhort ſpace of a week, it demonſtrates that theſe are fictitious; that Richard could not be overtaken on Thurſday at Warwick by a meſſenger ſent on Wedneſday from Glouceſter to the Tower of London; and that Tyrell, diſpatched thither on Friday, and employed on Saturday in ſelecting inſtruments, removing the keepers, and making other arrangements preparatory to the murder, could not poſſibly perpetrate the fact, rejoin Richard, and reach York, in the ſpace of a day *.

The murder, however, is ſtill poſſible, as the credit of contemporary writers remains unimpaired; and of theſe, as the moſt credulous and prejudiced, Rous ſhall be firſt examined, and diſmiſſed for ever: "Glouceſter obtained, or rather "invented, the title of Protector, to promote himſelf, and diſinherit king "Edward, who, with his brother, was impriſoned ſo cloſely, that the particular "death by which they were martyred *(qua morte martyrizati ſunt)* was known "to few. The throne of the murdered kings was then uſurped by their pro-"tector, Richard the tyrant, who had remained two years in his mother's "womb, and at Fatheringay, on the feaſt of eleven thouſand virgins, was born "with long hair, and his teeth complete: at his nativity the Scorpion was aſcen-"dant, a ſign in the houſe of Mars; and as the Scorpion's aſpect is bland and "*fawning*, its ſting mortal, ſuch was Richard, who received his maſter Ed-"ward with kiſſes and *fawning* careſſes, and in three months murdered him "and his brother, poiſoned his own wife, and what was moſt deteſtable both "to God and the Engliſh nation, ſlew the ſanctified Henry VI. †." The hiſtorian who deduces Richard's crimes from a calculation of his nativity, may atteſt the popular belief and rumour; but his private information muſt reſt, where he has placed it, on the authority of the ſtars.

The princes, according to Fabian, were, on Richard's acceſſion, "put under "ſure keeping in the Tower, in ſuch wiſe as they never came abroad;" and afterwards "the common fame ran, that king Richard had put them unto ſecret "death; for the which and other cauſes had within the breaſt of the duke of "Buckingham, the ſaid duke conſpired againſt him." "Remanſerunt Ed-"wardi filii ſub certa deputata cuſtodia infra turrim, pro quorum liberatione, "exceperunt populi auſtrales et accidentales plurimum ſubmurmurare, inire

* Carte was the firſt that diſcovered this argument; but a typographical error in the dates rendered it, as explained in his hiſtory, abſolutely unintelligible.

† Rous, p. 214.

" cœtus et conventiuncula, maximeque hic qui per francheſias et ſanctuaria diſ-
" perſi ſunt. Cumque tandem populus ad ulciſcenſum conſiderationes iniret,
" factis publicis proclamationibus, quod dux Buckinghamiæ facti pœnitens ca-
" pitaneus in hac re principalis exiſterit, *vulgatum eſt dictos Edwardi filios, que*
" *generi violenti interitus ignoravetur, deceſſe in fata**." Such is the authentic information derived from contemporaries, expreſſive only of the prevailing opinion; yet of an opinion ſuppoſed to be corroborated by the repentant conviction of Buckingham, the belief of the inſurgents, and the poſitive teſtimony of thoſe Yorkiſts who joined the Lancaſtrians, and promoted Richmond to the throne of England.

Perhaps there is too much refinement in ſuppoſing, that for different purpoſes a ſimilar report was propagated both by Richard and Buckingham; by Richard, to perſuade the people that the *death* of his nephews rendered him indiſputably their ſovereign; by Buckingham, to convince them that the *murder* of the princes required and juſtified *his* reſiſtance, the degradation of the tyrant, and the elevation of a new line to the throne. We are informed by More, that Richard circulated the firſt report of the death of his nephews, an improbable circumſtance on the ſuppoſition of their murder; but we are aſſured by the monk of Croyland, that the rumour prevailed not till the inſurgents were prepared for revolt, not till Buckingham was proclaimed their leader †. Such an opportune report, diverting their attention from the young princes whom they had confederated to reſcue, to the exiled Richmond, generates a ſuſpicion that it was diſſeminated purpoſely by Buckingham and Morton, and afterwards prepoſterouſly attributed to Richard. Their motives hitherto have never been examined. Buckingham's family had been keen Lancaſtrians; his father periſhed at the battle of St. Alban's, his grandfather at that of Northampton; and Morton, a Lancaſtrian alſo, had been faithful to Henry VI., in his loweſt fortune. Buckingham's defection has been variouſly aſcribed to reſentment or penitence; reſentment at the refuſal of deſerved rewards, and repentance of his treachery to Edward's children. Every reward that could enſure a friend or attach a ſubject had been accumulated on him; and it is not credible that a repentant humour would induce him for Richmond's benefit to endanger himſelf or diſſolve the government he had recently conſtructed. A political character is ſeldom acceſſible to penitence, unleſs it be profitable. Reſentment at Edward's offſpring had connected him with Richard; from whom, as no cauſe of quarrel exiſted, ambition alone could detach him afterwards. His motives may be diſcovered from his converſations with Morton, an artful intermixture of truth and falſehood ‡.

* Page 567—8. † Supra.

‡ See More, Hall, and Grafton's continuation of this curious converſation; the particulars of which, as they were derived from Morton himſelf, ſerve to elucidate much of the obſcurity attending Richard's acceſſion.

Morton, a priſoner at Brecknock, remarking Buckingham's ſecret diſaffection, propoſed that he ſhould dethrone the tyrant Richard; and if averſe to the cares and diſquiet of a crown, beſtow it on the princeſs Elizabeth, or reinſtate the royal lineage of Lancaſter. Buckingham replied, that at Glouceſter, when informed of the murder of the princes, (a murder not then perpetrated,) he forſook the court with deteſtation and horror; and ruminating during his journey on the deſtruction of the tyrant, recollected for the firſt time that himſelf, the deſcendant and repreſentative of John of Gaunt, poſſeſſed an indubitable title to the crown. An interview with Margaret counteſs of Richmond deſtroyed theſe viſions, by reminding him that they were ſprung from two brothers, dukes of Somerſet, and lineal deſcendants of John of Gaunt; but that as her father was the elder brother, her ſon's was therefore the preferable title. But he could not be ignorant that the Beauforts, dukes of Somerſet, though deſcended from John of Gaunt, were the produce of an adulterous connection with Catherine Swineford; and when legitimated by parliament, were excluded expreſsly from ſucceſſion to the crown. He muſt have remembered his own deſcent from Anne, daughter and heireſs of Thomas of Woodſtock, ſon of Edward III., and younger brother of Edmond of Langley and John of Gaunt, progenitors of the York and Lancaſtrian families; and recollected (for he bore the arms of Thomas of Woodſtock) that ſuch deſcent afforded a title inferior only to Richard's, and ſuperior to any pretenſions of his or Richmond's, as the ſpurious deſcendants of John of Gaunt *. The fact is, that Richmond never avowed his pretenſions till the field of Boſworth decided his right. Individually his power was unequal to a conteſt with Buckingham, whoſe Lancaſtrian title, however defective, was ſufficient to conciliate the Lancaſtrian intereſt; and whoſe ambition, had his rebellion proſpered, would have induced him aſſuredly to retain and wear, not to reſign to Richmond, the crown he had conquered; and to fortify his doubtful title, by an union with the Yorkiſts, the intermarriage of his ſon with the princeſs Elizabeth. Whatever were the ſecret motives of Morton and others, *his* propinquity to the crown, and the probable iſſue of his conduct if ſucceſsful, indicates an ambition aſpiring to royalty, and productive of rebellions, in which repentance had no ſhare. The murder therefore of the young princes is not authenticated by his revolt, ſince we cannot conclude from his conduct that his motive was to avenge their death. On the contrary, a report propagated on the eve of a general inſurrection, excites a ſuſpicion that it was deviſed to render the inſurrection popular, to juſtify the propoſed degradation of Richard, and the transference of the crown to a different family.

But the report is confirmed by contemporary evidence, that of the chief partiſans of York; who, perſuaded of the murder, concurred with the Lancaſtrians

* Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. Dugdale's Baronage.

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in ſupporting Richmond, and promoting the union of the rival roſes *. The argument is ſpecious, not ſatisfactory; for thoſe enumerated as the principal Yorkiſts were either Lancaſtrians, or connected by birth or affinity with Buckingham and Richmond. The Courtneys were Lancaſtrians, and ſtedfaſt adherents of Henry VI.; the earl of Devon was enriched by the forfeiture of the duke of York; his ſon was attainted by Edward, and afterwards ſlain, fighting for the Lancaſtrians, at the battle of Tewkſbury; and his family ſupported the inſurrection of Buckingham. The Talbots were Lancaſtrians, and obtained their ſhare in the rich confiſcations of the duke of York; the earl of Shrewſbury and Chriſtopher his brother fell at Northampton; and ſir Gilbert Talbot, a ſurviving brother, brought a large acceſſion of ſtrength to the ſtandard of Richmond. The Stanleys were properly Yorkiſts; but lord Stanley's marriage with Richmond's mother, which rendered his fidelity ſuſpicious, occaſioned his ſubſequent defection from Richard. The Blounts were Yorkiſts; but lord Mountjoy and ſir James † his brother were connected both with Buckingham and Richmond; their mother was the dowager ducheſs of Buckingham; Henry Stafford their uterine brother was the counteſs of Richmond's ſecond huſband; and the execution of Buckingham their nephew attached them neceſſarily to Richmond's intereſt. If the Berkleys were Yorkiſts, we diſcover in their acceſſion to Buckingham's conſpiracy their diſſatisfaction at the recent elevation of the Howards, deſcended with them from the daughters of Thomas firſt duke of Norfolk, and earl marſhal of England; but as their mother was the eldeſt daughter, the revival of theſe honours in the Howard family was probably reſented as injurious to theirs ‡. Bourchier's and Hungerford's fathers were Lancaſtrians; Willoughby, Cheney, Dawbeny, Arundel, and others, were either ſoldiers of deſperate fortune, or private gentlemen whoſe political connections no reſearches can now diſcover. Sir Thomas St. Leger is marked as a partiſan of the houſe of York, on account of his marriage with the ducheſs of Exeter, Richard's ſiſter; but the ducheſs died in the former reign; and as her firſt huſ-

* Hume's Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 456. A ſtrong proof of Hume's inattention to the *minutiæ* of hiſtory is, that thoſe whom he enumerates as the principal Yorkiſts were all Lancaſtrians, the Stanleys excepted.

† Who betrayed the caſtle of Hams to Richmond.

‡ The title of Norfolk had been beſtowed before-hand by Edward on his ſecond ſon Richard duke of York, whom he betrothed and intended to marry to the infant daughter and heireſs of Mowbrey, the laſt duke. It was ſuggeſted, I find, by a learned prelate, in his correſpondence with the late Dr. Henry, that Richard would not have offered, nor would Howard have accepted, the title, unleſs it was vacant; and as there was no forfeiture, there is reaſon to preſume that the title was vacated by the duke of York's death. The argument is the leſs concluſive, as Howard's creation took place on the 28th June 1483, when the duke of York was certainly not underſtood to be dead. The intereſts of a boy might have been diſregarded, or the revival of the title in his perſon conſidered as irregular, injurious to the claims of the Howards, deſcendants of the firſt duke. But the duke of York, as far as hiſtory can aſcertain, was certainly alive on the 8th of September following.

band was a devoted Lancaſtrian, we have no aſſurance that the ſecond was a Yorkiſt. The conſpiracy for which he ſuffered was concerted to reſcue and reſtore the princes, and its formation preceded the report of their death *. Thoſe partiſans, whoſe deſertion of Richard can be rendered a preſumptive atteſtation of the murder, are therefore reduced to the Grays and Woodvilles, the queen's relations; and as theſe were originally Lancaſtrian families, I cannot diſcover that Richmond's acceſſion was effected, as hiſtorians have imagined, by a previous coalition with the principal Yorkiſts †.

The queen's friends, whoſe attachment to the houſe of York depended ſolely on their alliance with Edward, projected, for the reſtitution of his children, thoſe inſurrections to which Buckingham, Morton, and the Lancaſtrians acceded. The report of the murder diſſolving their recent connection with the Yorkiſts, renewed their former attachment to Lancaſter; and I muſt conclude that they acted on a firm perſuaſion and belief of the fact, when they transferred their intereſt gratuitouſly to Richmond, concurred in his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, and for his benefit perſiſted in thoſe inſurrections that were firſt concerted to reſcue Edward V. from priſon. Their evidence reſolves however into mere opinion, their belief of a dark and ſecret tranſaction, to the truth of which they had no certain acceſs: it is diminiſhed by the frequent fluctuations, and deſtroyed by the apparent contradiction, of their ſubſequent conduct. The queen, on aſſurance of ſafety, forſook the ſanctuary, and reſorted with her daughter to Richard's court: his propoſals for marriage proved ſo acceptable to the princeſs Elizabeth, that ſhe ſeems to have languiſhed with impatience for the nuptials ‡; and the marquis of Dorſet endeavoured, by the queen his mother's directions, to eſcape from Richmond, by whom he was intercepted, and detained in cuſtody, during the ſubſequent invaſion, at Paris. Either their former perſuaſion was much altered, or the mother had forgotten or pardoned the murderer of her ſons, and the daughter was deſirous of embracing a huſband, polluted with the recent blood of her brothers. Adopting their conduct as the rule of evidence, we muſt conclude from Buckingham's inſurrection, when their intereſt was certainly exerted for Richmond, that they were actuated then by the report of the murder, and their own internal conviction of its truth; but we muſt alſo conclude from the ſame rule, that Richard was afterwards enabled to eſtabliſh his innocence, to convince the queen that her children ſurvived, or at leaſt that their death was caſual, not accelerated by his interference. If he was ſerious in his propoſals to marry Elizabeth, his intention was not to ſtrengthen his title, (her illegitimacy precluded that,) but to fruſtrate an hoſtile connection with Richmond.

* See Dugdale's Baronage, under the names of the reſpective families enumerated in the text.

† In the hiſtorians of the period there is no trace of ſuch a previous union of the Lancaſtrians and Yorkiſts.

‡ Buck. quotes a letter of hers to the duke of Norfolk, preſerved in the earl of Arundel's library, and expreſſive of extreme impatience for the marriage.

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The circumſtances now aſcertained are, the exiſtence of the princes on the eighth of September, a conſpiracy for their reſtoration, to which Buckingham and the principal Lancaſtrians acceded, a report of their murder, and the concurrence and temporary reſolution of their kindred to transfer the ſucceſſion to a different family. Two contradictory concluſions are deducible: 1. That Richard, to counteract the object of an alarming conſpiracy, extinguiſhed the male iſſue of Edward his brother: 2. That the report of the murder, originating with Buckingham and Morton and the chief Lancaſtrians, was calculated to deceive, to conciliate the inſurgents to their private meaſures; and that it afterwards paſſed uncontradicted by Richard, as the probable means of uniting the divided adherents of York. Were the evidence to terminate here, the laſt concluſion would be properly rejected; the diſappearance of the princes, ſucceeded by a report and belief of their murder, would conſtitute a ſatisfactory proof that their death was violent. But the evidence extends to a ſubſequent period; and as the re-appearance of one of the princes would render the murder of his brother extremely improbable, the concluſion muſt be ſuſpended till we aſcertain the character of him who, perſonating the duke of York, has in hiſtory been hitherto denominated Perkin Warbeck.

IV. It is ſingular, and perhaps peculiar to Henry's fortune, that his ſucceſs was promoted, and his acquiſition of the crown effected, by a perſuaſion of the death or murder of the young princes; and that his reign was diſquieted afterwards by the prevailing opinion of their having either eſcaped the cruelty, or ſurvived by the clemency, of their unfortunate uncle. Cardinal Bourchier expreſſed his apprehenſion of the queen's intention to remove the youngeſt beyond the realm; and early in Richard's reign a conſpiracy for conveying them both was detected and puniſhed *. Another deſign for the eſcape of one of their ſiſters, in diſguiſe, from ſanctuary, was diſcovered during the progreſs to York †; and ſcarcely was Henry eſtabliſhed on his throne, when a report was diffuſed, and generally credited, that the ſons of Edward IV. had been conveyed ſecretly away, and were ſtill alive, concealed by their obſcurity in ſome diſtant region ‡. Whether the rumour was coëval with Henry's reign, or propagated that Lambert Simnel might perſonate the duke of York, (the character aſſumed by that

* More. Stowe, Ric. III. † Chron. Croyl.

‡ "The deaths and final fortunes of the two young princes have nevertheleſs ſo far come in queſtion, "that ſome remained long in doubt whether they were in Richard's days deſtroyed or no." More.—"In vulgus fama valeret, filios Edwardi regis, aliquo terrarum ſecreto migraſſe, atque ibi ſuperſtites "eſſe." Pol. Virg. p. 569.—"Neither wanted there even at this time" (Henry's acceſſion) "ſecret "rumours and whiſperings, which afterwards gathered ſtrength, and turned to great trouble, that the "two young ſons of king Edward IV., or one of them, (which were ſaid to be deſtroyed in the "Tower,) were not indeed murdered, but were conveyed ſecretly away, and were yet living. And "all this time it was ſtill whiſpered every where that at leaſt one of the children was living." Bacon, p. 4. See Hall.

juvenile

juvenile impoſtor,) was determined by a ſubſequent report of Warwick's murder, not, as hiſtorians have miſconceived, of his eſcape from the Tower. Surmiſes of ſecret violence to ſtate priſoners were not peculiar to Richard's reign; and but for Lambert's impoſture, that rendered the public exhibition of Warwick neceſſary, *his* death or exiſtence might have remained as myſterious at preſent as that of his unfortunate couſins; concerning whom reports are ſo various, and whoſe fate hiſtorians are ſo ſolicitous to diſcover *.

On the appearance of Lambert, when the earl of Lincoln departed to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the ducheſs of Burgundy, Henry, after much deliberation in council, ſeized the queen-dowager's perſon, confiſcated her eſtates, and confined her for life in a ſolitary cloiſter. The pretext was, her having departed from ſanctuary, and entruſted her daughter to Richard's care; a falſe pretext, adopted obviouſly to conceal a more ſecret, and in Henry's eyes a more criminal, tranſaction. Either ſhe connived with Lincoln in Lambert's impoſture, or poſſeſſed ſome dangerous political ſecret, dangerous to the future ſtability of Henry's government; and when the preceding report of her ſon's eſcape is combined with the ſubſequent appearance of Warbeck, that ſhe was impriſoned in conſequence of ſuch a report; eſtranged from all correſpondence with the world, to prevent her teſtimony in the event of her ſon's exiſtence from tranſpiring; ſtript of her wealth, to intercept any ſecret reſources from him; is a concluſion more probable than this, that, convinced of the death of her ſons, yet diſſatisfied with Henry, ſhe engaged in a conſpiracy, and promoted an impoſture, for the purpoſe of transferring the crown from the queen her daughter, and prince Arthur her grandſon, to Lincoln, Richard's nephew, formerly declared his preſumptive heir. Let hiſtorians, who aſcribe ſuch conduct to habitual intrigue and the deſire of power, beware of indulging in wanton conjectures. If ſhe had no ſon to ſucceed to the throne, ſhe had no power to expect from the promotion of Richard's heir, or Warwick, Clarence's iſſue, not leſs hateful to her than Lincoln. The report then that occaſioned her impriſonment, demonſtrates the probability, as it diſcloſes Henry's apprehenſions, that one at leaſt of her ſons exiſted; and as it was preceded by repeated attempts for their reſcue, it is to be verified or refuted by an inveſtigation of Perkin Warbeck's pretenſions and character.

* "Fama valeret Edwardum Varvici comitem, vel necatum, vel brevi necandum. Haud ita multo "poſt, fama paſſim diſſipavit in carcere interiſſe." Pol. Virg. p. 69.—This material fact, perverted by Hall and Grafton, from their tenderneſs to Henry, has ſtrangely eſcaped the notice of our recent hiſtorians, who have all ſuppoſed the impoſture founded on the report of Warwick's eſcape: ſuch impoſture was ſuperfluous if the eſcape was true, and liable to immediate detection if his perſon remained in Henry's cuſtody. We ſee that Henry was defamed in much the ſame manner as Richard; but who will aſſure me that, had Warwick never been exhibited, his execution would have been public, or that his murder would not have been attributed to Richard?

Hiſtorical

Hiſtorical notices concerning this perſonage are ſlight and unſatisfactory, tranſmitted either by Henry, or by writers who diſcover a rancorous prejudice againſt his rival. Warbeck's firſt appearance was in Ireland, whence he was invited by ambaſſadors to France; and on the peace of Eſtaples, he repaired to Flanders, claimed, it is ſaid, and obtained the protection of the ducheſs of Burgundy, was received as her nephew the duke of York, the deſcendant of Edward IV. her brother. The impoſture originated, as is generally aſſerted, in her inveterate hatred of the Lancaſtrian party; for the depreſſion of which, ſhe circulated rumours of her nephew's eſcape from the tyranny of Richard, her brother; and after a ſearch for years, diſcovered a youth of obſcure birth, qualified to perſonate the youngeſt of the princes, of the ſame age, handſome and elegant in his perſon and appearance, with a crafty head and bewitching addreſs, ſo ſubtle and cunning, that it was impoſſible in converſation to detect his falſehood; ſuch a wanderer, that it was difficult to trace his origin, or diſcover his adventures; an expert linguiſt, to whom the Engliſh was familiar as his vernacular language; a Jew by birth, yet ſo ſimilar in every feature to him whom he perſonated, that the reſemblance could only be ſolved by the ſuppoſition of his being an illegitimate deſcendant from the ſame father. This *mercurial* the ducheſs ſecretly retained at court, inſtructed him in her cabinet to aſſume the demeanor and ſtate of a prince, without departing from a modeſt ſenſe of his own misfortunes; informed him of every circumſtance relative to the character he was intended to perſonate; deſcribed minutely the perſons and features of the king and queen his pretended parents, their ſon prince Edward, their five daughters, and thoſe who had formerly attended the duke of York; deviſed *a ſmooth and likely tale* of his brother's death, and his own eſcape; and concluded her inſtructions by teaching him how to evade, when interrogated, ſuch captious queſtions as might tend to detection. When properly tutored, and inſpired by the ducheſs with unbounded ambition, he was ſent with an Engliſh lady * to Portugal, and afterwards emerged from obſcurity in Ireland, aſſumed the character of the duke of York, and attracted the notice, and acquired the eſteem and friendſhip, of different princes. At Paris, an hundred Engliſh gentlemen, who reſorted to him, were convinced of his birth, and embraced his intereſt; his behaviour was princely, and ſupported uniformly with ſuch propriety, that all ranks, perſuaded of his title, regarded him as Richard duke of York: the counterfeit was practiſed ſo long, that it became habitual; it deceived himſelf, from a liar, to become a believer, and was almoſt converted into the identical character which he was employed to exhibit †. Of his relation, our author juſtly obſerves, that it is too laboured and artificial to be ſtrictly true; that particulars extremely improbable, and of a nature too ſecret for the hiſtorian to diſcover, are aſſerted poſi-

* Lady Brampton; yet her evidence was never produced.

† Bacon, p. 607. *Credunt ſimul quæ fingunt*, had belonged, I thought, to religious impoſtors.

tively

tively without proof; and that it is "more like a tale contrived to ſolve appear-"ances, than like genuine hiſtory, ſupported by proper evidence *."

Its purport is to diſcredit the public declarations of an aunt, on whoſe teſtimony the exiſtence and identity of her nephew would otherwiſe be eſtabliſhed; and its credit therefore depends on the character and probable motives of the ducheſs of Burgundy, whether her character can warrant the imputation, and what motives could ſuggeſt the contrivance of ſo vile an impoſture. Margaret was the ſiſter of Richard, the widow of Charles the Hardy, the tutelage of whoſe grandchildren, the Flemings, ever jealous of their liberties, transferred, on the death of his daughter, (the offspring of a former marriage,) from Maximilian their father to Margaret's care. Her execution of this maternal truſt, as deſcribed by an hiſtorian partial to Henry, will explain her character. "Hos "liberos materno amplexa amore, mira charitate, nutriebat, accipiebat, fovebat, "ſtudioſe que rebus domeſticis operam tribuebat, quæ ejuſmodi officiis mag-"nam apud Flandres ſibi auctoritatem compararet †." Such affectionate and prudent conduct indicates thoſe mild and beneficent virtues that conciliated the eſteem and reſpect of the untractable Flemings, not that character addicted to intrigue and prone to miſchief which might be ſuſpected of dangerous and dark machinations. An imputation ſo inconſiſtent with her general character derives no preſumption from her former conduct. Lambert Simnel ſhe never acknowledged, nor ſupported otherwiſe than by furniſhing Lincoln her nephew, once the preſumptive heir of the Engliſh crown, with troops to render his pretenſions effectual. Whatever was the ſecret object of that inſurrection, the impoſture was certainly concerted without her participation; her aſſiſtance was ſolicited by Lincoln alone, and granted, on every hypotheſis, to ſupport a nephew ‡, not Lambert, a boy removeable at Lincoln's pleaſure: but on Warbeck's appearance, when Lincoln had periſhed, and Warwick's life was at Henry's diſpoſal, there was no prince of the houſe of York whoſe acceſſion ſuch an impoſture could promote. Warbeck's reward, in the event of his ſucceſs, was the crown of England; and on the ſuppoſition of his impoſture, Margaret, for the purpoſe of ſupplanting Henry, muſt have ſelected a vagabond of a deteſted race to perſonate the heir, and maintain the honour, of her illuſtrious family, to acquire, and tranſmit to his own deſcendants, that crown which, in her opinion, was the excluſive patrimony of the houſe of York. Whatever were her prejudices or antipathy to Henry, the conduct imputed to her involves

* Bacon, ch. i. ſect. 1.

† Polydore Virgil, p. 570.

‡ Either Lincoln, or Richard duke of York, (Warwick then was ſuppoſed to be murdered,) but moſt probably the latter. Lincoln, connected with the Plantagenets by the female line, found, when he employed Lambert to perſonate Warwick, that he could not claim in his own perſon; and the pageant could have been removed afterwards with a bad grace, unleſs by the ſuperior right of the duke of York.

"ſuch perverſeneſs, wickedneſs, and malice, as is ſcarcely credible *;" more than that, its abſurdity would have defeated her own intentions. She hated Henry, becauſe he depreſſed her family, and communicated no ſhare of his ſplendor or power to her niece, his wife; therefore ſhe labours, by every deteſtable artifice, to transfer the crown from her own family, from her niece the deſcendant of the houſe of York, to the obſcure ſon of a converted Jew. Concluſions ſo prepoſterous muſt be rejected, and Margaret's acknowledgment received as evidence of an unſuſpicious nature, confirming the preceding report of her nephew's exiſtence, and atteſting his identity with Perkin Warbeck.

There is ſome difficulty, perhaps, on the diſappearance of the duke of York at the age of nine, his re-appearance at manhood, and obſcurity during the intermediate period. The difficulty is thus obviated: He was either conveyed from the Tower by the intervention of ſome of his mother's friends, or committed by Richard to the care of Margaret, to be educated abroad in a manner correſpondent to the mediocrity of his future fortune. On theſe ſuppoſitions Margaret's court was the laſt place to which he could have fled for refuge while Richard was alive, or where he could have obtained public protection when Richard was dead. Flanders then was a ſcene of diſtraction; its cities had revolted againſt Maximilian; the inhabitants were dependent on England for a lucrative commerce; and had Margaret produced her nephew in public, no protection could have been obtained from a feeble government, or expected from a people averſe to every altercation that might terminate in an interruption of their trade with England. The facility with which Henry, by a ſhort ſuſpenſion of commerce, procured the expulſion of Warbeck from Flanders, affords a ſatisfactory reaſon for his obſcurity during his early youth, if entruſted by Richard or others to Margaret's care: if conveyed abroad, as his manifeſto ſeems to inſinuate, by his mother's aſſiſtance, he muſt have effected his eſcape during Richard's life, or after his death at the battle of Boſworth, when Brackenbury the lieutenant was ſlain, and before Willoughby with the unfortunate Warwick had arrived at the Tower. On the firſt ſuppoſition, a boy, entruſted probably to ſome faithful domeſtic, and too young to be propoſed as a popular leader, had no friendly potentate to receive him on the Continent. Margaret of Burgundy might have reſtored him to Richard her brother; the courts of France and Brittany were pre-occupied by Richmond, who, as a Lancaſtrian, was hoſtile to every male of the houſe of York, and whoſe influence was ſuch, that he detained the marquis of Dorſet at Paris in an honourable cuſtody †. Silence and concealment were therefore neceſſary; but if on the other, and to me the more probable, ſuppoſition, his eſcape was effected after his uncle's death, and during the flight or confuſion of thoſe officers to whom the Tower was entruſted, concealment and ſilence were ſtill more requiſite. His mother was in London, and

* Supra, ch. i. ſec. 1. † Hall, p. 26.

muſt have been ſenſible, that when Henry, at the head of a victorious army, aſſumed the crown, there was no reſource but immediate flight, no protection but profound obſcurity, to preſerve her ſon from perpetual confinement. Aſſuredly, had Henry, who diſregarded his ſiſter's pretenſions, ſecured his perſon, Warwick's portion muſt have been his; and as they were involved in the ſame ignominious death, they muſt have ſhared for life in the ſame oblivious gloom of a dungeon. Whatever was the fate of his elder brother, whether he died in confinement, or eſcaped to the Continent, I will not preſume that he periſhed by Richard's orders, when I find the exiſtence of the youngeſt atteſted by the common report of the age, the public unſuſpicious declarations of his aunt, and Henry's ſeverity, otherwiſe unaccountable, to the queen his mother.

It was incumbent on Henry, if deſirous to vindicate his own title, to diſcredit the ducheſs of Burgundy's evidence, and to aſcertain in the moſt unequivocal manner the ſuppoſed murder of the duke of York, and the pretended origin of Perkin Warbeck: either would have ſufficed to detect the impoſture; but Warbeck's identity with the duke of York is, by a ſtrange fatality, beſt authenticated by Henry's narrative of the obſcure birth of the one, and his meaſures to diſcover the murder of the other. There were three circumſtances in Warbeck's hiſtory, for which a particular explanation was requiſite,—a viſible and ſtrong reſemblance of the duke of York, a perfect knowledge of the Engliſh language, and a plan projected by a foreign youth for dethroning a monarch, by perſonating a prince who had periſhed in his childhood: but of theſe the narrative adopted by hiſtorians, and the confeſſion attributed to Warbeck, contain different contradictory ſolutions.

1. In the reign of Edward IV. a Flemiſh Jew, recently converted to the Chriſtian perſuaſion, reſided during a ſeaſon in London, where his wife was delivered of a ſon, to whom, at his baptiſm, the king condeſcended to act as ſponſor*. Such a godſon as Perkin for a monarch, whoſe name was Edward, is alone ridiculous; but the tale is calculated to explain that reſemblance which could not be conteſted, by the ſurmiſe of a previous intrigue between Edward and Warbeck's mother. The tale, if true, was ſuſceptible of proof; and as Henry's title to the crown was in queſtion, it was incumbent on him to eſtabliſh the fact by the teſtimony of thoſe who had either witneſſed Warbeck's baptiſm, or remembered his father at Edward's court: but the name of his pretended father is uncertain;—Warbeck according to hiſtorical narrative; Oſbeck according to the confeſſion aſcribed to Perkin, as extorted from him; a confeſſion which informs us that his birth-place was Tourney, but contains no trace of a Meſſiah from the Jews to the Engliſh nation.

2. He was removed in his infancy to Tourney, as a reſidence ſufficient for the acquiſition of the language might have involved Henry in the difficulty of prov-

* Bacon.

ing

ing his birth and early education in England * : but his knowledge of Engliſh was confeſſedly perfect, acquired, according to Bacon, in Flanders, by frequenting the company of Engliſh merchants; as if perfection were attainable in any language from the caſual intercourſe of a boy with foreigners. His confeſſion is more explicit, and more contradictory. He was born at Tourney, from which his firſt excurſion was to Antwerp, whither he was ſent to acquire the Flemiſh, his native language; afterwards he lodged at a ſkinner's adjoining to the "houſe of the Engliſh nation;" and at laſt was placed by his friends in a merchant's ſervice at Middleburgh, with whom he remained from Chriſtmas to Eaſter, for the expreſs purpoſe of learning the language. The merchant's name was John Strew; the language he taught was undoubtedly Engliſh: yet in Ireland, where Warbeck was miſtaken for a Plantagenet, the inhabitants conſtrained him, againſt his inclination, to acquire that language. Henry, ſolicitous to account for the purity of his accent, inſinuated that his knowledge of Engliſh, which commenced from his vicinity at Antwerp to the Engliſh factory, was completed during his ſtay at Middleburgh; yet diſſatisfied with this ſolution, Henry ſends him at laſt to Ireland to be inſtructed by force in the Engliſh language. The duke of York, if attended after his eſcape from the Tower by an Engliſh domeſtic, would retain the purity, and cultivate the propriety, of his vernacular language; but that correct pronunciation, which to him was natural, could be communicated to Warbeck, neither by an intercourſe abroad with the Engliſh, nor by a ſhort and precarious reſidence among the Iriſh †. His pretenſions announced on his arrival in Ireland muſt have been authenticated by a previous acquaintance with the language; an acquaintance unaccountable, unleſs on the ſuppoſition of his being the identical duke of York.

3. That a foreigner, a youth of obſcure birth, ſhould deviſe or execute ſuch an impoſture, aſſume the name, and ſupport the character of a prince, whoſe perſon was unknown to him, indulge the prepoſterous ambition of ſupplanting a powerful and vigilant monarch, and in the character of their native prince, of uſurping the throne of a nation, to which he was an abſolute ſtranger, were contradictions which Henry was obliged to reconcile, by aſcribing the impoſture to Margaret's ſecret inſtigation and contrivance: ſhe diſcovered in Warbeck a reſemblance of her nephew, tutored him to perſonate that prince, and, to provide for the exigencies of his future character, ſtored his mind with inſtructions and anecdotes concerning his family. Such a character, with the beſt inſtructions,

* Bacon.

† It is eaſy to eſtimate the poſſibility of the fact; the acquiſition of languages is now facilitated by grammars and dictionaries. Let us conſider then within what determinate number of years we ourſelves, reſiding in England, could acquire the Dutch or Flemiſh in perfection; and if in the courſe of a life, neither ſtudy, nor the converſe of natives, could accompliſh that, let us again conſider what reſidence abroad would be neceſſary, and we will diſcover the impoſſibility of Perkin's acquiring Engliſh abroad or in Ireland.

was ſurely an arduous attempt for a foreigner. In the character of princes numerous impoſtors have deceived the world, but hiſtory furniſhes no example of an impoſtor perſonating a foreign prince to impoſe himſelf as a native on a foreign nation. The name of the unfortunate Warwick was adopted twice, but by Engliſh impoſtures. In the next century the falſe Demetrius, whoſe hiſtory has ſome reſemblance to Warbeck's, obtained for a ſhort period the Ruſſian empire; but Demetrius, whatever was his birth, was a native of the country he aſpired to govern *; and in our own memory Pugalſcheff and others, who ſucceſſively aſſumed the name of their murdered ſovereign, were Ruſſians, whoſe language and manners coincided with the character they endeavoured to perſonate. Such a reſidence abroad as might vitiate the pronunciation and alter the manners of the duke of York, would certainly facilitate the attempt to ſupport his character; but as Warbeck's pronunciation was confeſſedly perfect, and his behaviour conſiſtent, we may eſtimate, with ſufficient preciſion, the obſtructions to be ſurmounted by a foreign impoſtor. Suppoſe then that the tragedy of Richard the Third were exhibited at Paris, and a French youth, inſtructed by an Engliſh actor to perform the part of the duke of York, his erroneous pronunciation and defective utterance, the repugnance of his action and manners to thoſe peculiar to the Engliſh nation, his inability to preſerve or attain to propriety for a ſingle ſcene, would convince us that Warbeck, a foreigner, could not poſſibly be capacitated by Margaret's inſtructions for the performance of the ſame character with unexampled conſiſtency during his life. But Margaret was herſelf incapable of informing this orator; her marriage and departure from England preceded the birth of the duke of York, nor could ſhe diſcover his reſemblance in Perkin, deſcribe his character, the features and appearance of his brothers and ſiſters, (none of whom ſhe had ever beheld,) nor inſtruct her pupil in the daily incidents, the companions and purſuits of his juvenile years, at a court in which, after her marriage, ſhe had never reſided †. The hiſtorical narrative is therefore falſe; but the confeſſion publiſhed as Warbeck's diſclaims it in a manner that exculpates Margaret and diſcredits itſelf: it was in Ireland, according to the confeſſion, when Warbeck appeared at Cork dreſſed in ſome ſilk clothes of his maſter, that he was firſt miſtaken for a Plantagenet, the ſon of Clarence; and when he denied it on oath, Water formerly the mayor, and Poytron an Engliſhman, repaired to him privately, maintained that he was a natural

* Demetrius is treated uniformly as an impoſtor by Ruſſian hiſtorians; but foreigners, leſs prejudiced, are apt to recogniſe his title on the authority of a mother's public acknowledgment, never publicly diſowned or retracted. He was ſuppoſed to have been murdered in his infancy, but reappeared, atteſting his eſcape, at the age of manhood.—Vide Cox's Travels.

† His information has alſo been attributed to Trion, formerly Henry's French ſecretary, ſeduced from his ſervice, and diſpatched with Lucas to Warbeck in Ireland; but a Frenchman retained for a period as a clerk by Henry, could communicate few particulars, and none of the domeſtic or ſecret tranſactions of a former reign.

ſon

ſon of the late king Richard, aſſured him of adequate protection and ſuccour, and adviſed him to aſſume that character without being intimidated by Henry's power. "And ſo," ſays the confeſſion, "againſt my will they forced me to "learn Engliſh, and taught me what I ſhould do and ſay; and after this they "called me duke of York, ſecond ſon of king Edward IV., becauſe king "Richard's baſtard ſon was in the hands of the king of England." Thus the impoſture, concerted in Flanders with ſuch artful preparation by the ducheſs of Burgundy, diſappears from the canvas, and the whole reſolves into an idle tale of a ſervant miſtaken by the Iriſh for a prince, (not from perſonal reſemblance, becauſe he was dreſſed in his maſter's clothes,) and a plan for dethroning the king of England, conſtructed, on ſuch a miſtake, by the mayor of Cork. Such abſurd falſehood demonſtrates that the confeſſion was either extorted by torture, or fabricated after the execution of Warbeck. It was unknown to Fabian and Polydore Virgil, both contemporaries *; but hiſtorians of a ſubſequent period, who adopted the narrative of the latter with ſuch deviations as their prejudice ſuggeſted, have ſuperadded to thoſe indignities, and to that diſhonourable death to which Warbeck was expoſed, a public confeſſion of his birth and parentage, his adventures and frauds, read aloud, they aſſure us, firſt when he was ſet in the ſtocks at Cheapſide, and again before his execution at Tyburn. That the confeſſion was fictitious, is certain from its falſehood; for Warbeck landed in Ireland, not to be trained to impoſture, but to aſſert his pretenſions, and to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the potent earls of Kildare and Deſmond †. That it was fabricated by Henry, is more than probable; but to what ſhall we attribute his ſuppreſſion of Margaret's ſhare in the impoſture? Not to any regard for Margaret, whoſe character Warham, his ambaſſador in Flanders, had loaded publicly with reproach and abuſe ‡.

Henry,

* Polydore Virgil was ſent by the Pope to England to collect the papal tribute about the year 1500, and continued there till the Reformation commenced. His hiſtory, as he informs us in a dedication to his brother, of his book De Inventoribus Rerum, was begun in 1505 at Henry's requeſt, and finiſhed in twelve years. His information was certainly derived from Henry; and with reſpect to Warbeck's execution in 1499, muſt be genuine: but he either knew not, or regarded the confeſſion as ſpurious, when he omits it in his account of Warbeck's being ſet in the ſtocks, and afterwards hanged at Tyburn; p. 608.—See Fabian alſo.

† His letters to theſe noblemen were ſuppoſed to have been extant in ſir James Ware's time.—Ware's Annals of Ireland, 1492.

‡ "Dr. Warham, in the latter end of his oration, a little rebuked the lady Margaret, and hit "her on the thumbs, ſaying, that ſhe now in her old age, and within few years, had produced "and brought forth two deteſtable monſters, that is to ſay, Lambert and Perkin Warbeck; and "being conceived of theſe great babes, not in eight or nine months, but on the one hundred and "eightieth month, for both theſe were at the leaſt fifteen years of age before ſhe could be brought-"to-bed of them; and when they were newly crept out of her womb, they were no infants, nor "ſucking children, but luſty younglings, and of age ſufficient to bid battle to kings." Grafton, p. 901.

Henry, to render the impoſture probable, had circulated a ſtory which he could not authenticate, and in the confeſſion which he publiſhed durſt not aſſert. The accuſation of Margaret would have rendered a proof of the impoſture neceſſary, and might have provoked her to publiſh, in her own vindication, inconteſtible evidence of Warbeck's identity with the duke of York. The repugnance between the confeſſion and the hiſtorical narrative, (both of which originated with Henry,) muſt be aſcribed to the impoſſibility of ſupporting either; and we muſt conclude that Henry was unable, either to aſcertain the pretended birth of his rival, or to remove the improbability of a foreigner, a youth of obſcure condition, aſpiring to his crown, and projecting to dethrone him, by aſſuming the character of a prince deſtroyed in his early youth, whoſe name was almoſt forgotten in the world. His ſpies were certified, it is ſaid, of Warbeck's parentage by "many honeſt perſons in Tourney;" but that teſtimony might have been obtained by his ambaſſador in a more unexceptionable and public manner, when Warbeck was expelled by his influence from Flanders. That teſtimony was neceſſary to vindicate his title; but his inability to produce it aſſures us, that he had made no real diſcovery of Warbeck's origin, to diſprove his identity with the duke of York.

Nor is their identity refuted by Henry's pretended diſcovery of the previous murder of the duke of York. It is juſtly obſerved *, that on Henry's acceſſion, when Richard and his numerous adherents were attainted, the paſſions of the people, inflamed and agitated, ſhould have been productive of an immediate inveſtigation of the murder. No inquiry was inſtituted however, not till Henry (as Bacon informs us) impriſoned, on Warbeck's appearance, Dighton and Tyrell, the ſurviving aſſaſſins, and obtaining ample confeſſions of the murder, releaſed the one "who ſpake beſt for his intereſt," but detained the other, whom he afterwards beheaded for a different crime. The purport, according to Bacon, of theſe confeſſions, was diſcovered only by public report; for Henry made no uſe of them in his ſubſequent declarations: nor could he, for the confeſſions had not then an exiſtence. Sir James Tyrell at that time enjoyed his confidence, if not his eſteem. He had obtained from Henry the command of Guiſnes; and after Warbeck's appearance and reception at Paris, was appointed one of the commiſſioners to conclude the treaty of Eſtaples with the French †. He was not impriſoned till ten years afterwards; when, on Suffolk's flight in 1502, he was accuſed of treaſon, attainted, and beheaded. His confeſſion muſt be poſtponed to that period; as More informs us, that, "when in the Tower

p. 901.—The hiſtorian obſerves, that although Margaret was vexed at being *hit on the thumbs*, Perkin was more diſconcerted at the detection of his fraud in Warham's oration. Thus Henry accuſed Margaret publicly of a ſhare in the impoſture, and afterwards retracted the tranſaction in the confeſſion which he fabricated. Can that be aſcribed to decorum?

* Hiſtorical Doubts. † Hall, p. 18. 55. Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 481.

"for

" for treaſon committed againſt Henry, he and Dighton confeſſed the murder *." Henry's previous meaſures to aſcertain the murder originated therefore in the hiſtorian's invention; and as Tyrell's crime was a confederacy with Suffolk, no reliance can be placed on a rumoured confeſſion, never publiſhed, but calculated to aſperſe the character and vindicate the execution of a ſoldier, the victim of a tyrant's ſuſpicions. Warbeck's pretenſions required an immediate proof of the murder; but no diſcovery was made, nor inquiry inſtituted, till Warbeck's death; when a confeſſion, certainly fictitious, was faſtened on a perſon already condemned for a different crime.

Admitting then that Henry attempted neither to diſcover the murder, nor to eſtabliſh the pretended obſcurity of Warbeck's origin, that his competitor's pretenſions derive additional confirmation from his failure, there was another more obvious detection of which the impoſture was ſuſceptible, an abſolute criterion to determine its truth. Perſonal identity at different periods derives its ſole proof from the opinion of friends, and acknowledgments of kindred; and Margaret's atteſtation of her nephew's identity, might have been counteracted, if falſe, by the more authoritative declarations of nearer relatives. The mother muſt have remembered her ſon, and the ſiſters their brother, whom they had formerly endeavoured to preſerve in ſanctuary, and the loſt object of their fond regret no lapſe of time could efface from their memory. Manhood might expand, but it could not extirpate his youthful features; or if theſe were altered, a thouſand incidents ſtill remained,—the particulars of the night in which they took refuge in ſanctuary, their diſtreſſes, dangers, and mutual endearments, their laſt ſeparation and ſolemn farewell, the recollection of a ſiſter's tears and a mother's bleſſing, all remained to determine his filial and fraternal claims. The declarations of the queen-dowager, of the queen, or of her ſiſters, would have decided his character; and their denial of his pretenſions would have diſabuſed the nation, and ſilenced for ever the ſceptical voice of inquiry. " But Warbeck never was con-" fronted with them: they were never aſked, Is this your ſon? is this your bro-" ther †?" Their verdict admitted of no appeal; but they might have recognized in Warbeck the youth they had fondly cheriſhed in ſanctuary, and the emotions of nature might have diſregarded the feeble injunctions of a tyrant. This was an obvious mode of detection, far preferable to the reports of ſpies, or a ſpurious confeſſion; but the proof which Henry withheld or avoided operates decidedly in Warbeck's favour, whoſe identity, thus eſtabliſhed by the direct or preſumptive evidence of his neareſt kindred, is farther atteſted by his father's friends, Stanley, Fitzwalter, and others, who finally ſealed their conviction with their blood. Their information, it is true, was derivative, not perſonal; yet its

* Warbeck, who appeared in 1492, was executed in 1499. Fabian mentions ſir James Tyrell's impriſonment and execution on Suffolk's account in 1502; not a word of his confeſſion or impriſonment formerly.

† Hiſtorical Doubts, p. 85.

certainty may be eſtimated by the conviction it excited, ſuch as expoſed their lives to the rigour, and their fortunes to the rapacity, of a jealous tyrant. Their teſtimony might be corroborated, if neceſſary, by that of different contemporary princes; nor can we attribute to a ſmooth and plauſible tale the reception Warbeck experienced from James IV., or believe that, without credentials ot proofs of his birth, he obtained the cordial ſupport of that monarch, and a princeſs his near relation in marriage. But the belief and declarations of friends and kindred, the opinion of the moſt reſpectable perſonages that diſtinguiſhed the period, Henry's inability to diſcover the murder, or detect the impoſture, conſtitute ſuch evidence as can only be impaired or confirmed by thoſe probable or oſtenſible motives with which Richard and Henry were reſpectively actuated. Acquitted of treaſon, uſurpation, and treachery, and of the murders formerly imputed to his youth, Richard's character aſſumes a milder hue, and his ſuppoſed cruelty to Edward's, ſeems irreconcileable with his tenderneſs to Clarence's, iſſue, as his acceſſion, founded on the incapacity of both, rendered either equally formidable; and the attainder of the one might have been reverſed as eaſily as the illegitimacy of the other had been declared by parliament. No adequate motive could ſtimulate to a murder which neither ſtrengthened his title, nor, during Warwick's ſurvivance, encreaſed his ſecurity; and the concluſion deducible from the diſappearance of his nephews, and the report of their murder, is removed by the ſubſequent report of their exiſtence, and the re-appearance of the youngeſt, whoſe identity, which his friends and kindred atteſted, his implacable enemy was unable to diſcredit. Henry's apprehenſions of their appearance are diſcovered by his ſevere and unmerited treatment of the queen-dowager, his preſervation of Lambert as a remedy againſt future *enchantments* of a ſimilar nature, his regret that Lincoln's death intercepted the knowledge of the *bottom of his danger* *; and his ſyſtematical depreſſion of the Yorkiſts muſt be attributed, after his marriage with Elizabeth, not to a fooliſh and incurable prejudice, but to a perſuaſion that the exiſtence of one of their princes rendered it dangerous to entruſt them with power. But the reaſon aſſigned by Henry for the execution of Warwick, *vacuam domum ſceleſtis nuptiis facere*, diſcloſes his ſecret conviction of Warbeck's deſcent from the houſe of York. At the inſtigation of Ferdinand, who refuſed his daughter while the male line of Plantagenet exiſted, Warwick was removed as an obſtruction to prince Arthur's approaching marriage †. His conſpiracy with Warbeck was therefore fictitious, or rather, as was underſtood at the period, a ſnare prepared for their mutual deſtruction; but as Warbeck, if an impoſtor, was no obſtacle to Arthur's nuptials, Henry, whoſe policy ſpared Lambert, ſtooped confeſſedly to a deteſtable artifice, in order to terminate his own or Ferdinand's fears, by the extinction of the two ſurviving princes of the race of Plantagenet.

* Bacon. † Ibid.

That

That Perkin Warbeck was a genuine Plantagenet, that Richard was no uſurper, nor a tyrant ſtained with the blood of his kinſmen, are concluſions of which the reception can only be obſtructed by the difficulty of diſcarding our ancient hiſtorians. Their credit, however, is now diminiſhed; More's information is traced to Morton, than whom there was none more intereſted in traducing his recent deſerted ſovereign; Polydore Virgil, a courtly writer, compoſed his hiſtory at Henry's requeſt; and when ſucceeding chroniclers tranſcribed the one, and improved on the other, we may be aſſured that, during the Tudor dynaſty, literature poſſeſſed no curioſity to examine, nor ſpirit to vindicate, an obſcure and dangerous hiſtorical truth. Would hiſtorians, afraid to intimate the defect inherent in Henry's title, expreſs the ſlighteſt recognition of his rivals, or ſuggeſt a marriage that rendered himſelf an uſurper, his wife a baſtard, and the royal iſſue of England's roſes, doubly illegitimate, deſtitute of every hereditary or legal claim*? Would hiſtorians, whoſe rancour has branded Richard with every perſonal deformity and moral turpitude, transfer to Henry the imputation of murdering in Warbeck, the true Plantagenet, to ſecure an equivocal right to the crown? The ſame cauſes operated after the acceſſion of the Stuarts, whoſe divine or hereditary right, derived from Henry's daughter, would have been impaired by whatever tended to Richard's vindication; and Buck, the firſt who aſſerted his innocence, felt the neceſſity of procuring a new title for the reigning family, in the deſcent of James from the Saxon monarchs†. Bacon's hiſtory might have been compoſed from materials that are now loſt; an apologetical hiſtory, calculated to eſtabliſh his maſter's deſpotical principles, and diſplay their milder exerciſe by the ſevere precedent of a former reign; but when the hiſtorian records as real what he conceived requiſite, who can diſcriminate facts from the produce of invention? The inquiſition concerning the murder of the princes, however requiſite, was not inſtituted; and Warbeck's manifeſto was perverted, either capriciouſly, or to countenance the purport of a wretched ſpeech. That manifeſto contains no explanation of his eſcape from the Tower, nor was it prudent to expoſe his ſecret deliverers to Henry's reſentment; but his ſuppoſed oration to the Scottiſh court (a fiction of Grafton's, embelliſhed by Bacon) will not perſuade us that the *ſmooth and likely tale* of his deliverance was abſurd and improbable; that his life, according to his own account, was ſpared by the compaſſion, and his eſcape effected by the connivance and aid, of his brother's murderers‡. But to thoſe who, in eſtimating the voice of hiſtory,

* "A baſtard branch of Lancaſter, matched with a baſtard of York, were obtruded on the nation as the right heirs of the crown; and as far as two negatives make an affirmative, they were ſo."—Hiſtoric Doubts, p. 40.

† From Margaret, Edgar Atheling's ſiſter, married to Malcolm Commore.

‡ A ſmooth and likely tale indeed! It is obſervable that the proclamation, the only genuine evidence derived from Warbeck of his pretenſion or character, neither gives countenance to the abſurdity

tory, take no computation of the character of hiſtorians, timid or venal, ſubſervient to the times, or obſequious to power, let me ſuggeſt an illuſtration that may render the preſent diſſertation not entirely barren of moral inſtruction. The fate of Richard's nephews, and the participation of the Scottiſh Mary in her huſband's murder, conſtitute two problematical queſtions in Britiſh ſtory, exemplified in the recent annals of Europe by crimes of a more unequivocal and deteſtable die. Richard died like a ſoldier, but his memory has been perſecuted with unmerited hatred; and the beautiful and accompliſhed Mary, expelled from her throne and paternal kingdom, bewailed her misfortunes in a long captivity, and expiated her imputed guilt with her blood. The preſent generation has beheld a princeſs murder her huſband and uſurp his throne, and with deſpotic impunity rule an empire to which ſhe was an alien. We have ſeen uſurpation recognized as legal, parricide and regicide approved as glorious, by the monarchs of Europe, who, inſtead of confederating againſt her to vindicate ſovereignty thus outraged, ſolicit her alliance, and ſue for her friendſhip; by thoſe monarchs, who, if a gallant nation, re-aſſerting its freedom, interpoſe an intermediate power between the prince and his people, are alarmed for their own indefeaſible ſupremacy, and eager, by the conſpiracy of their flagitious arms, to reduce that ſtate to its priſtine ſervitude. Two obſervations are deducible from an example, the diſhonour, not the deteſtation, of Europe: The one is, that the virtues and the vices of the human ſpecies are, in different periods, nearly balanced; that if three centuries of progreſſive refinement have improved the manners and repreſſed the vices, they have alſo debaſed and degraded the virtues of the moderns; ſupplanted that indignation which purſued the ſuppoſed guilt of a Richard and a Mary, and inſtructed nations, at leaſt their rulers, to ſympathize with the ſucceſsful crimes of a female uſurper, not to commiſerate the wrongs of her murdered huſband. The other obſervation is, that under her deſpotiſm his fate will be converted by the diſcreet hiſtorian into a natural demiſe; and if her ſucceſſors are intereſted in her meretricious virtues, the falſehood will be propagated by future hiſtorians, till the time arrive when the crime itſelf ſhall become problematical, and the enquirer, who reads in foreign authors the *deceaſe* of the prince, will not credit the imputation of a murder, of which the annals of his country contain no trace: but when the juſt imputation of ſuch atrocity is in this enlightened period ſuppreſſed by power, or averted, even among foreigners*, by its ſplendor, who will tell me that, during five reigns and a long century of Tudor domination, hiſtorians would venture, by the ſuggeſtion of Richard's title, to pronounce his ſucceſſors a race of uſurpers, or by a ſurmiſe of his innocence to eſtabliſh their right on the murder of his nephew the duke of York?

ſurdity ſuppoſed to attend his eſcape, nor accuſes Richard of a ſingle crime: yet Bacon has given it ſuch an implied meaning.

* See in Coxe's Travels, (but I forget the paſſage, the perſonage, the period of time, or the particular region,) a curious inſtance of ſuch a *deceaſe*.

The

The Stuarts are accuſed, and perhaps with truth, of obliterating the evidence of Mary's guilt; and it is not preſumable that a document of Richard's innocence, or his nephew's exiſtence, would ſurvive the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, and eſcape the deſtructive vigilance of either Henry: but whether the ſolicitude of Mary's deſcendants has redeemed her innocence, Richard's muſt be recognized, when of numerous accuſations no crime has been ſubſtantiated by a race of ſovereigns hoſtile to his memory, nor ſcrupulous either in the abuſe of power, or the perverſion of truth.

N° IV.

[Ex originali in Bibl. Thomæ Aſtlei, arm.]

Recepta Scaccarij. DECLARACIO fact. metuendiſſimo domino noſtro regi nunc Henrico Octavo per Johannem Cutte militem ſubtheſ. Anglie tam de feodis & annuitatibus diverſarum perſonarum ſolut. ad receptam Scaccarij illuſtriſſimi principis famoſe memorie domini Henrici nuper regis Anglie Septimi quam de omnibus & ſingulis denariorum ſummis proquibuſcumque alijs cauſis per mandatum dicti nuper regis ad receptam predictam ſolut. & aſſignat. pro uno anno integro finit. ad feſtum ſancti Michaelis Archangeli anno regni ſereniſſime majeſtatis predict. nuper regis 24to. ut in conſequentibus particulis plenius apparent; videlicet,

Tempore nuper regis Henrici Septimi.

Dominis, militibus, armigeris, & diverſis alijs perſonis.

	£.	s.	d.
JOHANNI comiti Oxon. conſtabular. Turris regis London. de feod. ſuo, per annum — — —	100	0	0
Willelmo domino Conyers—De hereditate ſua, per ann. —	20	0	0
Thome domino Dacre—Locumtenent. Weſtmarch. verſus Scociam, per ann. — — — —	153	6	8
Thome domino Darcy—Locumtenent. Eſtmarch. verſus Scociam, per ann. — — — —	114	13	4

	£.	s.	d.
Edwardo Ratcliff mil. & Rogero Fenwyk arm. } Locumtenent. Midlemarch. verſus Scociam, per ann. — —	114	13	4
Jacobo Strangwais mil.—De hereditate ſua, per ann. —	20	0	0
Thome Lovell mil.—Cuſtod. caſtri regis Nott. de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	26	13	4
Thome Brandon mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	40	0	0
Edwardo Darell mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	20	0	0
Edwardo Wyngeſeld mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	40	0	0
Willelmo Vampage mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	33	6	8
Rowlando Vylevile mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	20	0	0
Johanni Carewe mil.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	33	6	8
Matheo Baker arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	33	6	8
Antonio Fetyplace arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	33	6	8
Thome Parre arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	33	6	8
Ricardo Haſtyngs arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	33	6	8
Edmundo Duddeley arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	66	13	4
Henrico Wyatte arm.—Clerico jocalium domini regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — —	13	6	8
Petro Shampayn arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	20	0	0
Roberto Knollys arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	13	6	8
Thome Neville arm.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	20	0	0
Johanni Heron—Rangeatori regis infra foreſtam de Waltham, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Hugoni Denys—Virgebajulo infra caſtrum regis de Wyndeſore, per ann. — — — —	18	5	0
Johanni de Roye—De annuitate ſua, per ann. — —	26	13	4
Edwardo Cheſeman—Coferario hoſpicij regis de appunctuac. per ann. — — — —	300	0	0
Andree Wyndeſore mil.—Clerico magne garderobe regis de appunctuac. per ann. — — —	300	0	0
Johanni Meawtys—Secretario domini regis in lingua Gallica, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — —	40	0	0
Roberto Rydon—Clerico conſilij domini regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	26	13	4
Ricardo Dycons—Cuſtod. Brun. domini regis in communi banco, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — —	6	13	4
Willelmo Smyth—Cuſtod. Icorum & al. harnec. regis infra Turrim London. de annuitate ſua, per ann. — —	18	5	0
Roberto Haſilrigge—Cuſtod. garderobe regis infra palacium Weſtm. de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	12	3	4
Petro Narbone—Barbitonſori domini regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	13	6	8

Ricardo

	£.	s.	d.
Ricardo Gybſon & alijs luſoribus domini regis—De annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	13	6	8
Henrico Glaſebury & alijs miniſtrallis domini regis—De annuitate ſua, per ann. — — —	53	6	8
Garcionibus & pagettis camere domini regis de reg. inter ſe erga feſtum natalis Domini annuatim conſuet. per ann. —	100	0	0
Willelmo Cornyſhe—Magiſtro puerorum capelle regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. pro excubicione eorundem puerorum	26	13	4
Radulpho Jenette—Cuſtod. lectorum & armature domini regis infra caſtrum de Wyndeſore, de feodo ſuo, per ann. —	13	13	9
Ricardo Gybſon—Portatori magne garderobe regis in civitate London. per ann. — — —	6	1	8
Antonio Spynell—De annuitate ſua, per ann. — —	20	0	0
Johanni de Pounde—Armurario regis de annuitate ſua, per ann.	20	0	0
Ricardo Smyth—Cuſtod. gardini regis infra Turrim London. de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	9	2	6
Thome Holden—Cuſtod. hoſpicij regalis infra palacium Weſtm. de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	6	1	8
Radulpho Pontiewe—Brigandario regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	10	0	0
Cornelio Vandeſtrete—Areſmaker, de feodo ſuo, per ann. —	18	5	0
Henrico Wyndeſore—De annuitate ſua, per ann. — —	5	0	0
Johanni Turſtan—Magiſtro barge domini regis, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	11	8	6½
Eidem Johanni—Pro vadijs 20 hominum ad ſervient domino regi in barga ſua, per ann. — — —	20		0
Fredeſwide Pullenham—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	5	0	0
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 2,111	15	2½

Heraldis & purſevandis domini regis.

Thome Bevolte, al. Clarenceux herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	20	0	0
Johanni Yong, al. Norrey herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	20	0	0
Johanni Pounde, al. Somerſett. herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	13	6	8
Johanni Joynor, al. Rychemounde herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	13	6	8
Laurencio de la Gatta, al. Rougecrōx purſevand, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	10	0	0
Radulpho Lagoo, al. Blewmantell purſevand, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	10	0	0
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 86	13	4

Diverſis perſonis eccleſiaſticis.

	£.	s.	d.
Magiſtro Johi Yong—Cuſtod. rotulorum cancellarie regis, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — —	31	8	2
Decano capelle domini regis pro oblacionibus ipſius domini regis debit' in die paſſaven, per ann. — —	33	6	8
Willelmo Malham—Clerico parve bage cancellar. domini regis, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	10	0	0
Fratribus minoribus Oxon.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. —	33	6	8
Fratribus predicatoribus Cantebrig.—De annuitate ſua, per ann.	16	13	4
Fratribus minoribus Cantebrig.—De annuitate ſua, per ann.	16	13	4
Fratribus predicatoribus in civitate London.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	20	0	0
Fratribus & ſororibus ſancte Katherine juxta Turrim London.—De annuitate ſua, per ann. — — —	3	13	4
Abbatj monaſterij de Stratford—De annuitate ſua, per ann.	5	0	0
Willelmo Gyddyng—Clerico rectori de Ayſshe, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — — —	5	0	0
Ricardo Surbande—Clerico rectori capelle regis infra Turrim London. de annuitate ſua, per ann. — —	6	13	4
Infirmis leproſis ſancti Egidij London. de annuitate ſua, per ann.	3	0	0
Puero epiſcopo ſancti Nicholai infra capellam ſancti Stephani, de annuitate ſua, per ann. — — —	1	0	0
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 185	13	10

Servientibus domini regis ad arma.

Gilberto Mawdeſley—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Thome Twyſday—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Hugoni Cholmeley—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Willelmo Butteler—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Jacobo Conyers—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Leonello Crafford—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Mauricio Butteler—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Willelmo More—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Johanni Harper—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Roberto Waſshyngton—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Edwardo Gryffith—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 200	15	0

Valectis de corona domini regis.

	£.	s.	d.
Johanni Wattys—De feodo ſuo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Henrico Strete—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Willelmo Almer—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Olivero Turnor—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Davye—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Evan—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Jeffron—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Roberto Walker—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Amyas—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Brereton—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Forde—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Petro Wratton—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Whytyngton—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Henrico Hopkyns—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Edmundo Huntewade—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Smyth—De feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Almer—De feodo ſuo, at 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 155	2	6

Clerico, valecto, & vibrellatoribus ordinac. domini regis.

Willelmo Archebald—Clerico ordinacionum domini regis, de feodo ſuo, ad 8d. per diem, per ann. — —	12	3	4
Ricardo Smythe—Valetto ordinacionum regis, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — —	9	2	6
Thome Greves—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Ricardo Fawconer—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Eidem Ricardo—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, pro vadijs unius hominis — — —	9	2	6
Rogero Anglois—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Roberto Fyſsher—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — —	9	2	6
Blaſio Billarde—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Winardo Godfrey—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6

Willelmo

	£.	s.	d.
Willelmo Ivee—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Henrico Cromer—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Pais Reynold—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Euelmo Lucryand—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Johanni Wyſtowe—Vibrellatori, de feodo ſuo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann. — — — —	9	2	6
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 130	15	10

Theſaurario Anglie, baronibus ac alijs officiarijs & miniſtris de Scaccario domini regis.

Thome duci Norff.—Domino theſaurario Anglie, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	365	0	0
Willelmo Hody milit.—Capitali baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	100	0	0
Barthō. Weſteby—Secundar. baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	46	13	4
Willelmo Bollyng—Tercio baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	46	13	4
Johanni Aleyn—4to baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	46	13	4
Thome Lovell milit.—Cancellar. regis in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	26	13	4
Roberto Blagge—Remem. ex parte regis in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	55	17	4
Edmundo Denny—Remem. ex parte theſaur. regis in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	64	2	6
Thome Darnalle—Clerico magni rotuli in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	47	19	7
Riegnaldo Fillole—Contra rotulatori magni rotuli in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	13	14	7
Quinque auditoribus in Scaccario, cuilibet eorum ad 10l. per annum, in toto per ann. — — —	50	0	0
Edmundo Wylley—Oppoſitori forinſeco in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	16	13	4
Willelmo Atwode—Clerico extractarum in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	15	0	0

Roberto

	£.	s.	d.
Roberto Briſtolle—Clerico ad placita in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	5	0	0
Ricardo Blacwall—Mareſcallo in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	5	0	0
Thome Sacheverell—Summonitori in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	4	0	0
Willelmo Fermer—Clerico ad tall. jungend. in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	5	0	0
Johanni Newporte—Alteri clerico ad tall. jungend. in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	5	0	0
Johanni Majer & Johanni Copwood } Clericis ſecundar. ex parte remem. regis in Scaccario, de feodis ſuis cuilibet eorum, ad 4l. per ann. — —	8	0	0
Johanni Caſtell & Johanni Dodde } Clericis ſecundarijs ex parte rem. theſ. de feodis ſuis inter ſe, per ann. —	9	0	0
Thome Caundiſhe & Johanni Pette } Clericis ſecundar. ſub clerico magni rotuli in Scaccario cuilibet eorum, ad 5l. per ann. in toto inter ſe —	10	0	0
Hoſtiario de Scaccario—Pro brevibus regis portand. ad diverſ. loca Anglie, pro feodis dietis ſuis, ac pro cera & alijs neceſſarijs per ipſos empt. & proviſ. per ann. — —	32	14	0½
Summa hujus tituli, £.	979	14	3½

Camerarijs, ſubtheſaurarijs, & alijs officiarijs & miniſtris de recepta Scaccarij regis.

Sampſoni Norton mil.—Uni camerar. recepte Scaccarij regis, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	52	3	4
Johanni Cutte mil.—Subtheſ. Anglie, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	173	6	8
Johanni Daunce—Uni numeratorum recepte, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	31	13	4
Johanni Haſilwode—Alteri numeratorum recepte, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — — —	31	13	4
Johanni Lewis—De feodo ſuo, per ann. — —	28	6	8
Roberto Blacwall—De feodo ſuo, per ann. — —	17	10	0
Johanni Milletti—De feodo ſuo, per ann. — —	10	0	0
Hugoni Nayler—De feodo ſuo, per ann. — —	10	0	0
Ricardo Barley—De feodo ſuo, per ann. — —	6	0	0

	£.	s.	d.
Thome Goldeſburgh—De feodo ſuo, per ann. — —	6	0	0
Hugoni Denys—Hoſtiar. de recepta pro feodis dictis ſuis, cera, & alijs neceſſarijs per ipſum empt. & proviſ. per ann. —	26	4	0½
Henrico Pemberton—De feodo ſuo, per ann. — —	5	0	0
Willelmo Gilbert—Portatori bage cum rotulis & alijs memorandis, de feodo ſuo, per ann. — — —	6	6	8
Eidem Willelmo—Super proviſione pergameni pro officio theſ. & camerar. per ann. — — —	4	0	0
Quatuor nuncijs de recepta—Pro vadijs cujuſlibet eorum, ad 4½d. per diem inter ſe, in toto per ann. — —	27	7	6
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 435	11	6½

Summa totalis de omnibus & ſingulis feodis & annuitatibus ſupradictis ſolutis ad receptam Scaccarij illuſtriſſimi domini Henrici nuper regis Anglie ſeptimi, pro uno anno integro finito ad feſtum ſancti Michaelis Archangeli anno 24to predicti nuper regis — — £. 4,286 1 6½

Totalis ſoluc. in promptis denarijs & aſſignac. in tallijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſtriſſimi nuper regis ſuper expenſis hoſpicij ſui per tempus predictum — — — 12,759 9 11

Totalis ſoluc. in promptis denarijs & aſſign. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſtriſſimi nuper regis ſuper expenſis & proviſione garderobe ſue per tempus ſupradictum — — 1,715 19 11

Totalis aſſignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſtriſſimi nuper regis pro expenſis ambaſſatorum per tempus predictum — — 2,000 0 0

Totalis aſſignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illuſtriſſimi nuper regis pro manutenencia & ſalva cuſtodia Eſte & Middlemarch. verſus Scociam pro expenſis ducis Ebor. per tempus predictum — — — — 1,000 0 0

Totalis

	£.	s.	d.
Totalis assignac. in tallijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis & per eundem nuper regem racione diverſ. forisfactur. ſervientibus ſuis dat nomine regardi per tempus predictum — — —	403	6	8
Totalis assignac. in tallijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis pro expenſis operacionum ſuarum per tempus ſupradictum — — —	333	6	8
Summa totalis omnium & ſingulorum ſolucionum & assignacionum predict. per illuſtriſſimum principem famoſe memorie dominum Henricum nuper regem Anglie Septimum pro diverſis & ſeperalibus cauſis diverſis perſonis conc. a feſto ſancti Michis Archangeli anno regni egregie ſue majeſtatis 23to uſque feſtum ſancti Michis Archi. proxime ſequentem anno 24to. ejuſdem nuper regis pro uno anno integro — £.	22,498	4	8½

N° V.

Extracts from a MS. Book in the Remembrancer's Office, almoſt every Page ſigned by K. Henry VII.

13th Hen. VII.

ITEM, to a woman for three apples, 12d.
Item, for two pair of bellows, 10d.
Item, for the king's loſſe at tenis, 12d.
Item, for loſſe of balls there, 3d.
N. B. The king's Sunday's offering ſeems conſtantly to have been, 6s. 8d.
To the preacher of the day, 20s.
Item, for three ſackbuthes wages, 6li.
Item, for three ſtryngmynſtrels wages, 5li.
Item, for offering St. George's day, 30s.
John Send. nonick Rebeck, 40s. per month.
Item, for the feryboate of Rocheſter, 53s. 4d. 14th Hen. VII.
Item, a rewarde given for apples by Thomas Foteman homeward, 20d.
Item, to a ſtrange taberer, in reward, 66s. 8d.
Item, to a ſtrange tumbler, in reward, 20s.
Item, for heling of a ſeke maid, 6s. 8d.—N. B. This charge occurs frequently, and was perhaps the piece of gold given by the king in touching for the evil.—Q. If there was any ſuch piece of coin?
20th July. Item, to the mayor of Rocheſter towards the bridge there, 100s.
Item, for a ſtryngmynſtrel for one moneth's wages of Auguſt laſt paſſed, 15s.
Item, for finding three hares 6s. 8d.—N. B. This occurs frequently.
Item, to a piper at Huntingdon, 2s.
Item, for apples preſented by a woman, 4d.
Item, for breaking of hegges at Wiſcome, 20d.
Item, to my lord prince's organ-player for a qrt. wages ending at Michell., 10s.
Item, for three dozen of leder gloves, 12s.
Item, to the yeomen of the king's chamber for their months wages of November laſt paſſed, 67l. 8s. 8d.
Item, for the wages of the ſeke yeomen, 60s.

Item,

Item, to a tumbuler at my lord Bathe's, 20s.
Item, to the pleyers of London, in reward, 10s.
Item, to the tabouretts and a tumbuler, 20s.
Item, to my lord of Dudley's ſervant for bringing up a money-maker, 13s. 4d.
Item, to a Scotch ſole, in reward, 13s. 4d.
Item, to ſir Thomas Brandon for a horſe, 4l.
Item, for another horſe, 4l.
Item, for a third horſe, 66s. 8d.
Item, to a Ducheman for a cage, 4l.
Item, to maſter Barnard the blind poete, 100s.
To William Eſt for digging of the conduyt at Wodeſtock, p̄lis. 20l.
To the abbot of Reading for lede bought for Wodeſtock, 16l.
For the carriage of the ſame, 18s.
Item, to Jakes Haute for the conduyt at Wodeſtock upon a bill, 10l. 12s. 10d.
Item, to a man and woman for ſtrawburyes, 8s. 4d.
Item, to the biſhop of Bangor's cheeſes at Lantony, 6s. 8d.—N.B. This frequently.
Item, for a woman for a red roſſe, 2s.
For the hyre of a cart from London to Wodeſtock, 10s.

Extracts from a MS. in the Remembrancer's Office.

9th Hen. VII.

Item, to Robert Forſt for appaules and cakes, 6s. 8d.
Item, to Cart for writing of a booke, 6s. 8d.
Item, to one that preſented two cakes and a cheeſe, 13s. 4d.
Item, to ſir Robert Curſon's ſervent for an horſe, 40s.
Item, to Danyell riding to Shene and Thiſtleworth, 2s.
Item, for a pair of truſsling cofres boughte, 10s.
26th Decr. Item, to a fellow with a berde, a ſpye, in reward, 20s.
Item, to two monkes, ſpeyes, in reward, 40s.
Item, payed for two pleyes in the hall, 26s. 8d.
Item, to the king's pleyers, for a rewarde, 100s.
Item, to him that brought the p̄noſticac̄on, 6s. 8d.
Item, to the king to play at cardes, 100s.
Item, to John Ibye, a ſpye, in reward, 13s. 4d.
Item, to one that brought the king a lyon, 53s. 4d.
Item, to a ſpye that dwelleth in the weſt countrye, 20s.
For the king at tables, cheſs, glaſſes, &c. 56s. 8d.

Item, to the players that begged by the way, 6s. 8d.
Item, to a litell feloo of Shafteſburye, 20s.
Item, to Pechie the fole, in rewarde, 6s. 8d.
Item, loſt to my lord Morging at buttes, 6s. 8d.
Item, to Aſshbyby for writing of a boke, 3s. 4d.
8th June. Item, to ſir Edward Boroughe which the king loſt at buttes with his croſſebowe, 13s. 4d.
10th. Item, to a Spanyarde that played the fole, 40s.
29th July. Item, to a woman that broke an heggez by the way, 12d.
5th Augst. Item, to Diego, the Spaniſh fole, in reward, 20s.
2d Octo^{r}. Item, to the ſhippes boates that brought the king's grace to and fro the ſhip the Swan, 40s.
Item, to the mariners of the ſame Swan, 6l. 13s. 4d.
Item, to the mynſtrells that played therein, 13s. 4d.
Item, to Dego, the Spaynyſhe foole, in rewarde, 6s. 8d.
Item, to a Scot, an eſpye, in rewarde, 40s.
Item, to one that preſented the king with a mule, 20s.
Item, to one that bought a lamprey, in reward, 4s.
Item, to Harry Poyning, the king's godſon, in reward, 20s.
Item, to the fole the duk of Lancaſtre.
Item, to finding one hare, 3s. 4d.
25th May. Item, to Pudeſay piper in the bagpipes, 6s. 8d.

N. B. The ſeveral items are not following each other, but copied from various places in the book.

T. ASTLE.

THE END.

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